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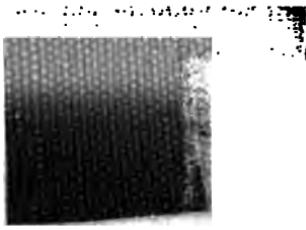
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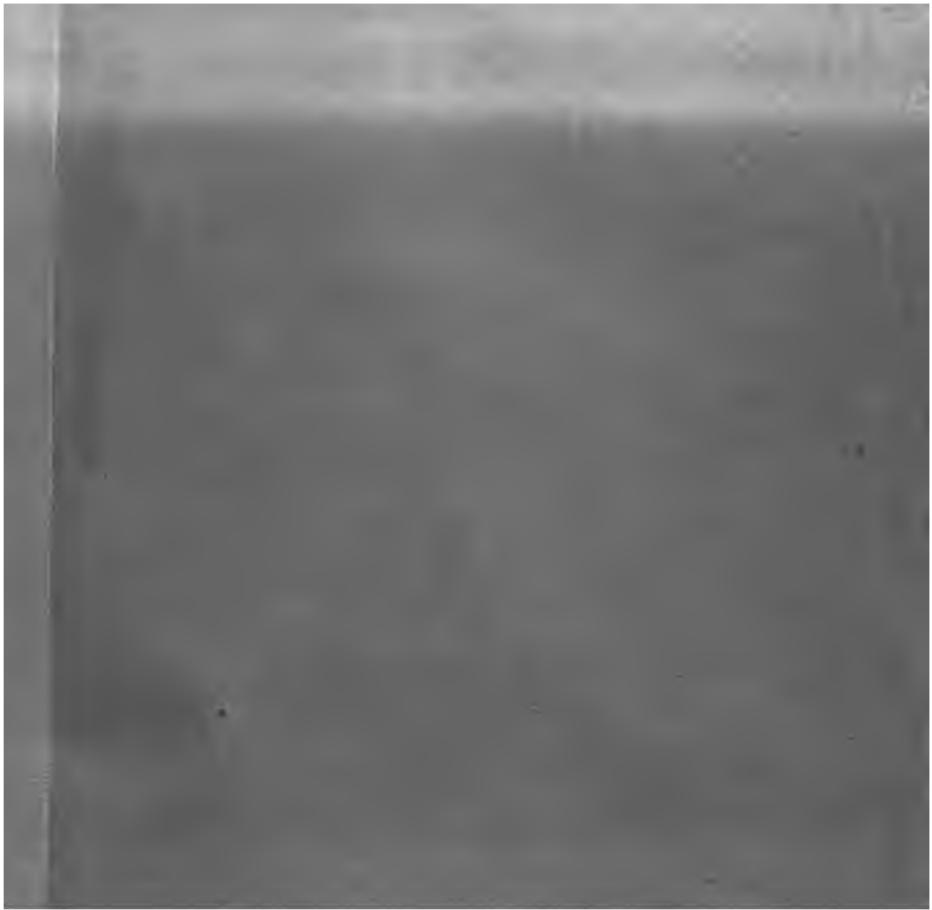
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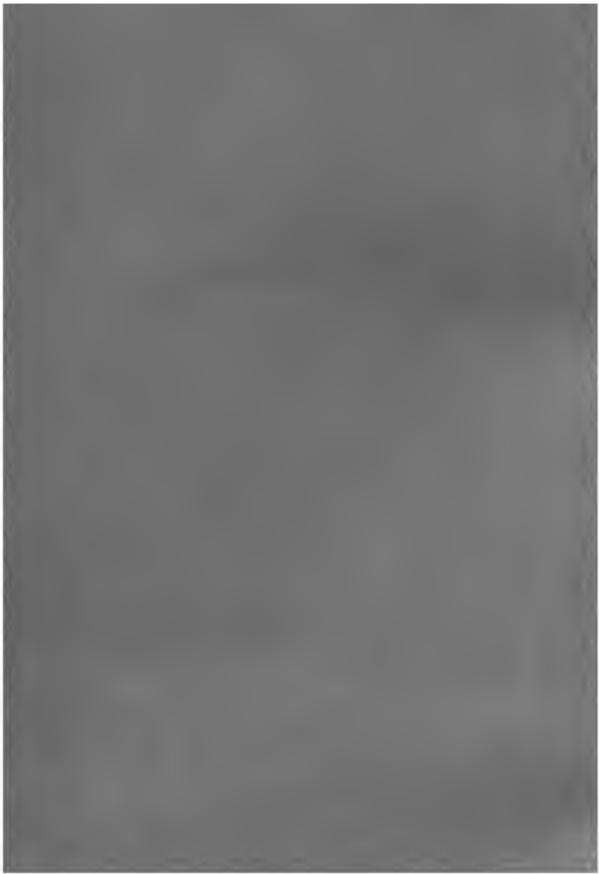
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HISTORY OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Gordon
HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
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THE HISTORY
OF THE
IAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND,
ITS CAUSES AND ITS RESULTS.

BY
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VOLUME IV.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

'Magna feres tacitas solatia mortis ad umbras,
A tanto cecidisse viro.'—*Ovid. Metam.* v. 191.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THIS volume has been, like those which went before it, thoroughly revised for the present Edition. I have made every correction and every improvement which occurred to me; but I believe that it will be found to differ less from the first form of the work than the revised Editions of any of the other volumes.

Whether I am ever able or not to carry out more fully any of the schemes dimly sketched out in the Preface to my fifth volume, I trust at least to deal more fully with the reign of William Rufus. I again visited Normandy and Maine this year with the express purpose of studying the chief sites connected with his history, sites many of them already known to me, but some of them new. An unforeseen accident cut short my researches; and, at this moment, with the fate of New Rome and Eastern Christendom hanging in the balance, it is hard to turn to Western affairs of any date. I still however hope that, before long, I may be able to tell the tale of Rochester and Le Mans in full detail.

SOMERLEAZE, WELLS,
October 24, 1876.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE present volume contains the reign of William. I regret that the bulk to which the text has swelled has caused me to leave out several notes which were designed to have a place in the Appendix; but I believe that their substance will find a place at least as fitting among the more general disquisitions which I hope to give in the fifth volume.

Besides the friends whom I have so often thanked in earlier volumes, I have now to acknowledge the great help which I have received from several friends at the various places which I had to examine in order to give a full account of William's Western and Northern campaigns. I have to thank them alike for help on the spot and for suggestions as to the local maps and plans. At Exeter I was accompanied by Mr. W. A. Sanford, whose eye for any physical point is much keener than mine. At Lincoln I had much help from the Precentor, the Rev. Edmund Venables; at York from Archdeacon Jones and the Rev. James Raine, Canon of York; in the City and Bishoprick of Durham from the Rev. William Greenwell and Mr. W. H. Longstafte of Gateshead; and at

Chester from the Dean and Mr. Hughes. And in speaking of my topographical researches, though I do not think that in the present volume I have had any direct help from Mr. J. R. Green, yet I have often felt the benefit of earlier inquiries of the same kind made in his company. I may truly say that it was from him that I first learned to look on a town as a whole with a kind of personal history, instead of simply the place where such and such a church or castle was to be found.

In the plans of towns, I have tried to show their extent as they must have stood in the days of William, and to mark such buildings as were then certainly or probably in being. But in such an attempt as this a good deal is necessarily left to conjecture. The map of the Fen country, illustrating the campaigns of Hereward, is grounded on the map in Professor C. C. Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, and I have to thank the Professor for most

belong to them. With regard to the other shires, I have not attempted to mark the small differences between their present and their Domesday boundaries, except in the extreme cases of the largest and smallest among them. Yorkshire was then far greater, and Rutland, which in truth was not a distinct shire, was still smaller than it is now. In making this map, I have to acknowledge many valuable hints from Mr. James Parker.

The present volume has taken a longer time in its composition than any of those that have gone before it, partly because of the interruption caused by the revision of the first two volumes for the second edition, partly because of the greater extent and difficulty of the work itself. The fifth and last volume will, like the first, consist partly of narrative and partly of dissertation. In it I trust to go thoroughly into the effects of the Norman Conquest on the later condition and history of England, and to carry on the narrative in the form of a sketch to the point which I designed from the beginning, the reign of Edward the First.

SOMERLEAZE, WELLS,

May 27, 1871.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

December, 1066—December, 1067.

§ 1. *Character of the Reign of William.*

A. D.		PAGE
	Position of William at the time of his coronation ; no armed opposition in any part of England	3—4
	Position of Eadwine and Morkere	4
	England not yet conquered	5
	Effects of the Coronation on the formal legality of his position	5
	Character of the resistance to William after his Coro- nation	6—7
	Legal fictions of his reign	8—9
	Their practical effect	9
	William's attempts at conciliation	10
	Results of the disturbance at the Coronation	10
	Inherent falseness of his position	11
	His beginnings compared with those of Cnut	12—17
	True character of his conquest	13—14
	Real extent of the transfer of lands	14
	Different positions of Danes and Normans in England	16
	Blending of Normans and English	17
	Unity of the Kingdom established by William	18

§ 2. *William's first Days in England.*

December, 1066—March, 1067.

Christmas, 1066—1067	William withdraws to Barking	18
	Change of feeling among the English	19
	Submission of the Northern and Mercian chiefs	19—22

CONTENTS.

A. D.		PAGE
	Surrenders and confiscations of land	22
	All land held to be forfeited	23
	<i>Falkland becomes terra Regis</i>	24
	Cases of regrant	25
	General redemption of lands; the three Commissioners	25—26
	Harold's acts null and void	27
	Submission of Northern England only nominal	28
	William's charter to London	29
	His strict discipline and police	30
January— March, 1067	William's first progress; his grants and alms	31—32
	Case of Berkshire	32—47
	Patriotism of the Berkshire men	32
	Lands and family of Godric	33—37
	Comparison with Kent and Sussex	33
	Lands of the House of Godwine	34
	Illegal occupations of Froger and Henry of Ferrers	37
	Foreigners settled in Berkshire	39—42
	Small number of Englishmen who retained their lands	42—43
	Story of Azor the <i>Dapifer</i>	44
	Wiggod of Wallingford wins William's favour	45
	His Norman sons-in-law	45
1072	Robert of Oily founds Oxford Castle	46
1079	Robert of Oily the younger founds Oseney Priory	47
	Causes of lack of resistance to the confiscation	47—50
	Confiscation familiar at the time	50—52
	Familiarity with the settlement of foreigners	52—54
	Permanent effects of the confiscation	54—56
	Land largely retained by its actual possessors	56

CONTENTS.

xiii

A. D.		PAGE
February 4, 1067	Oswulf deposed; Copsige appointed Earl	76—77
<i>§ 3. William's first Visit to Normandy.</i>		
<i>March—December, 1067.</i>		
March, 1067	William sets sail for Normandy	78
	His English attendants or hostages	78—79
	Suppression of piracy	80
	His reception in Normandy	81—82
	His visits and grants to churches	82—83
	His probable consultations with Lanfranc	83
	English and German skill in gold-work and embroidery	85
April 8, 1067	William keeps Easter at Fécamp	87
990—1082	Condition and history of the monastery	87—90
1062	Ralph of Montdidier; his marriage with King Henry's widow	90
	The English visitors	91
	Consecration of churches	92—94
May 1, 1067	Saint Mary-on-Dive	93
July 1	Jumièges	93
August 9	Death of Archbishop Maurilius	94
	Lanfranc refuses the primacy	95
1067—1069	Primacy of John of Ivry	96—98
	Flourishing state of Normandy	98

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

March, 1067—April, 1070.

Great part of England still unconquered	101
William's motives for leaving England	101—102
Called back by the prospect of foreign invasion	103

*§ 1. The Administration of Odo and William Fitz-Osbern.**March—December, 1067.*

Oppressive government of the regents	103—106	
March 11, 1067.	Revolt against Copsige; he is killed by Oswulf at Newburn; Norman praises of him	106—108
	Special oppression in Herefordshire and Kent	108—109
	Union of Welsh and English	109
August 15	Eadric the Wild holds out; his alliance with Bleddyn and Rhiwallon; their ravages in Herefordshire	110—111

CONTENTS.

A. D.		PAGE
	The Kentish outbreak ; help sought from Eustace of Boulogne	111—114
	Unsuccessful attack on Dover; escape of Eustace and capture of his nephew	114—118
	Help sought in foreign lands; state of Germany and Denmark	118
	Close connexion of Swegen with England; English invitations to him; presence of Eadric of Norfolk in Denmark	119—122
1066—1093	State of Norway; reigns of Magnus and Olaf Kyrre	122
	William's real danger from Denmark	123
 § 2. <i>The Conquest of the West.</i>		
December, 1067—March, 1068.		
December 6, 1067	Matilda and Robert regents in Normandy	123
	William sets sail at Dieppe	124
December 7	He lands at Winchelsea	125
December 6	Christ Church burnt	125
	No open revolt in the conquered shires, but the West and North threatening	126
December 25, 1067—Jan. 6, 1068	William keeps Christmas at Westminster; further confiscations and taxations	127—128
	Eustace of Boulogne tried and condemned in absence	128—129
	His later reconciliation; his lands	129—130
	Death of Wulfwig, Bishop of Dorchester	130
	Exclusion of Englishmen from ecclesiastical prefer- ment	131

CONTENTS.

xv

A. D.		PAGE
February, 1068	William demands the submission of Exeter	145
	Attempt at a compromise; republican schemes at Exeter; royal rights over the city	145—147
	Position of the local Thengns and of the family of Harold	148
	William's answer; he marches against Exeter	149
	His employment of English troops	149—150
	William's march; his harryings in Dorset; the magistrates of Exeter offer to submit	150—151
	The capitulation disowned by the citizens	152
	William besieges Exeter; description of the city	152—154
	Insult offered to him by the besiegers; he blinds one of the hostages	155
	Valiant defence of the city; it is taken by means of a mine	156
	Gytha and her company escape to the Flat Holm; history of the Holms	157—158
	Harold's sons take refuge at Dublin	158—159
June, 1069?	Gytha withdraws to Flanders	159
	Gunhild dies at Bruges	159
August 24, 1087.	Marriage and descendants of the younger Gytha	159
	Surrender of Exeter	159—160
	Foundation of the castle; increase of the tribute of the city	161—162
	William's conquest of Cornwall	162—163
	Settlement of the West; Englishmen who retained their lands; history of Eadnoth and his son Harding	163—164
	Story of Brihtric and Matilda	165
	The Western Bishops undisturbed; alienation of the gifts of Gytha; history of the lands of Biscayan	165—167
	Grants to the Norman churches and to the Church of Rome	167
	Other Norman grantees	167—168
	Possessions of Robert of Mortain, Earl of Cornwall; his robbery of churches	168—170
	State of Cornwall; the British element revived by the Norman Conquest	170—172
1068—1069	History of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire; oppressions of the Sheriff Urse; he is rebuked by Archbishop Ealdred	173—174
	Favour of Æthelwig of Evesham; Godric of Winchcombe entrusted to his keeping	175—177
March 23, 1068	Bristol subject to William	178

CONTENTS.

A. D.		PAGE
	Easter feast at Winchester	178
May 11	Whitsun feast at Westminster; coronation of Matilda	179
 § 3. <i>The First Conquest of the North.</i>		
<i>Summer and Autumn, 1068.</i>		
	Position and character of Eadwine and Morkere; a daughter of William promised to Eadwine	179—181
Summer, 1068	Eadwine and Morkere revolt; rising in the North	181
1067—1068	Union of English and Welsh; civil war in Wales; death of Rhiwallon	182—183
	General gathering against the Normans; applications to Swegen and Malcolm	184
	Eadgar the nominal head of the movement; action of the Northern Thengns	185
	No effectual Scottish help given	186
	General zeal of the people; York the centre of resistance	186—187
	William's first Northern march; question of the storm of Oxford	188
	William at Warwick; submission of Ælfwine and Thurkill; history of the town and castle	188—192
	March of Eadwine and Morkere; they submit to William and are restored to favour	192—193
	The English army disperses, but a party withdraw to the North and occupy Durham	193—194
1068—1069	Eadgar, Gospatrix, and others pass the winter in Scotland	194—195
	Question of the destruction of Leicester	196—197
	William reaches Nottingham; history of the town	196—200

CONTENTS.

xvii

A. D.

PAGE

Foundation of the castle and origin of the modern town	221—222
William at Huntingdon; history of the town and foundation of the castle	222
Heavy confiscations in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire; oppressions of the Sheriffs Picot and Eustace	223—224
Harold's sons return from Ireland; they attack Bristol in vain	224—226
Their drawn battle with Eadnoth the Staller; death of Eadnoth, their ravages in the West	226—227
September 1 Birth of the Ætheling Henry; his name, education, 1068 and character	227—229
c. 1069 Legend of Henry's birth at Selby; foundation of the Abbey	230—231
Legend of the complaints of the Norman women; estimate of the story	231—233
William sends away his mercenaries	233

§ 4. The Revolt and Final Conquest of the North.

1069—1070.

Importance of the year 1069; final establishment of William's power	233—234
January, 1069 He grants the Earldom of Northumberland to Robert of Comines	235
Robert enters Durham; he is slain with his followers	236—237
Revolt at York and slaughter of Robert Fitz-Richard	238
Return of Eadgar, Gospatrix, and others; they are received at York	238—239
Siege of the castle; William hastens to York and defeats the insurgents	239—240
The second castle built and intrusted to William Fitz-Osbern	240—241
Legend of the miraculous defence of Durham	241
Renewed revolt at York; the insurgents defeated by William Fitz-Osbern	242
c. June 24 Second enterprise of Harold's sons; their ravages in Devonshire	242—243
They are defeated by Count Brian; no further mention of them	243—245
1069 Death of Diarmid of Dublin	245
Story of the Counts of Stade	246
Autumn, 1069 Swegen at last sends help; description of his force	247
The commanders, Osbeorn, Harold, Cnut, and Thurkill	247—248
Probable objects of Swegen	249—250
William in the Forest of Dean	250

CONTENTS.

A.D.		PAGE
	Course of the Danish fleet; unsuccessful attempts in Kent and East-Anglia	250—252
September 8	The fleet enters the Humber; it is joined by Eadgar and the English exiles	253—255
	Waltheof joins the Danes; his character and early history	255—257
	Confidence of the Norman commanders at York	258
September 11	Stories of Archbishop Ealdred; his death	259—264
	Unlucky adventure of Eadgar in Lindesey	265
September 19	The Danes and English march on York; the city fired by the Normans	265—266
September 21	The Danes and English take York; exploits of Waltheof	266—268
	Capture of William Malet and Gilbert of Ghent	268
	Destruction of the castles	268—269
	The army disperses	270
	Movements in the West; sieges of Montacute and Exeter	270—272
	Movements in Staffordshire and on the Welsh border; Shrewsbury besieged by Eadric	272—273
	The revolts put down piecemeal	273—276
	Montacute relieved by Bishop Geoffrey	276
	Defeat of the besiegers of Exeter	278
	Eadric burns Shrewsbury and retires	278
	William marches northward; he surprises the Danes in Lindesey; they retreat into Holderness	278—280
	The two Earls Robert left in Lindesey; their successes against the Danes	280—282
	William conquers Staffordshire and marches to	

CONTENTS.

xix

A. D.		PAGE
January, 1070	William marches from York through Cleveland	300
	Submission and restoration of Waltheof and Gospatrick; marriage of Waltheof and Judith	301
	William ravages the Bishopric; submission of Archill and Egiaf	302—304
	William returns to York by Helmsley; Northern England finally conquered	304—306
February?	William's last march from York to Chester; difficulties of the road and mutiny of his troops	306—309
	Chester the last conquest; former history of the town	309—313
	Ravaging of Cheshire and the neighbouring shires; charity of Abbot <i>Aethelwig</i>	313—314
	Castles founded at Chester and Stafford	316
February— March?	William marches to Salisbury and reviews his army	316—317
1069—1070	The Danish fleet remains in the Humber; Osbeorn bribed by William	317—318
	The Conquest now practically accomplished	318

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

1070—1089.

State of England in 1070; William in possession of the whole country; later revolts only local	320—321
Gradual change in William's character	321
His attempt to learn English	322
Legend of the publication of the Laws of Edward	323
William's real legislation; renewal of Edward's Law	323—324
Blending of races, especially in the towns	325—326

§ 1. *The Councils of the Year 1070.*

February— March, 1070	Plunder of the monasteries	327—328
April 4	Easter Feast at Winchester; William crowned by the Papal Legates	328—329
	Schemes for the removal of English Prelates	330
April 11	Trial and deprivation of Stigand; stories of his last days	331—332
	Deposition of <i>Aethelmer</i>	332
November 27, 1069	Death of Brand of Peterborough; he is succeeded by Turold	333
	<i>Aethelric</i> seized and <i>Aethelwine</i> outlawed	334
April 6	The church of Durham reconciled	334

CONTENTS.

A. D.		PAGE
April	Æthelwine sails for Köln, but is driven back to Scot- land	335
	Flight of Æthelsige; Scotland appointed Abbot of Saint Augustine's	336
	Wulfstan demands the lands alienated by Ealdred; the decision delayed	337—338
May 23—31	Whitsun Gemót at Windsor; appointment and history of Thomas of York and of Walkelin of Winchester	339—341
May 24	The Legate Ermenfrid holds a synod; deprivation of Æthelric; appointment of Stigand of Selsey and Herfast of Elmham	341—342
May 30	Walkelin consecrated by Ermenfrid	342
	Lanfranc appointed to Canterbury; his scruples overcome by Herwin	343—345
August 15	Lanfranc receives the Archbishoprick from the King	345
August 29	His consecration	345—347
 <i>§ 2. The Primacy of Lanfranc.</i>		
	1070—1089.	
	Relations between William and Lanfranc	347—348
	Relations between the two Archbishopricks; Wil- liam's policy requires the subordination of York	349—350
	Lanfranc refuses consecration to Thomas unless he makes profession; compromise brought about by William	350—352
1071	Lanfranc and Thomas go to Rome for their pallia; Lanfranc intercedes for Thomas and Remigius . . .	353—355
April 8, 1072	Easter Gemót at Winchester; settlement of the question between the Archbishopricks	356—358

CONTENTS.

xxi

A. D.		PAGE
1070—1098	History of Winchester; episcopate of Walkelin; scheme for the substitution of canons for monks	371—373
1046—1072	History of Exeter; episcopate of Leofric	373
1072—1103	Episcopate of Osbern; his English tendencies	373
1107—1136	Foundation of the present cathedral by William of Warewast	374
1079	History of Hereford; death of Walter	374
1079—1095	Episcopate of Robert; he rebuilds the church	374
1075	History of Wulfstan; his deposition designed by Lanfranc; legend of his appeal to Edward	374—378
1083	Wulfstan's management of his diocese; foundation of Malvern Priory	378—379
1084	He rebuilds the church of Worcester	379—380
	He preaches against the slave-trade at Bristol	380—382
	Bond between Wulfstan and six other monasteries	382—387
1077—1084	Death of Æthelwig; Walter Abbot of Evesham	382—383
1077—1095	Ralph Abbot of Winchcombe	383
1085—1087	Death of Eadmund of Pershore; abbacy of Thurstan	383—384
1072—1104	Serlo Abbot of Gloucester; his reforms	384—385
1089—1100	He rebuilds Gloucester Abbey	385
	Councils held by Lanfranc; distinction between ecclesiastical and temporal assemblies	387—389
1071 or 1072	Deposition of Abbots; Wulfric of New Minster succeeded by Rhiwallon	389
1078	Deposition of Æthelnoth of Glastonbury	389
1082—1083	Thurstan Abbot of Glastonbury; his dispute with the monks and deposition by William	389—393
1089—1090	He buys his restoration of William Rufus	393
1066—1077 (?)	Friðric Abbot of Saint Alban's; legendary nature of his history	394
1077—1088	Paul Abbot of Saint Alban's; his reforms and buildings; he destroys the tombs of the English Abbots William's personal zeal in ecclesiastical matters; appointment of Abbots of Westminster	394—396
1072 (?)	Eadwine succeeded by Geoffrey	396
1077	Appointment of Vital; correspondence of William with John of Fécamp	397—398
1070—1076	William's vow to Saint Martin; beginning of the foundation of Battle Abbey	398—400
	Story of the building of the Abbey; the High Altar fixed on the site of the Standard	400—404
	Succession of Abbots; consecration of the church	402—403
	Exemption of the Abbey from episcopal jurisdiction	405
	Lanfranc's opposition to monastic exemptions; his dealings with Saint Eadmundsbury	407—408
1088	His dealings with Saint Augustine's; he forces Abbot Guy on the monks	408—410

CONTENTS.

A. D.		PAGE
1075	Decree for the removal of Bishoprics; comparison of English and continental sees	412—415
1075—1078	Hermann removes the see of Sherborne to Salisbury	415
1078	Foundation of New Salisbury	415
1078—1079	Episcopate of Osmund	416
	Stigand removes the see of Selsey to Chichester	416
1072—1085	Peter removes the see of Lichfield to Chester	417
1086—1117	Robert of Limesey removes the see to Coventry; his ill-treatment of the monks and rebuke from Lanfranc; later history of the see	417—418
1085	Remigius removes the see of Dorchester to Lincoln	419
1078	Herfast removes the see of Elmham to Thetford	420
1091—1119	Herbert Losinga removes the see to Norwich	420
1088—1122	John of Tours removes the see of Wells to Bath	421
April 1, 1076	Council at Winchester; prohibition of the marriage of the clergy; modification of the decrees of Hildebrand	421—425
1076	Mission of Thomas, Lanfranc, and Remigius to Rome; privileges confirmed to William	425—427
1077—1078	They return through Normandy; consecration of Saint Stephen's and Bec; death of Herwin	427—428
	Wider separation of Church and State, and closer connexion with Rome	428
	Relations between Gregory and William; Gregory demands homage, but William refuses	429—433
1079—1082	Relations between Gregory and Lanfranc; Lanfranc summoned to Rome; his cautious language during the schism	433—436
	Exercise of the royal supremacy by William	436—438
	Un-English feelings of Lanfranc; his contempt for	

CONTENTS.

xxiii

A. D.	PAGE
<i>§ 1. The Revolt of the Fen Country. 1070—1071.</i>	
May, 1070	Osbeorn at Ely; the Fenland for Swegen
	Appearance of Hereward; legendary and historical notices of him
November 27, 1069—April 4, 1070	Death of Abbot Brand of Peterborough; succession of Turold
June 1, 1070	Turold sets out to take possession; he reaches Stamford
June 2	Hereward plunders Peterborough; Turold reaches the monastery
June 24	Departure of the Danes
	<i>Æthelric excommunicates the plunderers of Peterborough</i>
June—August	Eadric submits to William
	Revolt of the Isle of Ely under Hereward; description of the country
April? 1071	Revolt of Eadwine and Morkere; death and character of Eadwine
	Morkere and others join the insurgents at Ely; early history of the Isle
	William attacks the Isle; presence and death of William Malet
	Geography of the campaign; legends of Hereward
	Surrender of Morkere, Æthelwine, and others; imprisonment of Morkere
1071—1072	<i>Æthelwine imprisoned at Abingdon; his death</i>
1071—1084	<i>Adelelm Abbot of Abingdon; his grants on military tenures</i>
1071	Walcher succeeds Æthelwine at Durham; saying of Eadgyth at his consecration
	Submission of the monks of Ely
October, 1071	William comes to Ely; his treatment of the monastery
1073—1075	Death of Thurstan; Abbacy of Theodwine
1075—1082	Administration of Godfrey; he recovers the lands of the Abbey
1082—1094	<i>Abbacy of Simeon; beginning of the present church</i>
1071	Escape of Hereward; legends of his later life and death
1073	He accompanies William to Maine
<i>§ 2. The Affairs of the Welsh and Scottish Marches. 1070—1074.</i>	
State of the North; no more Earls of Deira or Mercia appointed; continuation of the Bernician Earldom	
	453
	454—456
	455
	457
	458—459
	460
	461
	461
	462—464
	464—466
	466—469
	469—471
	471—473
	473—475
	475—477
	476—477
	477—478
	478
	478—480
	480
	480—481
	481
	482—485
	483
	486

CONTENTS.

A. D.		PAGE
	Earldom of Chester under Gerbod	487
1071—1101	Hugh of Avranches, Earl of Chester; special privileges of the Earldom	487—489
1073—1088	Robert of Rhuddlan; his wars with the Welsh	489—490
1101	Earl Hugh dies a monk; his friendship for Anselm	491
	Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury; privileges of the Earldom; treatment of Shrewsbury	491—493
1082	Murder of Mabel at Bures; good influence of Roger's second wife Adeliza	493—494
	History of Odelerius; his settlement at Shrewsbury	494
February 16,	Birth of Orderic; his English education	494—495
1075		
1085	Orderic sent to Saint Evroul; his abiding English feeling; lessons taught by his history	495—497
1087—1094	Earl Roger founds Shrewsbury Abbey at the suggestion of Odelerius; his death	497—499
1081	Earl Roger introduces Cluniac monks at Wenlock	499—500
1071—1072	Roger's wars with the Welsh; foundation of Montgomery Castle	500—502
1067—1071	Earldom of Hereford under William Fitz-Osbern	502—504
1070	His wars with the Welsh; his alliance with Caradoc the son of Gruffydd	502—503
1070	Malcolm ravages Northern England	504—505
	He receives Eadgar and his sisters at Wearmouth	505—506
	Gospatrix invades Cumberland; increased cruelties of Malcolm	506—508
	Eadgar and his sisters remain in Scotland; marriage of Malcolm and Margaret; its lasting effects	508—513
April 3, 1071	Walcher takes possession of the see of Durham	513

CONTENTS.

xxv

A. D.	PAGE
1085 Donatus consecrated by Lanfranc; reforms in the Irish Church suggested by him	529—530
1096—1140 Later consecration of Irish Bishops in England; the Irish predisposed to the English connexion	539—530
 § 4. <i>The Revolt of Maine. 1073.</i>	
Christmas, 1070 William Fitz-Osbern sent to Normandy	531
1067—1070 Affairs of Flanders; death of Baldwin of Lîle; reign of Baldwin of Mons	531—532
1063 Adventures of Robert the Frisian; his marriage and settlement in Holland	532—533
1070 War between Baldwin and Robert; death of Robert Regency of Richildis; she asks help of William Fitz-Osbern	533—534
February 20, 1071 [†] French and Norman intervention in Flanders; battle of Cassel; death of Count Arnulf and William Fitz-Osbern; imprisonment of Gerbold of Chester	535
Philip makes peace with Robert; delay of Arnulf's German allies	536
Division of the estates of William Fitz-Osbern	537
Hostility between Normandy and Flanders; William abets Baldwin of Hennegau against Robert	537—538
May, 1074 William's alleged designs on Germany; alleged invitation from Archbishop Hanno of Köln	538—539
Other versions and estimate of the story	539—540
1072 William in Normandy; Synod of Rouen	540—543
1069—1085 State of Maine; episcopate of Arnold	543—544
1066—1109 Fulk Rechin of Anjou; his alleged intrigues	544—545
1073 Revolt of Maine; invitation to Azo and Gersendis and their son Hugh; action of Geoffrey of Mayenne and Bishop Arnold	545—547
Azo in Maine; he leaves Gersendis and her son behind; relations of Geoffrey and Gersendis	547—548
Municipal traditions in Gaul; the <i>Commune</i> of Le Mans	548—552
War of the <i>Commune</i> with Hugh of Sillé; treason of Geoffrey	552—554
Gersendis betrays the castle to Geoffrey; the citizens invite Fulk, who takes the castle	554—556
William sets forth to recover Maine; his English troops	556—557
Harrying of Maine; sieges of Fresnay and Sillé; surrender of Le Mans and submission of the country	557—560
Fulk attacks La Flèche; he is joined by Howel and the Bretons	560—561
Peace of Blanchelande; Robert does homage to Fulk for Maine	562—563

CONTENTS.

§ 5. The Revolt of Ralph of Norfolk.

1075—1076.

A. D.	PAGE
1072—1074 State of England; increased oppression; special complaints of the English women	564—566
Jealousy between William and Philip	566
1073 William returns to England	567
1074 He goes back to Normandy	567
July 8, 1074 Eadgar goes from Flanders to Scotland; Philip offers Montreuil to him	567—568
Eadgar sets sail for France, but is driven back	568
His reconciliation with William	568—570
Dealings of William with Waltheof	571
Roger Earl of Hereford suspected of treason; Lan- franc's letters and excommunication	572
1075 Ralph of Norfolk marries Emma sister of Roger; conspiracy at the bride-ale	573—577
Question of the complicity of Waltheof; his confes- sions to Lanfranc and William	577—578
Revolt of Ralph and Roger; the Bretons support Ralph; aid sought from Denmark	578
Roger defeated and taken prisoner	579
Ralph encamps at Cambridge; he flies to Norwich .	578—580
Union of Normans and English; mutilation of the prisoners	580
Ralph flies to Denmark and thence to Brittany .	581—583
Norwich defended by Emma; its siege and capitula- tion	581—583
William returns; arrest of Waltheof .	583—584

CONTENTS.

xxvii

A. D.		PAGE
700—715	History of Crowland; story of Saint Guthlac	596
c. 877	Monastery destroyed by the Danes	596
946—955	Restored by Thurcytel	596
1062—1086	Ulfcytel Abbot of Crowland; gifts of Waltheof to the monastery	596—597
June 15, 1076	Waltheof's body translated to Crowland	598
Christmas, 1085—1086	Deposition of Ulfcytel; its probable grounds	598
1086—1109	Ingulf Abbot of Crowland, his real and legendary history	599
1092	Second translation of Waltheof; his miracles	599—600
1109—1124	Geoffrey Abbot of Crowland	600
1124—1138	Waltheof Abbot of Crowland; visit of Orderic Real and legendary history of Judith; her foundation at Elstow	600 601
c. 1089	Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, marries Simon of Senlis; her second marriage with David of Scotland; its results	602—603
	Estimate of the execution of Waltheof	603—605
	William's love of hunting; nature of hunting in early times	605—606
	Beginning of Forest Laws; legislation of William	606—607
1070—1081	Making of the New Forest; contemporary feeling Deaths of his children in the New Forest; a curse deemed to rest on his house	608—609 609—611

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM. 1076—1087.

§ 1. *Character of the Later Reign of William.*

Quiet of England; William's unsuccessful warfare on the Continent	612—613
Character of William's government; his strict preservation of the peace	613—615
His fiscal and other oppressions	616—618
His revenue	618
He keeps up the meetings of the Witan	619
His legislation; legal relations between French and English	619—620
Laws against the slave-trade	621
Capital punishment forbidden; practice of mutilation	621
William's personal appearance; splendour of his court; his avarice	622—623
Practical despotism of his government	623

CONTENTS.

A. D.		PAGE
	Englishmen take service at Constantinople	623—624
April 1, 1081	Accession of Alexios Komnénos; Robert Wiscard threatens the Eastern Empire; English reinforce- ments	624
June	Robert besieges Dyrrhachion	625
October	Alexios comes to its relief; his motley army	625
October 18	Battle of Dyrrhachion; valour and slaughter of the English	626
	Alexios builds Kibótos	627
1083	The English defend Kastoria against Bohemund	627
1084	Repulse of Bohemund and Brian of Britanny	627
	Permanence of the Warangian guard	627—628
 § 2. <i>William's later Continental Wars. 1076—1086.</i>		
	William's movements between England and Nor- mandy	628
	He makes no grants to his children	628—629
April 5, 1075	Easter at Fécamp; Cecily takes the veil	629
1113—1127	She becomes Abbess of Caen	630
1076	William besieges Dol; his motives	630
September 27,	Dispute about the Bishopric; letter of Gregory to 1076 William	631
	Dol relieved by Alan and King Philip; peace with Brittany	632—633
1077	Peace with France	633
	Robert's disputes with his father	633—637
	War with Rotrou of Mortagne; quarrel of Robert and his brothers; he openly revolts	637—639
	Robert helped by Hugh of Neufchâtel; siege and	

CONTENTS.

xxix

A. D.		PAGE
1083	Revolt of Hubert of Beaumont; he defends Sainte-Suzanne	652
1083—1086	War of Sainte-Suzanne; ill success of William; death of Richer of L'Aigle	652—654
1086	Hubert reconciled to William	655
July 17— August 4, 1077	Death of Bishop Hugh of Lisieux; dispute as to his burial	655
1077—1080	Gilbert Maminot, Bishop of Lisieux; his character	656
1079—1080	Death of Archbishop John; the see of Rouen refused by Wimund; Primacy of William "Bona Anima"	657
1086	Council of Lillebonne; re-enactment of the Truce of God	657—658
 § 3. <i>The Affairs of the Scottish and Welsh Marches. 1078—1081.</i>		
1078	Malcolm defeats Maelsæhta	658
August, 1079	Malcolm invades Northumberland	659
1071—1080	Episcopate and Earldom of Walcher of Durham; his character	659—660
1074	Revival of monasticism in the North; Ealdwine and his companions come from Winchcombe; they repair Jarrow	660—661
	Restoration of Whitby	662
1078?	Foundation of Saint Mary's at York	662
1068?	History of Turgot; his escape from Lincoln; his favour with Olaf of Norway	662—663
	He joins Ealdwine at Melrose and Wearmouth	663—664
	Monastic tendencies of Walcher; his dealings with Waltham	664
	His favourites; Ligulf murdered by Gilbert and Leobwine; Walcher shelters the murderers	665—667
May 14, 1080	Gemöt at Gateshead; Walcher and his friends killed	667—669
	Fate of the murderers	669
	Odo sent to Northumberland; his cruelties and spoliations	670—671
Autumn,	Robert's expedition to Scotland; foundation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne	671—672
1080	Succession of the Earls of Northumberland; Alberic; Geoffrey; Robert of Mowbray	672—673
1080—1096	William of Saint Carilef Bishop of Durham	673 (673)
1093	Beginning of the present church	
1081—1085	He substitutes monks for canons at Durham; Ealdwine and Turgot Priors	674—675
	Affairs of Wales; lands held by Meredydd and his son Gruffydd	675

CONTENTS.

A. D.		PAGE
1079	Victories and death of Trahaern	675
1081	William in Wales; his conquests and pilgrimage to Saint David's; history of Saint David's	675—677
1080?	Foundation of Cardiff Castle	676
 <i>§ 4. The Later Legislation of William. 1082—1086.</i>		
	Character of the years 1082—1086	677
	Pride and oppression of Odo; he aspires to the Papacy	677—678
1082	William accuses and arrests him; his imprisonment at Rouen	679—682
1082	Famine in England	682
Christmas, 1083—1084	Tax laid on the land	682
1076	State of Denmark; death of Swegen Estrithsson . . .	683
1076—1080	Reign of Harold Hein	683
1080—1086	Reign of Saint Cnut; he prepares to invade Eng- land; contingent of Olaf Kyrre	683—684
1085	William returns to England; his mercenaries; he lays waste the coast	684—686
July 10, 1086	Discontent of the Danish fleet; martyrdom of Cnut	686
Christmas, 1085—1086	Gemót at Gloucester; the Great Survey ordered	687—689
January— July, 1086	The Commission for the Survey; popular discontent and disturbances	688—690
May 24	Whitsun Gemót at Westminster; Henry dubbed knight	691

August 1 Gemót at Salisbury; all landowners become the men

CONTENTS.

xxxii

A. D.		PAGE
	Details of William's sickness; his repentance and disposal of his dominions	703—706
	His bequest to Henry	707
	He releases his prisoners	708
September 9	Death of William	709
	General confusion at his death; neglect of his body; he is taken to Caen by Herlwin	709—712
	Reception of the body at Caen; fire in the town	712
	The burial of William; the ground claimed by Asselin	712—716
	William's monument and epitaph	718
1562—1642	The tomb destroyed by the Huguenots and restored	719
1742—1793	The third tomb	720
1802	Present stone and inscription	720
	Summary	720—721

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.	The Three Commissioners for Redemption of Lands	723
B.	The Lands and Family of Godric	725
C.	Wiggod of Wallingford and Robert of Oily	728
D.	Robert and Swegen of Essex	734
E.	Eadric the Wild	736
F.	The Earldom and Death of Copsige	738
G.	The Possessions of the <i>Æ</i> theling Edgar	742
H.	The Possessions of Count Eustace	743
I.	The Earldom of Gospatrix	745
K.	<i>Æ</i> thelsige Abbot of Ramsay	747
L.	The Lands of Gytha and her Family in the West	750
M.	The Children of Harold	752
N.	Eadnoth the Staller	755
O.	Brihtric and Matilda	759
P.	The Possessions of Robert of Mortain in the West	762
Q.	The Titles of Queen and Lady	765
R.	The Northern Campaigns of William	766
S.	The Submission of Oxford	778
T.	Thurkill of Warwick	780
U.	The Date of the Marriage of Malcolm and Margaret	783
W.	The Notices of William Malet in Domesday	787
X.	The First Submission of Malcolm	790
Y.	The Expeditions of Harold's Sons	791
Z.	The Birth and Education of Henry the First	794
AA.	The Foundation Legend of Selby Abbey	798
BB.	Early Notices of Waltheof	802

KK.	Frithric Abbot of Saint Alban's	.	.	.
LL.	Lanfranc's Dealings with Saint Augustine's Abbey	.	.	.
MM.	The Legend of Hereward	.	.	.
NN.	The Succession of Abbots of Ely	.	.	.
OO.	Richildis of Flanders	.	.	.
PP.	The Complaints of the English Women	.	.	.
QQ.	The Connexion of Waltheof with the Conspiracy of Ralph	.	.	.
RR.	The false Ingulf and the Miracles of Waltheof	.	.	.
SS.	The New Forest	.	.	.
TT.	The Strictness of William's Police	.	.	.
UU.	The English Warangians	.	.	.
WW.	The Siege of Dol and the Marriage of Constance	.	.	.
XX.	The Battle of Gerberoi	.	.	.
YY.	The Betrothal of William's Daughter to Alfonso	.	.	.
ZZ.	Some Details of the Death of William	.	.	.
AAA.	The Claim of Asselin	.	.	.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.¹

December 1066—December 1067.

§ 1. *Character of the Reign of William.*

THE coronation rite was over, and the formal reign of ^{Position of} William at ^{William at} England was to begin. As far as ^{the time of} outward forms were concerned, he might be looked on as ^{his corona-} King over the whole land. He had indeed direct military

¹ The chief thing to be noticed with regard to the authorities for these years is the loss of some of the most important. The Biographer of Edward failed us at the death of his own hero or, at the outside, at the Battle of Stamfordbridge. With the Battle of Stamfordbridge also the Abingdon Chronicle comes suddenly to an end. The Tapestry takes us only to the flight of the light-armed at Senlac, and the poem of Guy of Amiens takes us only to the coronation of William. Wace again ceases to be of any value just at present, as he cuts the history of William very short between his coronation and his burial. We miss also Mr. Kemble's great collection of Charters, which contains only a few documents later than the accession of William. The documents of William's reign are numerous and important, but we have to seek them where we can find them, in the Fosdery, in the Monasticon, in Hickes' Thesaurus, in the various local histories, anywhere in short where they may happen to be preserved. (A continuation, as well as a new recension, of the Codex Diplomaticus would be an unspeakable gain to historical scholarship.) And, while we lose so many of our old authorities, we are not reinforced by new ones of any importance. But several of our remaining authorities increase in value. Florence now definitely becomes an independent and, as we go on, a contemporary writer of the first rank. Orderic, born in 1075, does not reach that rank during our present period; still he had good means of information, and his value gradually increases. So does that of William of Malmesbury as he gets nearer to his own time. The value of Henry of Huntingdon on the other hand lessens. His main value has always consisted in the early traditions

CHAP. XVII. possession only of certain of the southern and eastern shires. No armed opposition But it does not appear that any part of the land was at this moment actually in arms against him. Rival King there of England, was none. The rival who had arisen against him for a moment had submitted to him and had been received to his favour. The chief men of a large part of England had submitted with him. Eadwine and Morkere indeed still held out,¹ but they seem to have been simply, after their manner, waiting to see what course events would take. At all events they did not venture on any armed opposition. And the consecration of William by the Northumbrian Primate might be looked on as some sort of guaranty, however weak, for the obedience of his province. The two chiefs of the national Church, the representative of the national kingship, the holiest prelate in England, the chosen friend of the slain Harold, had all bowed to William and had become his men.² He had possession of the mightiest and of the most venerable of English cities. The metropolis of *Æthelberht*, the royal city of *Ælfred*, were alike his. He had been crowned in Eadward's church; he dwelled in Eadward's palace; and, if London had been slow to submit, a fortress was now rising which would for

Position of
Eadwine
and Mor-
kere.

progress. William, King of the English, King chosen, CHAP. XVII. crowned, and anointed, might well give himself out as already master of the whole realm.

And yet we may be sure that there was none who knew England better than the Conqueror himself how far the land still was from being conquered. William was King; but he knew well that in the greater part of his kingdom his kingship as yet hardly existed in name. But he knew also how much he had gained by becoming a King. William knew, as well as Henry the Eighth himself, the inestimable advantage of having the letter of the law on his side.

Since the homage at Berkhamstead, since the election and coronation at Westminster, William was no longer a mere foreign invader, a mere candidate or pretender to the Crown. He was, as far as outward ceremonies could make him, the King, the choice of the English people, the consecrated of the English Church. The greater part of his realm had still to be conquered; but he could go forth to its conquest in quite another character from that in which he had landed at Pevensey. Resistance to his authority would no longer be the defence of the country against an invader from beyond sea. It would be rebellion against a lawful King and an established government. In William's theory indeed, all resistance to his power, all refusal to acknowledge his rights, had been guilty rebellion ever since the death of Eadward.¹ But he could now put forth his pretensions with tenfold force. Those pretensions had now been acknowledged in the most solemn way. William was King; those who submitted to him were loyal subjects; those who might still withstand him were traitorous rebels. The King had still to win his kingdom; but the King could win it far more readily than the mere Duke could have done. The might of the royal arm was to be tried only where the magic of the royal favour might fail

¹ See vol. iii. p. 413.

CHAP. XVII. to win. It could hardly fail but that many, whether individuals or whole districts, would be ready to submit to a King who claimed only the allegiance formally due to his Crown, while they would have fought to the death against one who came before them simply as a foreign invader or an unacknowledged pretender.

Character of the resistance to William after his coronation. The true way of looking at those important stages of the Conquest which followed William's coronation seems to be this. The opposition which William met with was in truth the stubborn resistance of a land striving to guard the last fragments of its freedom against the assaults of a foreign invader who was winning the land bit by bit. But in form it was resistance or rebellion against the lawful King and the established government of the land. This twofold aspect of the struggle greatly affected its character. The fall of Harold and his brothers, the lack of any one else able or worthy to stand forth at the head of the nation, had left the English people without a leader. The coronation of William cut them off from all hope of finding a leader. It cut them off from all hope of united national action. The coronation took place, as I have said, during a moment of seemingly universal submission : if all England

were bidding defiance to the only *de facto* King and government in England. Their resistance was therefore local rather than national; each city and district fought for its own hand, not for the common freedom of the whole realm. A land therefore which resisted bit by bit was, in the nature of things, conquered bit by bit. The only way to make the least show of resistance to William on equal terms was again to proclaim the kingship of the puppet Eadgar, or to call on Swegen of Denmark to come and claim the Crown of his uncle and his cousin. But neither Eadgar nor Swegen ever obtained any general acknowledgement. The warfare waged in their names was only local warfare. William was the King; Eadgar and Swegen were only pretenders—in the Latin phrase of the time, Tyrants.¹ In all this it is easy to see the immeasurable advantage which William gained from being the King in possession, however imperfect that possession was in many parts of the kingdom. And it is quite possible that the fact that many of those who fought against William were really technically traitors, that they were breaking their plighted allegiance, that they were fighting against a King to whom they had sworn oaths and become his men, may have done not a little to unnerve the hearts and to weaken the arms of the later defenders of England.

Certain it is that, at the actual moment of William's coronation, there was no armed opposition to his authority in any part of England. In the districts which he had already subdued men had made up their minds to submit to what they could not help, and to make the best of a bad bargain. In the districts to which his arms had not reached men had, to say the least, not made up their minds on any plan of resistance, nor had they chosen any chief in whose name they should resist. William's election and coronation

¹ See Will. Malms. iii. 248; and on this use of the word, vol. i. pp. 137, 664.

CHAP. XVII. were therefore, not only formally regular, but actually undisputed. In William's reading of the law, the reign of Harold was an usurpation, and the new King was the lawful successor of his cousin King Eadward. He was the hereditary King, a form of words which however must not be pressed to the full extent of its modern meaning.¹ To put the rights of conquest offensively forward, to deal with his new subjects as with a conquered people, in no way fell in with his policy. The orthodox way of speaking under William, at least in his milder moments, was to look on the fight of Senlac as a sort of unhappy accident. The King had come to claim his Crown, and he was so unlucky as to be forced to overcome certain rebels and traitors before he could take possession of it.² In the official language of William's reign, his entry is always spoken of as if it had been an entry as peaceful as that of Charles the Second or George the First. Indeed the way in which the reign of Harold is ignored in the legal language of William's reign is an exact parallel to the way in which the Commonwealth and the rule of Cromwell are ignored in the legal language of the reign of Charles the Second. The delicate euphemism, so common in Domesday, "when King William came into England,"

Fictions of
the same
kind in
later
history.

arithmetic which have given the world a Lewis the CHAP. XVII. Eighteenth and a Napoleon the Third. In all these cases it was convenient to put the plainest facts of history out of sight. But there was probably no case in which the legal fiction told with more effect than it did in the case of William. No man seriously believed that Charles the Second became, in any practical sense, King of England from the moment when the axe fell on the neck of Charles the First. No man seriously believed that a Lewis the Seventeenth or a Napoleon the Second had ever really reigned over France. And in these two latter cases all that was meant was to represent the in-coming ruler as the heir of a remote predecessor ; it was not meant to brand all the acts of all the intervening governments as null and void. But the legal fiction of the reign of William, like the legal fiction of the reign of Charles the Second, was intended to brand the acts of the alleged usurpation as null and void. And this system, fully and consistently carried out, had its effect. The legal fraud came admirably to the help of the religious fraud. While the Church systematically branded Harold as a perjurer, the Law systematically branded him as an usurper. The new King, ostentatiously, perhaps sincerely, gave himself out as no enemy, no conqueror, towards the English nation, but simply as the chastiser of the late usurper and his partizans. Such teaching, both legal and religious, did its work on men's minds at the time, as it has done its work on the pages of history ever since. When the event had bowed down men's minds to submission, they might even seek shelter in either the religious or the legal subtlety, as a kind of relief, as a sort of salve to their consciences in accepting the rule of the invader.

- And of one thing we may be perfectly certain, that William William did not come into England with any fixed purpose to play the tyrant in England. When he swore his ^{not purely an} oppressor.

CHAP. XVII. coronation oath, he doubtless meant to keep it. William, as I have often said, though he stuck at no crime that would serve his purpose, was at no time one who rejoiced in crime for its own sake. His soul was far above the meanness of those petty tyrants who boast themselves that they can do mischief. Of wanton oppression for oppression's sake I do not believe that he was guilty at any time. And now, in the first moments of his reign, it was his policy as well as his disposition to make his government as acceptable as he could to his new subjects of every class. His interest forbade him, and his temper certainly did not urge him, to do them any kind of wrong or damage which he knew how to avoid. His difficulties lay wholly in his position. He had contrived to mount the English throne with every circumstance of formal legality. But he must have known that he had not mounted it with the real good will of the English people. He must have known that the sort of artificial eagerness with which his accession had been welcomed was almost sure to be followed by a reaction against him. And the untoward accident which had turned the day of his coronation into a day of havoc and sorrow had already done much to destroy his newly-

His at-
tempts to
conciliate
the Eng-
lish.

Ill feeling
arising
from the
disturbance
at the

omen of what the rule of the Norman would be. There CHAP. XVII.
can be no doubt that they did much to set the minds of
Englishmen against the new King and his government.

And in truth the deeds of wrong of that day were in every Oppression
way a presage of what the reign of William was to be. It unavoidable
had not been by William's order or by William's wish that William's
any Englishman had on that day suffered harm in his goods
or in his person. But William had, of his own will,
brought about a state of things in which it could not fail
that Englishmen should suffer harm in their goods and in
their persons. It was not at William's bidding that the
Norman horsemen who guarded the approach to the West
Minster had set fire to the houses of Englishmen. But it
was wholly at William's bidding, and wholly through
William's act, that Norman horsemen were ever called on
to keep guard at the crowning of an English King. So
it was throughout his reign. William had no wish to
oppress; but he had placed himself in a position in which
oppression could not be avoided. He had no wish to make
his reign a reign of terror; but the mere fact that he
reigned at all left him no choice but either to cease from
reigning or to make his reign a reign of terror. However
he might disguise the fact by outward ceremonies and legal
subtleties, he was in truth the Conqueror in every sense.
He had won the land by force at the head of a foreign Difficulties
army, without the good will of a single English-born arising
inhabitant of England. He had at once to reward the presence of
foreign army which in truth had made him King, and, if followers.
not to punish, at least to guard against, the nation which
had received him as King against its will. That army
could not be rewarded except at the expense of the
conquered nation. The nation could not be guarded
against except by putting strangers in posts of dignity and
authority. Here was the evil; the evil which drove
William to become an oppressor against his will; but an

CHAP. XVII. evil which was wholly of his own creation. He had, of his own selfish ambition, attacked and subdued a people that had never wronged him. And that sin became its own fitting punishment by driving him into sins of yet deeper dye.

Good beginnings of William ; contrast with those of Cnut.

And yet the beginnings of William were as good as the beginnings of a foreign conqueror could be. If we compare William with Cnut, the contrast between the first days of each is as favourable to William as the contrast between their last days is favourable to Cnut. The Danish conqueror began his reign with banishments and executions, some of which executions seem to have taken the form of simple murders.¹ But, after the submission of Berkhamstead, William does not seem to have shed a drop of English blood. Even before the submission, he does not seem to have been guilty of any slaughter except in what in his eyes would be held to be lawful operations of war.² It is certain that the establishment of his power was not marked, like the establishment of the power of Cnut, either by assassinations or by judicial executions.³ Some amount of banishment and confiscation does seem to have taken place, but, on the whole, William, at this stage of his

picture which his panegyrist gives us of his clemency and CHAP. XVII. kindness to the vanquished¹ we must make the needful deductions. But it is plainly not without a certain ground-work of truth.

It is of the more paramount importance that the real position of William, and his real disposition at this time, should be thoroughly understood, because of the two extreme theories in opposite directions which have been maintained by the two most eloquent and popular writers on the subject. It is utterly unjust to look upon William as a mere successful adventurer, a mere chief of a hostile army encamped in a conquered country. It is utterly unjust to speak of his claim of legal right and his show of legal government as mere pretences to cover the violence of a successful brigand. On the other hand, we shall be tempted greatly to underrate the importance of the Conquest, greatly to mistake its true character, if we are led to look on it as little more than a change of dynasty. William was a foreign Conqueror, King in very truth only by the edge of the sword.² But the show of legal right by which he cloaked his real position really did a great deal to change the character of that position. His position was different from the position of a King, even of foreign birth, who succeeds to a crown by peaceful election or peaceful hereditary succession. But it was also different from the position of a mere invader, reigning by sheer military force. If we look at one picture, we may be led to think that the rights of Englishmen were as strictly regarded, that the laws

Opposite
extreme
views of
William's
position.

Its true
nature;
his con-
quest
neither
a mere
triumph
of force
nor yet
a mere
change of
dynasty.

¹ See the whole passage in William of Poitiers (146), beginning "multa Lundoniæ, posteaquam coronatus est, prudenter juste clementerque dis- posuit." To some of the particular expressions I shall have to refer again; the general description makes William exhort his followers "nimium op- primi victos nequaquam oportere, victoribus professione Christianâ pares, ne quos juste subegerint injuriis ad rebellandum cogerent."

² Cf. the words of the charter quoted in p. 8.

CHAP. XVII. of England were as strictly administered, during the reign of William as they could have been during the reign of a native King. If we look at another picture, we may be led to think that all right and law were trampled under foot, and that the rule of William was a rule of simple brigandage.

The old laws not abolished, but the spirit of their administration changed. Neither of these pictures represents the real truth of the case. The laws of England were not formally or systematically abolished ; the rights of Englishmen were not formally or systematically disregarded. What Englishmen suffered from was mainly that irregular, often undesigned, oppression which must take place when the laws of a conquered people are administered by their conquerors.

Real extent of the transfer of lands under William Another point which has been the subject of much exaggeration is the transfer of lands and offices from Englishmen to Normans and other foreigners. This has sometimes been spoken of as if William had systematically divided the lands of England among his followers, as Guthrum and Hælfdeনe had divided the lands of East-Anglia and North-humberland.¹ Or rather it is spoken of as if the lands of England had been left open to a general scramble, in which every man in the invading army took whatever his right hand could seize upon.² It is perfectly true that, in the

this transfer may undoubtedly be said to have been done CHAP. XVII. systematically. But it was not done at a blow; it was done warily, gradually, and seemingly under the cover of legal form. There was no one moment of general confiscation or general plunder.

In fact I have no doubt that William, at the time of his coronation, was thoroughly disposed to rule his new kingdom as well as he had ruled his paternal duchy. I have no doubt that he wished to do all that might be to identify himself and his dynasty with the land which he claimed to be his by lawful right. We shall find that, in order better to discharge the duties of an English King, he himself strove to learn the English language, and that his English-born son was brought up as an English *Ætheling*. But all these good intentions were thwarted by the inherent vice of his position. He could not maintain himself without the help of his Norman followers, and the presence of his Norman followers in England made it hopeless for him to try to reign in England as an English King. The example of Cnut, which so instinctively presents itself to our minds, could not fail to present itself to the mind of William himself.¹ No example could be more brilliant or more attractive. One foreign conqueror had already reigned in England as an English King, and had left behind him a name which lived in the memories of Englishmen side by side with the names of the noblest of their native princes. But the example was one that was altogether delusive. The position of William was wholly different from the position of Cnut. The difference was both personal and national. Cnut must have really been more at home in England than he was in Denmark. England was the prize of his first youthful warfare; the Crown of England was the first of the many crowns which were gathered on his brow,² and he was the son of a prince to whom

¹ See vol. ii. p. 296; iii. p. 549.

² See vol. i. p. 365.

CHAP. XVII. Englishmen had given at least an outward and ceremonial homage as their King. At his age and under his circumstances, it was not hard for Cnut really to identify himself with his conquest, and to feel as an Englishman rather than as a Dane. But William entered England at a mature age, after a reign in his own land which had been but a few years shorter than his life, at an age when his character and habits were already formed, and when, however much he may have wished, he could not make himself at home in England as Cnut had done. But the national differences were still stronger. The Danes were the pupils and proselytes of the English. They were a kindred race, speaking a kindred tongue. They could claim no superiority over the English except the superiority of military success. And even in warfare the arms and tactics of the two nations were much the same. Whenever Danes and Englishmen had met in open battle, there had been no marked or lasting superiority on either side, and the final victory of Cnut had not been owing to any lack of prowess on the part of his enemy. In every other respect, the English, with their purer faith and higher civilization, stood ready to be the masters of those who had overcome them in mere

Different positions of the Danes and the Normans in England.

native Normans, but adventurers gathered from every part of Gaul.¹ The success of William's invasion was a distinct triumph of one language, of one mode of warfare, of one social and political system, over another language, another mode of warfare, another social and political system. Under these circumstances it could not be that Normans and Englishmen should blend together under William as Danes and Englishmen had blended together under Cnute. Above all, it could not be that the Norman should, like the Dane, accept the conquered Englishman as his intellectual master. The result was that, while the rule of Cnute could daily become less Danish and more English, the rule of William was driven to become daily less English and more Norman. Cnute began with harshness; William began with mildness. But in the later days of Cnute, Danes had made way for Englishmen in all the great offices of the land, and Danes in their own land were beginning to complain of the great offices held by Englishmen in Denmark. By the end of William's reign, without any one act of general or violent expulsion, Normans had supplanted Englishmen in all the highest offices of Church and State. When William gathered his Witan to his great Gemot at Salisbury,² there was not a single English Earl, and only one English Bishop, to answer his summons. 1086.

In the end, I need not say, the conquerors and the conquered were blended together; and, when we look at the circumstances of the Conquest, we shall find that the wonder really is that they were blended together so soon as they were. But their perfect blending was not the work of a single life or of a single age. The process was doubtless hastened, silently and unwittingly, by that real kindred between Norman and Englishmen of which neither Norman nor Englishmen dreamed at the time. But it was hastened also, and hastened perhaps in an equal degree, by Effect of William's own policy.

¹ See vol. iii. p. 306.

² Chron. Petrib. 1086.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

consummate policy of William himself. Whoever in the land, Englishmen, Normans, or any other, was their master and moulded them to his will. This discerning conqueror might have made simple havoc that he found established in the land which he reigned. A man of meaner mould might have indulged mere paltry and wanton tyranny. But William neither spared one whit nor tyrannized one whit beyond what his son and his purposes demanded. He knew how to use Englishmen against Englishmen, but he knew also how to use Englishmen against Normans, and he knew how to make the whole land his own and every man in it his subject. His position as Conqueror, combined with that craft of the mind in which none could rival him, enabled him to put the seal to the work of Ecgberht, of Eadward, and of Elstan, to make England one United Kingdom, which, in his days, no man has ever dreamed of dividing.

neighbourhood of the city. And the reason is expressly given, that he waited till further strength was given to the fortress which he had already begun to rear, the germs of the future Tower. That fortress was reared to guard against and to curb the high spirit—the historian adds, the fickleness—of the citizens of the proud and populous city.¹ The acclamations, not wholly insincere, which had greeted the first appearance of the Conqueror in his new character of an English King, were already changed into murmurs of distrust. The English people—William doubtless already knew it—were only biding their time.

Still the formal investiture of William with the royal office was already beginning to do its work upon men's minds. Men who had waited to see what might be the course or the destiny of the mere invader, the mere candidate for the Crown, hastened to do their homage to the King chosen, crowned, and anointed. The Northern Earls themselves now saw that William was thoroughly determined to be King of the English in the fullest sense, and

Change of
feeling
among the
English.

Effects of
the coro-
nation;

submission
of Ead-
wine, Mor-
kere, and
others.

¹ The arrangement of William of Poitiers, who at this point is our chief authority, is always very confused. In this case he begins with the passage which I have already quoted (see above, p. 13), describing the King's conduct in London and his general designs and scheme of government, including much which could hardly have been done in a day. Presently we read (147), “Egressus e Lundoniâ, dies aliquot in propinquo loco morabatur Berdingis,” and the reason is added, “dum firmamenta quedam in urbe contra mobilitatem ingentis ac feri populi perficerentur. [On this beginning of Tower-building, see vol. iii. p. 554.] Vidit enim in primis necessarium magnopere Lundonienses coércri.” With this as his motive, William would not stay very long in London or at Westminster. But how much of the various acts and designs which William of Poitiers seems vaguely to put between the coronation and the homage at Barking really belongs to William's first stay in London, how much to the stay at Barking, how much to the progress which followed, must be largely matter for conjecture. One grant of lands recorded in Domesday (ii. 59) would seem to belong to the very first days of William's reign. Lands in Essex which had belonged to a certain Leofsuna appear as the property of Geoffrey of Mandeville, with the comment “Hoc manerium dedit Rex G. quando remansit Londonie.” One can hardly fancy that any later sojourn in London would be referred to in this marked way.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

he had no mind merely to displace the House of
Wine in the possession of Wessex and East-Anglia.
Wine and Morkere therefore now made their way to
England¹ to bow to the King whom the Primate of
ern England had already hallowed.² With them
a crowd of others of the great ones of the land who
s yet delayed their submission. They must have been
y the men of the North, the Thengs of Northumber-
and of those Mercian shires whose warriors had not
ed to Senlac. The slaughter of Harold's own fol-
s must have left comparatively few men of note to
from Wessex and East-Anglia. And those among
who, from any cause, had not been in the battle, or
having survived it, ventured to throw themselves on
am's mercy, would most likely have already made their
ission either at Berkhamstead or at Westminster.
es the two Earls, several names are mentioned, all
ich seem to be Northumbrian.³ Among them was

in Northumberland, came now to become the man of CHAP. XVII.
 William.¹ The others are described as Thurkill, Siward, Submission
 and Ealdred, of whom the last two seem to have been of Copidge
 descendants of Uhtred and great-nephews of King Ead- and other
 ward.² Eadric the Wild of Herefordshire, of whom we men of the
 shall presently hear so much, is also placed in their North;
 company; but it seems far more likely that he did not submit till a much later time.³ We know not whether it was now or later that Waltheof made his submission; but of Wal-
 it could not have been long delayed, as he soon afterwards theof.
 accompanied William in his voyage to Normandy.⁴ Of Oswulf we do not hear till afterwards.⁵ But there can be little doubt that, between Berkhamstead, Westminster, and Barking, all the surviving Earls, Prelates, and chief Thegns of England had become the men of the Conqueror. They craved—so the Norman writers tell us—William's pardon for anything that they had done, or even thought, against him, and threw themselves and all that they possessed on his mercy.⁶ He received them graciously;

¹ Will. Pict. 148. "In his erat Comes Coxo;" but he clearly was not in possession of an Earldom at this moment.

² Ord. Vit. 506 B. "Siwardus et Aldredus, filii Edelgari pronepotis Regia." To answer this description, they must have been descendants of Uhtred by his third wife Ælfgifu, the half-sister of Eadward (see vol. i. p. 327); but I cannot trace them in either of the genealogies given by Simeon, X Scriptt. 80, 204 (pp. 155, 91 of the Surtees edition by Mr. Hinde, which I shall quote for the future). But all three names are found plentifully in Domesday. I know not whether this Ealdred is the same as either or both of the Ealdreds who appear in 149 b as "homo Morcari Comitis" and in 139 as "Teignus R. E." Siward is doubtless the Siward Barn of whom we shall often hear, and most likely the same as "Siwardus qui sub Eduardo rege tribunus Merciorum fuit" (Ord. Vit. 703 A).

³ On Eadric, see Appendix E.

⁴ In fact we hear nothing distinctly of Waltheof at all till the voyage to Normandy. His appointment to his Earldom is matter of inference (see vol. ii. p. 494); his presence or absence at Senlac is nowhere distinctly affirmed or implied (see vol. iii. p. 416).

⁵ See Simeon, 91.

⁶ Will. Pict. 148. "Deprecantur veniam si quā in re contra eum sen- serant, tradunt se cunctaque sua ejus clementiae."

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

cepted their oaths of homage; he granted them their afresh, and held them in high honour.¹ At the same according to inveterate practice, he required hostages heir good faith, and the royal favour was not won, ps the royal presence was not entered, without a gift.² is account of the surrender and regrant of the lands of ishmen who submitted to William is worthy of special tion. If it stood by itself, it might be taken as y meaning that commendation of the man and his to the new lord which is implied in the act of homage. considering the circumstances under which that new had made his entry, it may well have been thought ent to have every such act confirmed as solemnly as t be under the King's writ and seal. But when we in the other evidence of different kinds, we shall per be inclined to see in these almost casual words of the han panegyrist a deeper import even than this. The confiscation of lands which is such a marked charac

possession of his kingdom, not with the welcome which CHAP. XVII.
was his due, but with an obstinate resistance in arms. Many Englishmen had fought against him; no Englishman, except an exile or two in his own train, had fought for him. Here was active treason in a large part of the nation, and at least passive complicity with treason in the remainder. The rights of the case, according to William's All the
reading of the law, were plain. According to its strict letter the lands of all such undutiful subjects were forfeited. ^{land of England} William would have been justified in seizing all the soil of England—save of course the lands of ecclesiastical corporations—for himself. But mercy and policy alike forbade such a course. Some favour was due to those who had not actually drawn the sword against the lawful heir; some perhaps was even due to those survivors of the fight on Senlac or the skirmish at Southwark who had atoned for their fault by a speedy submission. And besides this, the lands of most of those who had fought against him lay at his mercy, while the lands of many of those who now came in to give their submission could not be reached without another campaign. William could at once seize on the lands of any Kentish or South-Saxon thegn or churl who had either died beneath the Standard or had lived to deal a blow in the *Malfosse*.¹ But the more part of the lands of Eadwine and Morkere and Waltheof and Copsige lay in regions to which William's arm had not yet reached, and to which, if he insisted on such an extreme stretch of severity, it never might reach. His course then was his usual one; he was debonair to those who submitted, and stark beyond measure to those who withheld him.² A less charitable way of putting it might be that he was debonair to those whom it might be dangerous further to provoke, and stark beyond measure to those who were already in his power. But in warring with these last he

¹ See vol. iii. p. 502.

² See vol. ii. p. 167; iii. p. 536.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

a great measure warring with the dead. The evidence that we have leads us to believe that the whole of the lands of those men, dead or living, who had fought at Hastings was at once dealt with as land forfeited to the King. William thus had the means wherewithal at once to enrich himself and to reward his followers. That the royal power passed into his hands was the natural and legal consequence of his admission to the royal office. And now the stroke was put to a change which had been gradually ripening for some generations. The *folkland*, the common land of the nation, was now changed, fully and for ever, into *Terra Regis*, the land of the King.¹ But besides what remained as *folkland*, this great confiscation at once put into William's hands the greater part—all that lay within the boundaries which he already occupied—of the vast estates of Godwin and his brothers, and of the great mass of the lands, great and small, of southern and south-eastern England. It is not necessary to suppose that every rood

payment to the new King. In some cases we distinctly CHAP. XVII.
read of men having their lands granted back to them, or Cases of
of their buying them of King William for money. And regrant
yet we shall see that this process did not always secure
them against the necessity of having, in Old-English
phrase, to "seek a lord" as a defender against illegal spo-
liation.

But this last-mentioned expression, of men buying their lands of the King, is most important, and is of much wider import than might seem at first sight. One of our national Chroniclers distinctly extends the phrase to all who did homage to William at or soon after his coronation.¹ And an entry in Domesday, which seems never to have received the attention which it deserves, distinctly speaks of a time when the English, as a body, redeemed their lands.² No General re-
date is given in the Survey to this event; but the two statements, taken together, can leave hardly any doubt that both refer to the same act, and that the general redemption took place at the point of time which we have now reached, at the very beginning of William's reign. And by the help of another incidental notice in Domesday, we may recover the names of the Commissioners whom William employed in this somewhat delicate matter. They seem to show that William tried to give as little offence as might be to his new subjects in the course of a transaction which must have deeply grated on their feelings. He was represented by men, all of whom either were English by birth, or might, after long settlement in the land, be supposed to share in some measure the feelings of Englishmen.³

General re-
demption of lands
by the
English.

The three
Commissioners;
Bishop
William,
Ralph, and
Engelric.

¹ Chron. Petrib. 1066. "And menn guldon him gyld and gislas sealdon, and syððan heora land bohtan."

² This most important entry (Domesday, ii. 360) is quite incidental. Of some of the lands of Saint Eadmundsbury we read, "Hanc terram habet Abbas in vadimonio pro xi. marci auri, concessu Engelrici, quando redi-
mebant Angli terras suas."

³ I get their names from a passage in Domesday (ii. 367 b), which I shall

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

First was William, the Norman Bishop of London, the reigning prelate who had been allowed to return to his see after the great expulsion of strangers on the return of King Edward.¹ The others were Ralph the Staller, an old courtier of Eadward and a man who was at least born in England,² and Engelric, a man seemingly of English birth, whose name is constantly found in the Survey of the Hundred Shires.³ That these men all came from the same parts of England is not wonderful. Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk were precisely the parts of England which had fallen into William's hands without effort or resistance. The first English officials therefore came from those districts.

And we may remark the skill shown in the choice of men who were at once likely to be faithful to himself, and not likely to give special offence to the conquered.

The theory of this memorable transaction was, as I have already said, that the whole soil of England with the

lands as a free gift; others, as we have seen, had to buy them back in the strictest sense of those words. Some received the whole, others a part; in some cases we are told that Englishmen received fresh grants beyond what they had inherited or received from earlier lords.¹ But, amidst all this variety, it would seem that in every case of a lay estate the land was received as a fresh grant, which needed the writ and seal of King William as its witness. The date of legal memory went back only to the day when the forfeited land of England was redeemed of the reigning sovereign. In the case of ecclesiastical bodies, as not being liable to forfeiture, the rule was of course less stringent. In their case the writ and seal of King Eadward was of equal strength with the writ and seal of King William, and the grants even of earlier Kings could be put in as evidence. But it is plain that all acts done by the authority of the usurper Harold were held to be null and void.

We must not forget that, with regard to perhaps the greater part of these grants, William was granting away that of which he had no kind of actual possession. When he was restoring the lands of Eadwine and Morkere and Copsige, he was restoring lands most of which were quite beyond his grasp. No soldier of William's army had as yet set foot in Northumberland or Northern Mercia. But the policy of the transaction on both sides is plain. The Northern Earls had found that there was no chance of William being satisfied with half a kingdom; they knew

sicht auf die gesetzlich eingetretene Verwirkung das volle Eigenthumsrecht entzog und sie nur eines von ihm wie aus Gnade verliehenen Besitzes geniessen liess: ein Zustand, bei dem es fortwährend in seinem Willen stand, ob derselbe bleiben und auch auf die Erben übergehen sollte, dies wenigstens von der Bewahrung der Treue abhängig war, und der deßhalb als ein Mittel betrachtet werden konnte, wie der Geschichtsschreiber es andeutet, um das widerstrebende Volk in Abhängigkeit zu halten."

¹ Will. Pict. 148. "Eiusdem liberalitatis dono acceperant Angli complures quod a parentibus vel prioribus dominis non acceperunt."

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

s time that he had made up his mind to be master of
hole land. If they did not submit, they would have
t; and they thought it wiser to submit on favourable
rather than to run the risk of a struggle which
end in their utter destruction. To William, on the
hand, it was clearly a gain to receive even a nominal
ssion. It quite fell in with his whole policy of words
ames and legal fictions to grant away lands of which
d never had a moment's possession. It was a bold
to change, without stirring from London or Barking,
Earls of the Northumbrians and the Mercians into his
eutenants, and their lands into fiefs held by his grant.
ormal submission might possibly prove to be a real
And, if it did not, if Northumberland had after all to
conquered by force, the submission of its Earls, Prelates,
ief Thegns would put altogether a different colour
conquest. If William had still to go forth on a
rn campaign he would now be going forth to

simply left as it was before; the old rulers, the old land-owners, were undisturbed; it does not seem that a single castle was built to keep Northumberland and Northern Mercia in check, or that a single soldier was sent to occupy or to spy out the land. All was trusted to the loyalty of William's new made vassals. Neither the House of Leofric, nor the House of the old Northumbrian Earls, seemed to have lost anything by the revolution which had enthroned a Norman instead of a West-Saxon in Winchester and London.

Thus far did the Conqueror show himself mild and debonair to those parts of England which had not acted openly against him and which were as yet beyond his immediate grasp. Towards the districts which lay at his mercy, the districts whose men had followed Harold and his brothers, he began, if not to show himself beyond measure stark, at least to show that the forfeiture of the lands of the rebels was not to remain a dead letter. To the city of London he had, perhaps before he left Westminster for Barking, already granted a charter in the English tongue, that venerable parchment which may still be seen in the city archives with the cross traced by the Conqueror's own hand.¹ By that charter he confirmed to the city all its rights, possessions, and customs, as freely as they had been held in the days of his predecessor. Wanton innovation, needless disturbance of the regular order of things which he found established, formed no part

dealings
with
Southern
and
Eastern
England.

His charter
to London.

¹ The original is given by Riley, Lib. Cust. ii. part ii. p. 504; Stubbs, Select Charters, 79. "Willelm kyng gret Willelm biscoop and Gosfregð portirefan and calle þe burhwaru binnan Londone, Frencisce and Englisse, freondlice. And ic kyðe eow þat ic wille þest get beon callra þeara laga weorðe þe gyt waoran on Eadwerdeas dæge kyngeas. And ic wille þest alc cyld beo his fader yrfinume aferter his fader dæge. And ic nelle gebolian þest senig man eow anig wrang beode. God eow gehealde." One or two words here look a little suspicious, but this copy, if not absolutely the original, is at any rate much older than the versions given by Mr. Riley, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 246, 247.

CHAP. XVII. of William's policy. But this very charter shows us a stranger, Godfrey by name, holding the office of Portreeve in London. His English predecessors, Leofstan and *Ælfssige*,¹ had perhaps died in the battle, and William had taken care thus early to give them a successor of his own nation. And we must not forget that, while the charter of their rights was being granted to the citizens, the fortress of the Conqueror was rising above their heads.

William's strict police and military discipline. We can well believe that William did his best to shield his new subjects from the insolence of his foreign followers. The strict police of his reign began already; robbers, murderers, intruders on lands not legally granted, the spoilers of the traveller and the merchant, were kept in check, seemingly without regard to their rank or nation.² The leaders of the host were exhorted to gentleness and moderation; the inferior officers and common soldiers were kept in order by stringent proclamations.³ William's military code not only forbade slaughter, plunder, and rape, but dealt with all breaches of chastity and temperance as military offences.⁴ Courts martial were commissioned

¹ A writ of Eadward is addressed to them in Cod. Dipl. iv. 214.

² See the Provisions of the Exchequer, 1087, in *W. & J. B. L.* i. 102.

to visit all evil doers of every kind with severe punishment, CHAP. XVII.
and to show no favour to the native Normans above the auxiliaries from other parts of Gaul.¹ All these statements of the panegyrist we can, with the necessary deductions, fully believe. William, we need not doubt, honestly did his best to keep peace in his kingdom and discipline in his army. It was the more needful to do so while the work of legal spoliation was going on. The King now set forth on William's progress and occupation of the forfeited lands. a progress, the object of which, there can be little doubt, was to visit and take possession of the forfeited lands.² In the course of that progress he came across no opposition; not a road was shut against him; not a man met him in arms. He was met only by suppliants, who craved and obtained his mercy, a mercy shown specially to those of low degree.³ Mothers came forth with their children to work, and not unsuccessfully, on his pity.⁴ This too we Its real nature. need not doubt, at least in the sense which the great Survey enables us to put upon it. Many a man once rich and powerful doubtless met William at some stage of his progress, and won from his mercy, perhaps under the name of alms, some fragment of his old possessions which would at least keep him from want or servile work. Now too it doubtless was that the crowd of smaller landowners, thegns of the lowest rank or churls of the highest, whom we find keeping their lands in the southern shires, came and begged the mercy of the new King, and were by his mercy deemed too insignificant to be disturbed. And we can

Cases of Englishmen retaining their lands.

¹ Will. Pict. 147. "Judices qui vulgo militum essent timori constituti sunt; simul acerbæ poena in eos qui delinquerent decretæ sunt; neque liberius Normanni quam Britanni vel Aquitani agere permittebantur."

² Ib. 148. "Inde progrediens diversas partes regni accessit, ordinando ubique *utilia sibi et incolis terræ.*"

³ Ib. "Iter nullum obstruitur, occurrunt passim obsequentes aut explicantes. Omnes ille clementibus oculis resperxit, clementissimis plebem."

⁴ Ib. "Sæpe vultu miserantem animum prodidit, jussit multotiens misericordiam, quum supplices conspiceret aut egenos, matres animadverteret voce et gestibus precari cum liberis."

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

understand the picture of William's clemency to uppliant widows and orphans, when we turn to entries in the great Survey which set before us the names of men of all but the highest rank glad to find a small part of the forfeited wealth of their husbands and sons thrown back to them, perhaps burthened with ignominious tenure, by the contemptuous pity of their conqueror.

We shall perhaps better understand the process which went on through a large part of England, if we fix our attention more minutely on the fate of some particular individuals, families, and districts about which we are able to get an unusual amount of detailed information. Such a small region is supplied to us by a district of which we take Berkshire as the centre, but which also takes in parts of most of the neighbouring shires. This district is one in which the Commissioners employed on William's

affairs. He appears on terms of friendship with the chief men of the district and, if not himself a benefactor to the great local abbey, yet as one who was ready to protect its rights and to forward its interests.¹ The local officer Godric the second in rank, the Sheriff Godric, is one of the chosen few whom we know by name as having given their lives for England in the great battle.² And it is plain that the glorious end of the local chief had been largely shared by the men of his shire. An incidental phrase in the local history shows that for a man to have been a Thegn implied, almost as a matter of course, that he had died at Senlac.³ Long after William's accession, the tenants of the abbey are mentioned as being specially zealous in every form of revolt and resistance against the foreign government.⁴ It is not wonderful then if the hand of William lay heavy on both the ecclesiastical and the temporal landowners of so stout-hearted a district. The vague laments of the local history⁵ are fully borne out by the detailed evidence of the Survey. There are not many parts of England in which the confiscation seems to have been more sweeping; none perhaps of the shires which formed William's first conquest, except the two where he first set foot, and where his hand fell heaviest of all, the old Kentish and South-Saxon lands. There, as

¹ See vol. ii. p. 41; and cf. vol. iii. p. 67.

² See vol. iii. pp. 428, 743.

³ Hist. Mon. Ab. ii. 3. "Quae possessiones [the estates held by the tenants of the abbey] ab eis habite fuerant, quos tahinos dicunt, et in bello Hastingis occubuerant."

⁴ Ib. i. 486, 493, speaking of a much later time; "Sed et homines abbatis Abbendenensis, dum regis parti favere Willelmi debuerant, animo et consitu mutati, armati, quo hostes regis ipsius consistere acceperant, gressum contenderunt." The writer's position should be noticed; he admires Harold and Godric, but he holds that submission was due to King William.

⁵ Ib. "Nullius sacrorum liminum prospectus reverentia, nulla fratribus desolatorum compassio. Extra per villas posthabito cujuslibet respectu, paucim impensa vastatio."

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

as in some other shires which were conquered later, not
single Englishman was allowed to keep his lands on
old tenure, and only two English tenants-in-chief
survived in the Survey. The confiscation in Berkshire was
so extensive as in these extreme cases, but among
more typical shires, where English tenancy-in-chief
was not wholly forbidden, there are few where the number
of Englishmen who kept their estates seems to have been
smaller. Still, here as elsewhere, we find some instances
of Englishmen who knew how to make their peace with
the Conqueror, and we find the case of one man of high
rank who rose to a special place in his favour.

The lands held by Harold and his family in Berkshire
were not very great; still Harold himself, his mother
Gytha, his sister Eadgyth, his brothers Tostig, Gyrth, and
Leofwine, plus Leofwine, are all found as landowners in the
¹ The lands of the Lady of course remained un-
till her death; those of Tostig—of no great extent²

ticular district, is awakened by the fate of the Sheriff CHAP. XVII. Godric and his family. His name is so common that it is Lands of not always easy to distinguish his lands from those of less famous Godrics, but it is plain that his estates were large, both in his own shire and beyond its bounds, and that they were held by various tenures. Some of his lordships were held of the Crown, one at least by a grant from Eadward himself;¹ others, as we have seen, were held of the church of Abingdon, a happy accident to which we owe our better knowledge of the man and his deeds. But he also held other lands by virtue of his office as Sheriff, an office which he seems also to have filled in Buckinghamshire as well as in Berkshire. And with regard to these various possessions, the Survey has happily preserved a number of incidental details, which throw light on the manners of the time, and which, like all details of the kind, help us better to understand the men and the age with which we are dealing. Two hides of land in Buckinghamshire were held in absolute property by a maiden whose English name appears in so corrupt a form that it can only be guessed at. But besides this, she occupied half a hide of royal domain, which was granted to her by Godric the Sheriff for the term of his sheriffdom, as her fee for teaching his daughter the special art of Englishwomen of those days, the art of embroidery in gold.²

¹ On the lands of Godric and all points connected with them, see Appendix B.

² Domesday, 149. "De his tenuit Aluuid puella ii. hidas quas potuit dare et vendere cui voluit, et de dominica firma Regis E. habuit ipsa dimidiam hidam, quam Godricus Vicecomes ei concessit quamdui Vicecomes esset, ut illa doceret filiam ejus aurifrisium operari." What does "Aluuid" stand for? Ealhswith, Ealdgyth, or what? Of the English embroidery we have an earlier mention in the history of the cope which Archbishop Æthelnoth gave to the Archbishop of Beneventum (see Eadmer, Hist. Nov. ii. 416), and the hostile William of Poitiers (155) adds his testimony; "Anglice nationis opera feminæ multum acu et auri texturæ egregie viri in omni valent artificio. Ad hoc incolere apud eos Germani solebant talium

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

gift would, even in peaceful times, have reverted to Crown at the death of Godric, but the freehold of the fishwoman had equally passed away before the time of Survey.¹ In another entry we find mention of a part of the royal domain in Berkshire which was used for the feeding of the Sheriff's horses.² How far either of these entries of the royal property was strictly legal, it might be hard to say; at any rate they illustrate the liberties which officers of every rank were in the habit of taking, whether by received custom or not, with the property of their masters. Other entries seem distinctly to charge the King with wrongful occupation of the King's land.³ The lands of Godric himself were confiscated, and were granted out to a follower of William named Henry of Luttrell. This man, whose descendants held the Earldoms of Derby and Nottingham, was the son of Walkelin of Luttrell, one of the disturbers of the peace of Normandy in 1066.

¹ *See* *the* *first* *entry* *in* *the* *Survey* *of* *Berkshire*.

² *See* *the* *entry* *for* *the* *King's* *horses*.

³ *See* *the* *entry* *for* *the* *King's* *land*.

King's dogs. Even of this she was in the end defrauded ; even this small fragment of former wealth came into the hands of the rapacious stranger.¹

The process of confiscation is well worth studying. Almost every detail illustrates the way in which, in William's policy, wrong contrived to assume the mask of right, and how the plunder of the Conquest was gathered in with all the forms of a legal process. The process was strikingly like that which went on at the Dissolution of monasteries. The lands of Godric were granted to Henry of Ferrers, just as the lands of a dissolved monastery were granted to Seymour, Dudley, or Cranmer. In either case the new owner stepped into the exact place of the old one. He had a right to all to which the former owner had a right, and to nothing more. He had a claim to all his advantages, and he was bound by all his burthens. Godric became, in the technical sense of the Conquest, the ancestor² of Henry of Ferrers, and Henry might claim all that had lawfully been Godric's and nothing more. But it is not wonderful if an intruding soldier did not always bind himself by the strict letter of the law. Some of Godric's possessions ought to have reverted to the Crown, others to the Abbey of Abingdon. Henry of Ferrers seized all, to the damage of Crown and abbey alike. The Survey fairly records the wrong in both cases, as it also records other wrongs either done to the King or done in the King's name to others. Thus we find that the Sheriff Froger, seemingly the Norman successor of Godric, in at least two cases converted to the use of the Crown the lands

¹ Domesday, 57 b. "Henricus tenet ibi i. hidam, quæ fuerat in firmâ Regis. Godricus tenuit. Aluricus de Taceham dicit se vidisse brevem Regis quod eam dederit feminæ Godrici in dono, eo quod nutriebat canes suos. Sed nemo est in hundredâ qui brevem viderit praeter Aluricum."

² "Antecessor" is the regular technical term in Domesday, of which "ancestor," though now used only in the sense of "forefather," is simply a contraction. See the Epistles of Lanfranc, i. 32, ed. Giles.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

glishmen which had not been regularly confiscated.¹ Historian of the Abbey is naturally most eloquent on wrongs of his own house, but, except the loss of the held of the Church by Godric and Thurkill,² those belong chiefly to the times of disturbance and mission somewhat later, and not to the acts of William's progress.

looking over the names of smaller owners in Berk- we are struck, as I have already said, by the almost rsal extent of the confiscation. The number of lands of the middle class, answering to our smaller gentry richer yeomanry, must in King Eadward's days have very large. Lordship after lordship had been held by brothers, by two or by three Thegns, by one or two ee freemen,³ the heritage of many such being swept mass into the hands of some insatiable stranger.

¹ The unjust doings of Froger appear in Domesday, 57, 58. The Abingdon

Among those to whose grasp the lands and homes of CHAP. XVII.
Englishmen were thus handed over we come across many Normans settled in
names familiar to us in our Norman history, to some of Berkshirē.
whom we should not grudge any amount of wealth and
honour in their own land. The men whose exploits we
could follow with delight below the steep of Arques or
among the burning streets of Mortemer now meet us again
in a less pleasing form as intruders in the shire which gave
birth to *Ælfred*. William of Eu,¹ Ralph of Toesny,² and
Ralph of Mortemer,³ now had their reward in the spoils of
the conquered land. With them we find the aged Walter
Giffard, who had refused to bear the standard at Senlac,⁴
and Toustain the son of Rolf, in whose hands the sacred
banner had been so truly guarded.⁵ Other lands fell to the
lot of kinsmen of the Conqueror himself, to his brother
Robert of Mortain⁶ and to his cousin Richard of Evreux.⁷
Here we see the lands which Eudo of Rye, Eudo of Col-
chester, the son of the faithful Hubert, received as the
reward of his own and his father's loyalty.⁸ Here we light
on the names of Miles Crispin, of the house of the defenders
of Tillières,⁹ and of Hugh of Avranches, more famous in
another quarter of England as the first Count Palatine of
Chester.¹⁰ The foreign allies and mercenaries of the host Lands
are represented by the names of Gilbert of Ghent¹¹ and ^{granted to} Flemish

¹ See Domesday, 61, and for his fate Ord. Vit. 704 C. He was the son of Count Robert. See vol. iii. p. 117.

² See Domesday, 62 b. Vol. iii. pp. 288, 465.

³ Ib. 62 b.

⁴ Ib. 60. Vol. iii. pp. 129, 153, 465.

⁵ Ib. 63. Vol. iii. p. 464.

⁶ Robert of Mortain (60), wonderful to say, held only one lordship in Berkshirē, and that was held of him by the abbey of Preaux, the foundation of Humfrey de Vetusis. See Neustria Pia, p. 520.

⁷ See Domesday, 60. Vol. ii. p. 207.

⁸ Ib. 61 b. Vol. ii. p. 246.

⁹ Ib. 61 b. Vol. ii. p. 201.

¹⁰ Ib. 60. Vol. ii. pp. 205, 288.

¹¹ Ib. 62. Vol. iii. p. 313.

CHAP. XVII. Arnulf of Hesdin.¹ Nor was the Norman Church likely followers of to be forgotten in the division of the plunder. An Englishman named Eadward and two nameless allodial holders were dispossessed in favour of the great house of Saint Peter on the Dive.² And that Norman abbey which soon began to rise on English ground as a monument of English overthrow came in for the spoils alike of the spirituality and of the temporality of England. It might in William's view be fitting that a lordship which had passed from a nameless Thegen to Earl Harold should pass from him to Saint Martin of the Place of Battle;³ but we may ask, even on William's own principles, why a monk from Marmoutiers should enjoy the spoils of a church and eight hides of land which had been held in King Eadward's days by the English Abbess Leofgifu.⁴ And among gifts to ecclesiastical bodies we also see gifts to at least two churchmen in their personal character. One is no less a person of Bishop Geoffrey of Mowbray, the famous Bishop of Coutances, Coutances. he who had exhorted the Norman host on the night before the battle, and had asked their assent to the crowning of their Duke within the walls of the West Minster.⁵

Lands
granted to
Norman
Churches
and
Church-
men,
and to
Battle
Abbey.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

and small, stepped each man into the place of one or Englishmen who became his legal *ancestors*. As in use of the confiscated lands of Godrie and Thurkill, as sometimes arose as to the exact extent of the *or's* property, and therefore as to the exact rights of the Norman successor. Questions of this kind, decided they were by the common witness of the shire, are truly characteristic of that system of spoliation cloaked in legal forms and legal language which distinguished William's policy throughout.

It is not to be supposed that all these sweeping changes took place at once. But they doubtless began with William's first progress, at all events in the cases of men who, like Thurkill and Godrie, had actually died in arms against him. But in the end, small indeed was the remnant, in Berkshire at least, which any Englishman was able to keep for himself. In many other shires we find a large class of King's Thengs bearing English

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

ef to the rank of *mesne* tenants. These commendations doubtless not take place during the first stage of m's confiscations and renewed grants. Men would to find them needful when oppression on the part of rangers and discontent on the part of the natives had to take the shape of open violence on both sides. doubtless it was that a nameless Englishman, who, in Eadward's days, "could go where he would," that is, ould commend himself to what lord he pleased or to d at all, commended himself for the sake of safety Bishop of the diocese, the Lotharingian Hermann. Hermann's days his son Thored, whose name wit to the Danish descent of the family, renewed the endation to Hermann's Norman successor Osmund.¹ a case doubtless did not stand alone; indeed we ne remarkable instance expressly recorded in the f a man of much higher rank. Azor, the sewer or of King Eadward, held, among various estates in

stronger, he had at once defrauded the King of his rights CHAP. XVII.
as Azor's immediate lord, and had further wronged Azor
himself by reducing him to a lower rank in the territorial
scale.¹

This mention of Robert of Oily leads us at once to the Case of Wiggod of most remarkable instance in this district of an Englishman Wallingford of rank keeping his lands under William. Besides Godric and Thurkill and the members of the house of Godwine, there are not many English names in the Berkshire Survey to which we can attach a personal idea. The two Stallers, Bondig and Eadnoth, both held lands in the shire. One certainly, the other possibly,² passed into William's service, yet at the time of the Survey the lands of both of them were distributed among foreign holders. Of the fate of Bondig we know nothing for certain; but it is strange that the lands of Eadnoth, who died fighting in William's cause, were not allowed to pass to his son.³ A third Englishman of rank in the district knew better than all how to adapt himself to the new state of things. Wiggod His favour with William, the kinsman and cupbearer of Eadward,⁴ had, as we have seen, made his submission when William Probabilty of his receiving William on his first march. appeared in Berkshire before his coronation. His services at that time were rewarded with William's special and lasting favour. He still kept so much influence under the new powers December, 1066. that Englishmen of smaller account found it expedient to seek his protection by commendation. He died before the time of the Survey, but his lands, and much more than his lands, had passed to his Norman sons-in-law, Robert of Oily and Miles Crispin, otherwise Miles of Wallingford. Robert of Oily his son-in-law.

¹ See Appendix C.

² That is, if we can believe in the Westminster writ in the Monasticon, i. 310, where "Willem King gret Bundi stallere and Sawold sirenfen and alle mine thegnes on Oxnefordeire freondlice." For the lands of Bondig in Berkshire, see Domesday, 60 b, 72 b.

³ On Eadnoth, see Domesday, 58 b, and Appendix N.

⁴ See vol. iii. p. 543. On Wiggod and Roger of Oily, see Appendix C.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

was of course the most honourable way which William could find of providing for his favourites. An English girl, the widow or daughter of a landowner who had died in the battle or had made timely submission to him, was given in marriage to some foreign adventurer, thus, either at once or on the death of his father-in-law, settled in an English estate without any formal wrong or confiscation. So now Robert of Oily and his sworn brother in arms, Roger of Ivry,¹ came, like other men, to their fortunes, and received establishments in the shires of Wessex and Mercia. The destiny of Robert, owing doubtless to his marriage with Wiggod's daughter Ealdgyth, was the more brilliant of the two. His possessions in Oxford and Oxfordshire were large, and six years after William came into England, he reared, to over the wasted and impoverished town, the fortress which plays such a part in the wars of the next age.² As in the mound of earlier days, the work most likely of

may thus believe that, in a strange and indirect way, some CHAP. XVII. fragments of the lands and honours of England abode in the hands of men who, by the spindle side at least, were English. Some portions too of English soil were still held by men whose descent from the ancient stock was yet more direct than the descent of the sons of Norman fathers and English mothers. The merits of Wiggod pleaded for Wiggod's son Tokig his kinsfolk, and one at least of them deserved at William's son Tokig and his hands the highest rewards of faithful and really honourable nephews.¹ service. We shall see a son of Wiggod, Tokig by name, die fighting at William's side against his rebellious son.¹ His name therefore finds no place in the Survey, and his inheritance doubtless went to swell the wealth of his sisters' husbands. But two nephews of Wiggod are found in Domesday,² and one of them appears in close and significant neighbourhood with Guy of Oily, doubtless a kinsman of Robert. As for the younger Robert and his wife, their Robert of Oily the younger founds Oseney Priory. names live in local history as the founders of that great abbey of Oseney which was for a moment the cathedral church of the bishoprick whose throne is now hidden in the elder minster of Saint Fritheswyth.

Such is the witness of a single district to that process of confiscation and distribution of land which was now carried on through a large part of southern and eastern England. We are inclined to wonder at first sight that such wholesale robbery could be endured for a moment, that every inch of ground was not disputed in arms, that every hedge was not defended as a palisade, that every field did not become a local and unrecorded Place of Battle. Several causes may help to explain the fact. Some of them are obvious enough. The English were for the moment thoroughly cowed. Their moral force was utterly broken, and in a large part of the country their physical force was utterly

¹ See Appendix C, and Chron. Wig. 1079.

² See Appendix C.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

also. They had no leader, and in many districts, Eadmund or Harold have come again, he could have red round him but a slender following. The land had yet recovered from the mere carnage of the battle.

like Kent and Berkshire, whose men had been foremost at Senlac, were, for that very reason, less able than shires to offer resistance after Senlac. If Wiggod had the heart to defend the bridge or the dykes at Wallingford to stand a siege within the walls of Oxford, he could longer have summoned to his banner the Thegns and earls who had gone forth to the war with Godric and Will. We may well forgive the surviving elders of that town or district if their feeling at the approach of the Conqueror was, "Behold, two Kings stood not before us; and how shall we stand?" And we must not forget now, on William's second appearance in the shires beyond the Thames, William was the King. Resistance

This, we may be sure, is strictly true in the sense in CHAP. XVII. which it is meant. William, beyond all doubt, no less than Henry the Eighth, did everything in strictly legal form. We see that irregular seizures of land did take place, at least in after times. But we also see that, whether the injured party was the King himself, or a foreign settler, or a native Englishman, the wrong is, in every case alike, recorded in the Survey as a wrong. We may be sure that no such illegal occupations were made by William's knowledge during his first progress, however soon they may have begun when his back was turned and when Odo and William Fitz-Osbern reigned in his stead. And there is no need to think that all the land, even in the southern shires, which the Survey shows to have passed from Englishmen to foreigners passed from them during the first months of William's reign. The actual confiscation and redistribution done gradually. The confiscation began now as the punishment of the great treason done on Senlac, but it went on from time to time as excuses were given for it by the various local risings and disturbances of later years. William no doubt at once seized the lands of Harold and his family, of Godric, Thirkill, and others whose estates were large, and who had been foremost in what he called rebellion. But many a man who appears in Domesday as holding under King Eadward, but whose lands had passed to another at the time of the Survey, must have had them granted back again by William in his first days and must have lost them on account of his share in some later insurrection. And it must be remembered that, in taking Berkshire as my type, I have purposely taken a strong case, and that there were other shires in which the proportion of land which was kept by Englishmen was much greater. But, in any case, whatever was done was done in a regular and legal way. And this must have done something to raise men's spirits again, and to lead them to put some kind of trust in the

Mere violent seizures not encouraged by William.

Effects of the outward conformity to Law.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

government. It was plain that, though the rule of King William was likely to be stern and exacting, yet it was not likely to be, at any rate by King William's own hand, a rule of mere lawless violence. At all events, not a drop of blood was shed, and that was something, when men looked back to the beginning of the days of Cnute. A vast amount of land was seized, but it was seized in all legal form; a large portion was granted out to foreign landholders, but that too was granted out in all legal form. For the most part, the Englishman who got back his land under King William's writ and seal, even if he had to pay a mark or two of gold for the favour, most likely went back to his home rejoicing. He had been in the mouth of the lion, and he had come forth unhurt. His good success with those who might have harried his lands with fire and sword, or who might have doomed himself to death or bondage, must have made him, at least in these earlier days of William's reign, a man of considerable influence.

individuals to each other, it would be a thing unheard of CHAP. XVII. in England, or in any other civilized country, for the lands of a private owner or of an ecclesiastical corporation to be seized without process of law by the steward of a neighbouring Duke or Earl. Now on all these points the circumstances and the feelings of the men of the eleventh century were wholly different from our own. Confiscation, a word which is so frightful a bugbear to most modern ears,¹ was nothing strange or monstrous to them. The name Confisca-
tion an
usual
punish-
ment,
and the
result of a
political
revolution.

Confiscation was the common punishment for all manner of crimes, moral as well as political; it was the doom of the adulterer no less than the doom of the traitor.² Every revolution in the state, even every change answering to what we should call a change of ministry, was accompanied, not indeed, as in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, by the slaughter of the defeated party, but almost always by their banishment and forfeiture. All the lands of the House of Godwine which William now seized on had been already seized and restored in the days of Eadward. Even women of the highest rank were no more secure than other folk. Eadgyth, who now sat at Winchester in queenly wealth and honour, had, in the days

Case of
Godwine.
Cases of
Emma and
Eadgyth.

¹ "Confiscation" of course strictly means forfeiture to the royal treasury, whether such forfeiture be just or unjust. In modern language the word always seems to be used in an odious sense, and it is even vulgarly used as a mere equivalent for robbery.

² See vol. i. p. 311. Compare the entry in Domesday (!) among the customs of Dover and Kent; "De adulterio per totum Chent habet Rex hominem et Archiepiscopus mulierem." So Cod. Dipl. iii. 145, in a deed of Edgar, where a certain *Ælfred* loses lands held of the see of Winchester for adultery; "Is equidem insipiens, adulterans, stuprum, propriam religiose pactatam abominans, scortum diligens, libidinose commisit. Quo reatu omni substantia peculiali recte privatus est." The whole story is curious. So in Eadmer, Hist. Nov. 95, it is ordered that priests' wives or concubines "traderentur episopis cum rebus suis, velut adulteræ." For a judgement the other way, see Waitz, iv. 347.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

own husband, been driven thence despoiled of her and goods. Her predecessor Emma had twice under-
the same doom, once at the hands of an enemy and
at the hands of a son. As for irregular and illegal
appropriations of land, made more commonly, it would seem,
by agents of powerful men than by the powerful men
themselves, we have abundant instances of such deeds of
usurpation, alike in the days of Eadward and in the days of
William. Men no doubt complained of such wrongs, and
sought redress at the hands of the law; but their complaints
were often made in vain, and the law was not always strong
enough to punish the wrongdoer. In all these ways men
become accustomed to see land transferred from one
man to another in arbitrary, and often illegal, ways.
After so great a revolution as that which had set William
on the throne, a confiscation on a great scale was in
itself a thing naturally to be looked for. It might be
looked forward to with dread; it might be looked back

had shown himself so poor a defender of the walls of Exeter.¹ Old men might remember those later days when Danish Earls and Danish Thegns were established in England, and when English nobles and even English Æthelings died by the hands either of the hangman or of the assassin.² With such memories as these in their minds, they might be thankful that their present conqueror was satisfied with seizing on lands, and did not go on to shed blood.³ Men whose memories did not go so far back as this could still remember to how great an extent English lands and honours had been parted out among the foreign favourites of Eadward. They could remember the evil deeds of the castle-builders in Herefordshire and the flight of the foreign Bishops through the eastern gate of London.⁴ And of those foreign favourites some were still in the land, some still held English lands and honours. Robert the son of Wymarc, Staller and Sheriff of the East-Saxons, is perhaps not to be reckoned as an enemy of England. His unlucky counsel to William on his landing was forgotten or forgiven. His estates were largely increased by grants from the Conqueror, and were handed on to his son Swegen.⁵ Regenbald the Chancellor⁶ kept both his temporal estates and his ecclesiastical benefices. And, worse than all, the original sinners of the Herefordshire border,

Favourites
of Eadward
continued
under
William.

¹ See vol. i. p. 315.

² See above, pp. 12, 17. Compare the words of William of Poitiers, 145; "Nobilissimos tuorum [he is apostrophizing England] filiorum, juvenes ac senes, Chunutus Danus trucidavit nimia crudelitate, ut sibi ac liberis suis te subigeret. Hic [Willelmus] ne Heraldum vellet occubuisse."

³ See vol. ii. p. 263.

⁴ See vol. ii. p. 329.

⁵ On Robert and Swegen see Appendix D.

⁶ For his Berkahire holdings, see above, p. 41. He appears as "Rainbaldus presbyter" in Wiltshire, 68 b, Buckinghamshire, 146, Gloucestershire, 166 b. The Buckinghamshire estate he had himself held T. R. E., but the lands in Herefordshire, 180 b, which "Reinbaldus Canceler" had held T. R. E., had been exchanged with Earl William of Hereford, and were held by the King at the time of the Survey.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

rd and his son Osbern, were still lords of English land holders of English offices, ready to play their part in the work of conquest which still had to go on. such men as these already in the land, the establishment of William's foreign followers in England was - a large addition made to a class whose presence the Englishmen had already learned, if not to love, at least to tolerate.

all these various ways, the first confiscations of land would not seem at the time either so strange or so harsh as a spoliation of the same sort would seem in our day. But they must have caused much sorrow and indeed much indignation. For the moment men who had lost heart endured this along with the other scourges of Conquest. Presently they strove to redress the wrongs, but by that time the yoke of the stranger was too firmly fixed upon their necks.

land, and by the same process his foreign knights and men-at-arms were changed into English landowners, holding the soil of England according to English law. He had his garrison in every corner of the land, but his garrison was formed of the chief lords of the soil and of the chief tenants who held under them. Such a garrison was harder to drive out than any mere army. Each detachment of William's great army of occupation was weak and isolated; but in its very weakness and isolation lay its strength. To have cut off every Norman lord and his Norman retainers throughout the length and breadth of England would have been a far harder work, and would have called for a far larger exercise both of concert and of secrecy, than to storm any fortress or to defeat any army in the field. Something of the kind had been done in the great massacre of the Danes under *Aethelred*, but the Danes who were then cut off must have been gathered together in bodies at particular places. They were not settled, each man in an English home, from one end of England to the other. Such a garrison as William planted in England could never be driven out, but for that very cause it soon ceased to be a garrison at all. The Norman landowner held his lands on the same tenure and according to the same law as his English neighbour. Each alike held them according to the ancient law of England. Each alike held them as a gift from the same hand, as a grant from the bounty of King William. In a generation or two the stranger ceased to be a stranger. The foreign spoiler, as he must have once seemed to English eyes, insensibly changed into the son of the soil, into an Englishman who knew no home but England. William divided the lands of England among his followers, to secure his own throne and to hold the people of England in his obedience. The not remote descendants of those on whom he laid this duty became the champions of the land which their fathers

Position of
William's
grantees in
England.

1002.

They
gradually
change into
English-
men.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

nquered, the men who stood forth to curb the pride
gs who sat on William's throne, and to save the
of England from being again parted out as the
f the Poitevin and the Brabançon.

incidental witness of our authorities has thus
l us to put together a picture of a part of
m's policy as to which the chroniclers of his
give us nothing beyond hints and dark allusions.
ust however bear in mind that in this its first
the confiscation most likely extended only to those
ad actually fought against William before his coro-

It is plain that the living who submitted for the
part kept their lands, even though their tenure
be changed and the restitution not made without
e paid to the new lord. Confiscation of this kind
ainly confiscation against the dead, though, as in
h cases, it was the living heir who really suffered.

been something specially galling to William in this quiet setting aside of his claims. The monks of Peterborough had not even waited to see what would be the final end of the strife. They had shut their eyes to the presence of the Conqueror in the land, and had dealt with the uncrowned Eadgar as already King. What followed is best told in the words of the local Chronicler. "When that King William heard that saying he was very wroth, and said that the Abbot had done despite to him. Then went good men between and reconciled them, because that the Abbot was a good man. Then gave he to the King forty marks of gold for reconciliation."¹

The wrath of William was thus turned away from the Golden Borough by a discreet employment of the wealth of Saint Peter. On the great house of *Ælfred* and *Eadward* his hand fell more heavily. Winchester, it will be borne in mind, bowed to William some while before his coronation,² so that he was the *de facto* ruler in the old royal city while Peterborough still looked to Eadgar as the lawful King-elect. Had the convent of the New Minster ventured on the choice of an Abbot, it must have been from William that the prelate-elect must have sought for confirmation. Either the monks were too utterly downcast at the fall of their country and of their own chief to risk such a step at such a moment, or else the election was directly hindered by the authority of the Conqueror. One is tempted to think that, in William's

William's
dealings
with the
New
Minster.

No succe-
sor to
Ælfwig
elected.

¹ Chron. Petrib. 1066. "þa þe cyng Willelm geherde þet segen, þa wearð he swiðe wræf, and sæde þet se abbot him hæfde forsegon. Þa eodon gode men heom betweenem, and sahloden heom, forðan þet se abbot wes goddera manne. Geaf þa þone cyng xl. marc goldes to sahtnysse." That this is the right time (see vol. iii. p. 529) for this story is plain from what follows; "þa lifede he [Brand] litle hwile þersafter, butom bry gear." Brand died (Chron. Petrib. 1069) November 27th, 1069. The only question then is whether William's dealings with Peterborough were not before his coronation. But the use of the word *King* seems to forbid this.

² See vol. iii. p. 540.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

g of the law, the New Minster was held to fall by reason of its Abbot, just as, in the days of Henry VIIIth, the abbey of Glastonbury, which never surrendered, was held to fall by the attainder of Richard King.¹ At all events no capitular election was allowed for three years, and the church remained all that time without an Abbot.² But this was not all. A large part of the possessions of the monastery were seized by the new master—William the Tyrant, as the local historian usually calls him³—and granted out to his followers. And, conceived in the same spirit of grim pleasantry as many other tales about the Conqueror, describes him as saying that he punished the crime of the Abbot by confiscation of a barony and the crime of the twelve clerks by the confiscation of an equal number of manors.⁴ More; the two minsters of Winchester, Old and New, were in awkward neighbourhood to each other, so much so that the singing of the worshippers in the one is said to

palace for himself, the walls of which almost touched the west front of the church.¹ A royal dwelling-place was specially needed in a city which, under William, won back some of the dignity which it had lost under Eadward and Harold. But the older palace of the West-Saxon Kings had become the dwelling-place of the royal widows Emma and Eadgyth, and nothing could be further from William's purpose than in any way to disturb the relict of his revered predecessor and lord.² But William's wrath against the offending house seems gradually to have relaxed. In the third year he allowed the election of an Abbot, whose name of Wulfric moreover proclaims him to have been an Englishman, and whose deposition, three years later again, awakens an interest in his favour.³ And it appears that some parts of the alienated lands were in the course of William's reign restored to the abbey, and other lands granted to it, some of them expressly in exchange for the ground alienated for the building of the palace.⁴

¹ See the plan in Edwards' *Liber de Hydā*, p. xli. Of this palace no trace remains. A royal house, as distinguished from a castle, of William's reign would have been a precious addition to our knowledge of domestic antiquities.

² In the *Liber Winton* (Domesday, iv. 535) we read, "domus Emmæ Reginæ fuit quieta T. R. E. et modo est quieta." The palace kept the name of the first Old Lady who held it.

³ See Edwards, *Liber de Hydā*, xli.; Appendix to *Winchester Chronicle*, Thorpe, i. 386.

⁴ Edwards, ib.; Domesday, 43. Two of the new grants, Alton and Clere, are expressly said to have belonged to Eadgyth, who had a house at Clere—"ibi fuit aula." These grants therefore could not have been made till some years later, when the Lady was dead. But Clere is expressly said to have been given as a recompense for the site of the palace; "Hoc dedit ecclesie W. Rex pro excambio terræ in quâ domus Regis est in civitate." Of another place, Laverstock, we find this curious notice; "Ulteva *Beteslau* tenuit de abbatiâ usque ad obitum. Post mortem ejus reddidit Rex W. hoc manerium eidem ecclesie pro sua animâ et uxoris ejus." The King therefore had some claim after the death of Wulfgifu. Was she one of the widows of men slain at Senlac, who were allowed to keep their lands as alms? Of the mysterious and Slavonic-sounding name *Beteslau*, which seems also to have puzzled Mr. Edwards, I can give no account.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

des these seizures of landed property, William also ed himself of great moveable wealth from various . The native Chronicler simply tells us that he laid heavy tax upon all men.¹ But the language of on the other side may lead us to think that the subtlety of William had forestalled another device of mes, and that what those who paid looked on simply x was clothed in the eyes of those who received it he milder form of a *benevolence*. Cities and rich made bountiful offerings to the new King.² So es and monasteries were equally liberal to one whose gifts abundantly made up for whatever he took away.³ not perfectly clear whether these offerings are to be on as something distinct from the sums paid for the tion of lands or as another way of describing them. ar also of the rich hoards of Harold, of the goodly of various kinds gathered in his treasure-house, the wide-spread commerce of England had brought

and parsimony of which we have heard already.¹ Here, CHAP. XVII. as elsewhere, we need some less suspicious witness than that of Norman panegyrists and legend-makers before we see anything in these tales beyond a wise economy. Certain it is that, afterwards at least, no one laid himself more open to the charge of greediness than William himself.² Now however, according to his own laureate, he showed nothing but bounty. Of the wealth which came into his hands from all these sources, part went to reward the companions of his warfare, but far more, we are told, to the poor and to monasteries and churches, seemingly in England as well as beyond sea.³ But these last were naturally the chief objects of his thankfulness and bounty. First of all came the church to whose approval it might be almost said to be owing that he held the Crown of England at all. Words, we are told, would fail to describe the wealth, in gold and silver and precious things of all kinds, which King William sent as his thank-offering to Pope Alexander and the church of Saint Peter.⁴ The New Rome herself—a witness to the place which the New Rome still held in the minds of men—would have wondered at the gifts which the Conqueror poured into the lap of the Old.⁵ One gift was precious above all, alike for its intrinsic value and as a record of the victory which had been won. In return for the consecrated banner which Toustain had borne

William's
distribu-
tion of his
wealth.

His gifts
to foreign
churches.

Harold's
standard
sent to
Rome.

¹ See vol. iii. pp. 424, 425, 632.

² Chron. Petrib. 1087. Yet William of Poitiers tells us (146); "Uti adversus libidines alias, ita adversus avaritiam invictum animum gerebat."

³ Will. Pict. 144. "Quorum partem ad ministros confecti belli magnifice erogavit, plurima ac pretiosissima egenis et monasteriis diversarum provinciarum distribuit."

⁴ Ib. "Romance Ecclesie sancti Petri pecuniam in auro atque argento ampliorem quam dictu credibile sit." We hear of no gifts to the Mother and Head of all Churches.

⁵ Ib. "Ornamenta quae Byzantium percara haberet in manum Alexandri Papae transmisit."

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

him at Senlac, William now sent the fallen gond of Harold, on which the skill of English hands had ly wrought the golden form of the Fighting Man.¹ urches of all the lands whence soldiers had flocke standard, or where prayers had been put up for cess, were enriched with the holy spoils of con- England. The gifts which William bestowed on allest monastery were gifts which a metropolitan would not have despised.² Golden crosses studded ewels, precious vestments, chalices of gold, even of the same costly metal,³ were scattered at m's bidding through the churches of France, Aqui- Burgundy, and Auvergne.⁴ But precious above all the gifts which his own Normandy received from ands of her son and sovereign. The colds and of January did not hinder him from sending gers across the sea, who at once announced his on, and who with the news bore the thank-offerings

the news that Duke William had become a King.¹ He CHAP. XVII. himself seems to have been eager to visit his native land in Public joy all the glory of conquest and in all the splendour of his in Normandy at new rank. His first stay in England took up less than William's coronation. three months from the day of his coronation, less than six months from the day of his first landing at Pevensey. ^{He prepares to visit Normandy.}

But, before he ventured to leave his new kingdom, Extent of William had to take measures for its government and his occupa- defence during his absence. We must here remember his tion of position. He was King over all England, inasmuch as England. there was no other King, inasmuch as the chief men of all England had outwardly become his men. But he was in actual possession of only a small part of the country. It is not easy to trace the exact extent of the fully-conquered territory. The south-eastern shires, Sussex and the earldom of Leofwine, were, I need not say, hopelessly in the grasp of the Conqueror. Kent and Sussex, above all, had not only seen the flower of their inhabitants cut off in the great battle; they had seen every inch of their territory, ecclesiastical estates alone excepted, portioned out among foreign masters. Not a rood of ground in those shires remained in the hands of an English tenant-in-chief of the King.² Westwards we have traced William in person as far as Wallingford, and by his representatives as far as Winchester. There is therefore no doubt as to the submission of Hampshire and Berkshire, and most likely of Oxford and Oxfordshire.³ On the other hand Exeter, Districts still inde- and with it Devonshire and Cornwall, was still untouched. <sup>still inde-
pendent.</sup>

¹ Will. Pict. 145. "Nullus umquam illuxit ei [Normannis] dies letior, quam quum certo rescivit principem suum, *auctorem sui quieti status, Regem esse.*" He goes on with much more in the same strain, but the words which I have put in Italics form William's real title to honour.

² In Kent and Sussex we find none of the class of King's Thengns of whom I have already spoken in Berkshire. See above, p. 33.

³ See Appendix C, S.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

Herefordshire and on the Welsh border the state of
was very unsettled. The Norman colony, planted
region by Eadward and so strangely tolerated by
was still doing its work. Osbern, it will be re-
ferred, had been Sheriff under Eadward, even when
was Earl of the shire,¹ and his father Richard,
offender, still lived. Their own Richard's Castle
ready-made outpost of the Norman King. And by
means, doubtless through Osbern's office of Sheriff,
were also in command of the city of Hereford, where,
under Osbern's hands, a castle had now sprung.
But the most powerful Englishman in those parts,
the Wild, who bears the title of Child³ and is
ed as the son of Ælfric the brother of Eadric Streona,⁴
fused to submit;⁵ and it is needless to say that no
e had been received from the Welsh princes. Of
mainning shires of Harold's own earldom, Gloucester,
set, Dorset, and Wiltshire, our accounts are less

receiving the homage of their Earls and reinstating them in their offices. In the East of England William's dominion was secured by the possession of Norwich, the chief town of the earldom of Gyrth.¹ In short the state of things seems roughly to have been on this wise. The battle of Senlac and his later campaigns and progresses had given William real possession of by far the greater part of those parts of England which had been under the immediate government of the House of Godwine. The south-western shires, the West-Saxon *wealhcyn*, alone seem to have held out. William in short had stepped into the place of those whom he had himself overcome. He had become, as Harold had been, King in the fullest sense over the West-Saxons and the East-Angles. Over the districts ruled by the sons of Ælfgar he held, as Harold had held, a supremacy which the sons of Ælfgar were anxious to throw off at the first opportunity. This singular likeness between the position of Harold at the beginning of one year and the position of William at the beginning of the next is one which I have pointed out already.² I may add that both princes tried the same means, and that both tried them in vain, for securing the fidelity of the Northern Earls. The tie of marriage or promised marriage was attempted in both cases. But as the bridal of Ealdgyth brought no Northumbrian warriors to Harold's side at Senlac, so the promise of William's daughter to Ealdgyth's brother worked very little towards bringing the Mercian shires into practical submission to the Conqueror.

I have already shown that Harold's nominal dominion over Northumberland was changed into a reality by one of the most signal instances on record of the might of persuasion.³ We shall presently see that William's nominal dominion over the same country was changed into a reality

East-
Anglia
occupied.

Analogy
between
William's
position
in January
1067 and
Harold's in
January
1066.

Attempts
of both
Harold and
William to
secure the
North by
marriages.

¹ See below, p. 67.

² See vol. iii. p. 58.

* Ib. p. 62.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

by fire and sword. And the dominion of William the districts where his authority was really acknowledged had, before he could venture again to cross the sea, secured by means of which neither Harold nor any English King was likely to dream. I have already written of the extreme scarceness of castles in England before the Norman Conquest, and of the general wrath which awakened by the building of a single castle in Herefordshire by a single Norman adventurer.¹ Harold however did not scrupled to follow the Norman example in this matter in positions where the fortress would act, not as a centre of oppression against Englishmen, but as a bulwark against invading enemies. He had, as we have seen, built the famous castle at Dover;² it is possible that he had built one at Hereford,³ and it seems likely that he had also built another at Arundel. Domesday at least bears witness to the existence of a castle there in the time of King Eadward,⁴ a solitary instance in the whole

Conquest, the building of a castle in a conquered town was CHAP. XVII. ever the first work of the Conqueror's foresight. Most of the castles whose foundation is distinctly recorded naturally belong to places which came into William's hands in the course of later warfare. But there were castles in southern and eastern England also, and it is most likely that their foundation at least, if not their completion, was among the very first works of William's reign. In one case indeed we have distinct evidence of the fact. The borough Condition of Nor-
wich, not yet an episcopal city, was, as we have seen,¹ one of the chief among English towns, the chiefest wealth, population, by far on its own side of England, the capital of the and mili-
earldom held successively by Harold, *Ælfgar*, and Gyrth. portance.
It had now fully recovered from the damage which it had suffered in the wars of Swegen and Ulfeytel. The Norman panegyrist speaks of it as a noble and powerful city, inhabited by rich, daring, and he is pleased to add faithless, citizens.² In King Eadward's reign the burghers of Norwich had reached the great number of thirteen hundred.³ It stood at no great distance from the sea

¹ Vol. i. p. 320.

² Will. Pict. 148. "Guenta urbs est nobilis atque valens. Cives ac finitimos habet divites, infidos, et audaces." "Guenta" would of course, if there were no reason to the contrary, mean Winchester, *Venta Belgarum*, but the description given of its position shows that the Archdeacon must have taken a classical fit, and that he means *Venta Icenorum*, of which Norwich, though not exactly on the site, may fairly pass as a representative. Benoit however, in translating William of Poitiers (37949), says,

"Guincestre ert mult noble cité," &c.

³ Domesday, ii. 116. "In Norvic erant tempore Regis E. mcccxx." The numbers had sadly dwindled at the time of the Survey. In 116 b we read, "Modo sunt in burgo DCLXV. burgenses Anglici et consuetudines reddunt, et CCCLXXX. bordarii qui propter pauperiem nullam reddunt consuetudinem, et in illâ terrâ quam tenebant Stigandus T. R. E. manent modo ex illis superioribus XXXVIII. burgenses . . . et in illâ terrâ de quâ Heroldus habebat socam sunt xv. burgenses." In the next reign Florence (1094) speaks of the city as "insignis mercimonii et populorum frequentia vicus, nomine Northwic." He is followed by William of Malmesbury, Gest. Reg. iv. 339; Gest. Pont. 151.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

which separated, or rather united, England and Denmark, the citizens, like the rest of the men of East-Anglia, no doubt a strong Danish element among them, which was therefore a point which called for special

at the hands of a conqueror whose Crown might any moment be threatened by a Scandinavian rival.¹ Fortress was to be built within the walls of the city,² which at once shows that the city itself was already fied, and that the new fortress was mainly intended curb upon the citizens themselves. The ancient mound the East-Anglian Kings was now crowned by a castle of Norman type, which was to play no small part in the story both of William's reign and of later times. Whether William's present work was really the beginning of the great whose shell still survives, or whether all that was now was to provide in a hasty way for the needs of the went, is a question which may be left to local inquirers. In the course of William's reign other castles arose within

horse and foot.¹ The expression "from Gaul" is re-
CHAP. XVII.
 markable. It is a witness to the importance of the force which William had drawn from lands beyond the boundaries of his own duchy. The foreign, especially the Breton, auxiliaries, must, at this stage of the Conquest, have been numerous and formidable, and we shall see that, later in his reign, William was well pleased to get rid of them. To encourage the commanders of these fortresses under the toils and dangers which, peaceful as the country seemed, it was assumed that they would still have to undergo, they were endowed by the King with wealthy fiefs.² It is now that we are assured that, among all William's grants of this kind, nothing was given to a Frenchman which was unjustly taken from an Englishman.³ That is, as I have already explained it, William despoiled none of his new subjects, except those who, whether dead or alive, were, in his reading of the law, justly liable to the penalties of treason.⁴

Among these faithful servants of the Conqueror who were thus set to bear rule over Englishmen, or more truly to hold Englishmen in check, two claim special notice, both from the place which they have already held in our narrative and from the office which they were now called upon to fill. High above all those whom William put in places of trust, he chose, as his special lieutenants and representatives in absence, his brother and his chosen friend. The rule of the conquered land was entrusted to William Fitz-Osbern, the man who had done more than any other man to bring about the invasion of England,⁵

¹ Will. Pict. 148. "Custodes in castellis strenuos viros collocavit, ex Gallis traductos, quorum fidei pariter ac virtuti credebat, cum multitudine peditum et equitum."

² Ib. "Ipsis opulenta beneficia distribuit, pro quibus labores ac pericula libertibus animis tolerant."

³ See above, p. 48.

⁴ See above, p. 24.

⁵ See vol. iii. pp. 260, 297.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

to Bishop Odo of Bayeux, who had had, next to the ruler himself, the greatest share in making the invasion successful. The panegyrist of William tells us that he new his namesake, the son of Osbern, to be specially hostile to the Normans and specially dreaded by the English.¹ Of Odo, on the other hand, we are told that, as he was to Normans and Bretons, even the English themselves were not such barbarians as to fail to appreciate

They saw that, whether as prelate or as temporal chief, he was entitled not only to their fear but to their reverence and love.² These two specially favoured chiefs were invested with English earldoms, and were entrusted with a general command over the whole of the conquered territory. But, even at this early time, William began that policy of division which has affected the whole course of English history since. In the northern part of England, where his power was purely nominal, he was constrained for season to leave the successors of Leofric and Siward

WILLIAM'S POLICY AS TO EARLDOMS.

of Godwine and Leofric. Wherever William appointed CHAP. XVII. Earls at all, which was very sparingly,¹ each of them was to have the rule of a single shire only, or if two shires were ever set under one Earl, they were at least not to be adjoining shires.² The results of this change have been of the highest moment. This one resolution of the Conqueror did more than any other one cause to make England an united kingdom, and to keep it from falling asunder like France and Germany. The Duke of the Normans and the King of the English had widely different interests. William would not run the faintest chance of having such a feudatory in his own kingdom as his own lord the King of the French had in William's own person. A Norman Earl of all Wessex, feeling himself in truth Earl by the edge of the sword, might well have forgotten that the law of England looked on him simply as a magistrate accountable to the King and his Witan, and, under a King who showed the least weakness, he might have found means of growing into a territorial prince. But William the Great never showed weakness in any matter, and in this matter he followed a course which cut off all fear of danger. An Earl of the West-Saxons might be dangerous to the power of the King and to the unity of the kingdom; there was no such danger in a local Earl of Kent or Hereford. William thus took care that no one man in his kingdom should be stronger than the King. Any one noble, however powerful, could be at once overcome. This secured the unity of the kingdom in one way. In order to resist the royal power with any hope of success, the nobles had to combine with one another and to seek for the help of the people. Thus the Old-English

The royal power strengthened and the unity of the Kingdom furthered.

¹ On William's policy with regard to earldoms, see W. Stubbs, Constitutional History, i. 360.

² Norfolk and Suffolk seem both to have been under the government of Ralph of Wader, but the two divisions of East-Anglia were only just beginning to be looked upon as distinct shires.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

liamentary instincts which the Conquest for a while checked were again awakened and strengthened, and the unity of the kingdom was secured in another way. It was precisely because William for a while overthrew English freedom, because he knew how to win for himself such a power as no King of the English had ever held before him, that in the end national unity and national freedom appeared again in more perfect shapes than they had ever taken in the days of our old insular independence.

The firstfruits of the new system were seen in the appointment of Bishop Odo to the palatine earldom of Kent¹ and of William Fitz-Osbern to the earldom of Hereford.² The immediate and permanent authority of each was thus confined within very narrow bounds; the other commission which they also held was a mere temporary delegation of authority during the King's absence. In this last character they seem to have been joined

together as co-regents, while each had his own special province within the limits common to both.¹ The South, the South which, we are assured, was, through its neighbourhood and intercourse with Gaul, somewhat less savage than the rest of the island, was put under the milder rule of the Bishop.² It was left to the new Earl of Hereford to keep watch against the still independent North, and Norwich, with its newly rising castle, was put under his special care.³ These two extreme points of his province, Hereford on the West and Norwich on the East, show plainly how far the real dominion of William reached towards the North. The two Castles to be built. Earls were to be the royal lieutenants during William's absence, and they were specially bidden to be diligent in the great work of securing the obedience of the land by the building of castles.⁴

Besides these two great Viceroys, we also know the names of some of the subordinate captains who held commands under them. The few whose names appear in the history were all of pure Norman birth. The castle of Dover, the chief fortress of the government of Odo, was entrusted to the immediate care of Hugh of Montfort.⁵ Of

¹ The joint commission of Odo and William appears faintly in the Worcester Chronicle, 1066; "and Oda bispop and Willelmus eorl belifen her sefer." It is more distinct in Florence, 1067; "Fratrem suum Odonem Baiocensem et Willelmum filium Osberni Anglie custodes relinquens." So Will. Pict. 156. "Interea Baiocensis praesul Odo et Willelmus Osberni filius praefecturas in regno, uterque suam, laudabiliter administrabant, interdum simul agitantes, modo diversi."

² Will. Pict. 149. "Cantium . . . Galliam proprius spectat, unde et a minus feris hominibus incolitur. Consueverant enim merces cum Belgis mutare."

³ See above, p. 67. The words of William of Poitiers (149), "Ibidem [Guenta] Willelmum reliquit Osberni filium præcipuum in exercitu suo, ut in vice sua interim toti regno Aquilonem versus præcesset," show that "Guenta" cannot be Winchester.

⁴ Flor. Wig. 1067. "Castella per loca firmari præcepit."

⁵ Will. Gem. vii. 39. "Milites Odonis Baiocasini præsulis atque Hugonis de Montforti, quibus custodia Dorobernæ credita erat." Will. Pict. 157. "Munitio[n]es custodes præsul Baiocensis atque Hugo de Montforti."

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

we have heard in two widely different characters on
rent sides of the sea. Dover, perhaps again arising
the ruin of the Norman fire, was given to the care of
man who had so well guarded the burning streets of
temer. The fortress raised by the forethought of
old was put under the rule, not of one who had met his
face to face, but of one of the four who had dealt the last
s upon his disabled but still living body.¹ The fortress
astings had, from the very day when it began to arise,
placed under the command of Humfrey the brother-
w of the more famous Hugh of Grantmesnil.² His
Robert, known afterwards as Robert of Rhuddlan, had
one of the Norman favourites of Eadward; he had
ved knighthood at his hands, and had held what one
d think must have been the sinecure office of armour-
er to the Saint.³ To Hugh of Grantmesnil himself
entrusted the government, or at least the military
mand, of the old Imperial city and of a district which

placed under the rule of another Norman Hugh of greater CHAP. XVII. renown.

Of the state of things in the Northern earldoms we William's
unluckily hear nothing. It was William's policy to remove policy with
regard to
the North. from the country during his absence all those whose presence in it at such a moment might have been dangerous to his authority. An honourable pretext was not wanting. The chief men of England were called upon to accompany their new King on his visit to his dominions beyond the sea. Normans and Englishmen, now under the rule of one common sovereign, were to feel, if not as fellow-countrymen, at least as fellow-subjects. They were to become accustomed to the presence and companionship of one another, and each was to look on the land of the other as a land not wholly foreign. We are expressly assured that those whom William took with him were not taken as captives, but as men high in his favour, as the men of highest dignity in his new realm, who were to be further honoured by being thus brought into the closest companionship with the royal person.¹ But if they were not taken as captives, we are no less distinctly told that they were taken as hostages. William chose as his companions the men whose power he dreaded and of whose faithfulness he was doubtful. In their absence revolts would be less to be feared. For there would be no leaders of the first rank to head them, and regard for the safety of those who were in William's hands might keep back their friends from beginning disturbances which might be avenged on them.² Following out this

¹ Will. Pict. 150. "Præsertim quum non traherentur ut captivi, sed dominum suum Regem proximi comitarentur, ampliorem ex hoc gratiam atque honorem habituiri."

² Ib. "Abducere secum decreverat, quorum præcipue fidem suspiciebat ac potentiam, . . . ut ipsi auctoribus nihil sub decessum suum novaretur, gens vero tota minus ad rebellionem valeret spoliata principibus. Denique eos potissimum, *veluti obides*, in potestate suâ tali cautelâ tenendos existi-

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

icy, William summoned three out of the four Northern Earls, Eadwine, Morkere, and Waltheof, to accompany him on his visit to his native duchy. They could not well refuse. They may have seen through the real motives of the invitation, but on the surface everything was friendly and honourable. They could not have declined so flattering a request from the King whom they had just acknowledged, unless they wished to hurry on the open quarrel which it was in their interest as well as his to stave off. Eadwine, Morkere, and Waltheof accordingly obeyed the summons.¹ Oswulf we hear only incidentally, but it is plain that he must have given offence. If he had failed to appear at Berkhamstead or at Barking, to become William's man, and to receive his earldom again at William's hands, it was quite ground enough, according to the code of the new reign, to deal with him as a traitor whose lands and honours were forfeited without further sentence. But yet William exercised as little authority beyond the

Copsige, the old lieutenant of Tostig. A partisan of Tostig CHAP. XVII. would naturally be at feud with Oswulf, as one whom the favour of Tostig's enemy Morkere had restored to some share of the possessions of his forefathers.¹ William acted with speed. Early in the month of February Copsige was invested with the earldom, and he at once set forth to take possession. We shall see hereafter how he fared on February 4, 1067.

Besides the Earls and prelates who are spoken of as accompanying William, there are one or two other leading churchmen of whom we hear later in the story, and of whom we should have been well pleased to learn something at this particular moment. One of these is Æthelwig, the prudent Abbot of Evesham. High as he had stood in the favour of Eadward and Harold, he stood equally high in the favour of William. The annals of his house set him before us as one of the first of English prelates to submit to the new order of things, and as being at a somewhat later time invested with large authority in several Mercian shires.² Another prelate also, whose church lay in the earldom of Waltheof, Æthelsige of Ramsey, who had borne to Harold in his sickness the miraculous message of comfort from his saintly predecessor,³ was also soon after high in William's favour. He therefore probably was so already. The presence of Copsige, Æthelwig, and Æthelsige in the earldoms of Morkere, Eadwine, and Waltheof respectively may possibly have been looked on as a guaranty for the preservation of order no less valuable than the absence of the Earls. But on all these points of detail we are left to conjecture.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 494.

² Hist. Eves. 89.

³ See vol. iii. p. 360.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

§ 3. *William's First Visit to Normandy.*

March—December 1067.

ll was now ready for the royal voyage. The place
en for the embarkation was the same which had been
en for the landing six months before. In the course
the month of March the ships were ready at Pevensey,
udy most likely the lordship of William's brother,
ert of Mortain.¹ Those ships, the Norman panegyrist
us, should have been adorned, in ancient fashion, with
te sails, as bearing a conqueror to his triumph.² A
e body of Englishmen of rank had assembled on the
, either to accompany the King on his voyage or simply
o him worship on his departure.³ And of those who
e chosen for the former dangerous honour the first was
gar, the King of a moment, whom we are told that

The only other churchman of whom we hear by name is CHAP. XVII.
Æthelnoth, Abbot of Glastonbury, whose obedience to **Æthelnoth of Glaston**. William's summons is the only sign which we have yet bury. come across of any authority being exercised by the new King in the Western shires. That **Æthelnoth**, who was afterwards deposed from his abbey, was already honoured by William's jealousy is a fact which may be set against the charges which are brought against him.¹ Among Eadwine, Morkere, Waltheof. laymen the only one mentioned besides the **Ætheling** and **Æthelnoth of Kent**. the three Earls, is a Thegen of Kent, who bore the same name as the Abbot of Glastonbury.² Those however whose names are given us did not form the whole of William's English escort; many "good men," who are otherwise unrecorded, went with him. And, along with William his English companions, no small amount of English treasure also found its way on board William's ships. We with him. are assured that it was all honourably gotten and was unwillingness of Stigand to go on this journey; "Nec multo post in Normanniam navigans sub velamine honoris renitentem secum traxit, ne quid perfidie, se absente, per ejus auctoritatem in Anglia pullularet."

¹ On **Æthelnoth**, see vol. ii. p. 360. Thierry (i. 281) for **Æthelnoth** substitutes Frithric Abbot of Saint Alban's, for whose presence he quotes no authority. I suspect it to be as mythical as most other stories about that prelate. William of Poitiers (150) mentions no prelate but Stigand, but in a flourish a little way on (153) he speaks of "totius Britanniae episcoporum primatrem atque magnos in transmarinis cenobiis abbates." **Æthelnoth** appears in the Worcester Chronicle, 1066, and in Florence, 1067.

² The **Ætheling** and the three Earls are mentioned in the Worcester Chronicle, and by Florence and William of Poitiers, both of whom give a Latin equivalent for the "manege oþre gode men of Englalande." Florence mentions the Kentish Thegen **Æthelnoth** by name ("satrapam Agelnothum Cantuariensem"), distinguishing him from the Abbot, with whom Orderic (506 B) evidently confounded him. He appears in Domesday as "Alnod cild," "Alnod Chentiscus," "Alnod Cantuariensis." See Appendix N.

The Peterborough Chronicler (see above, p. 75) puts the whole escort together under the head of "gislæs." Oddly enough, he is literally translated in the Normannia Nova Chronica, 1067. "Willemus Dux, et Rex Anglorum, eodem anno mare transiit, in Normanniam ducens secum obrides et thesauros."

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

gned to be honourably spent;¹ but the mention of it
forth a glowing description of the wealth of Eng-
from our Norman informant. Gaul, in the widest
nt of its three divisions, could not have furnished
wealth of gold and silver as William now brought
his new conquest, a conquest which is proudly
rasted with the petty exploits of the first Cæsar in
same island.² Some part of all this wealth was
ered among the companions of William's labours,
e the fleet was still in the haven of Pevensey.³ But
gh was carried beyond the sea to set on fire the
ls of all those among William's countrymen who had
ed by their own hearths while the land which sent
such goodly stores was in winning.

The voyage was prosperous, and it seems to have had
incidental good effect of securing the safety of sea-
g folk of lower degree. A stop, we are told, was put
ll piracy for a long time to come.⁴ The expression

forth for fighting or plunder wherever either fighting or *CHAP. XVII.*
plunder was to be had. And it is quite possible that dis-
possessed Englishmen may have already begun, as we know
that they did before long, to take service in any quarter
which promised either a chance of restoration or a hope
of vengeance on those who made restoration hopeless. For
the present at least, it would seem that the southern
coast of England, the coast which William's own fleet
could immediately protect or coerce, remained unharried
by either friends or enemies.

The haven at which William landed is not told us. But William's
we have full, perhaps not exaggerated, accounts of the joy ^{reception} in Nor-
with which the Duke, now a King, was received in his ^{mandy.}
native land. Few, in any time or place, are slow to pay
their homage to a conqueror, and we must never forget
that, within his own duchy at least, few princes have had
a better right than William to the real love and thank-
fulness of their people. It was Lent; it was winter; but
the return of William turned the gloomy season into days
of summer festival.¹ Every town through which the Duke
passed was crowded with men from the remotest parts of
the duchy, who pressed to set eyes once more on their own
prince who had won such glory for himself and for the
Norman name.² The pomp of his approach to Rouen, the ^{His entry} into Rouen.
assemblage of all ages, ranks, and sexes, carries back the
classical imagination of the panegyrist to the triumphs of
old Roman days. And it is worth noticing that, after he
had just spent all his ingenuity in proving the exploits
of William to be in every way greater than the exploits

¹ Will. Pict. 154. "Dies erant hiberni, et qui posseitentis quadragesimae rigori vacant. Ceterum ubique agebantur tamquam summae festivae temporis feriae: sol aestivæ serenitate lucidus videbatur, gratis dierum solita longe major." Is this merely metaphor, or was William really favoured by the weather?

² Ib. "Minorum sive remotiorum locorum incolae in urbes, aut alio ubi facultas conspiciendi Regem daretur, confluabant."

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

esar, he still seems to think that he is doing further
ur to his own hero by likening his reception at Rouen
e reception of Pompeius at Rome.¹ At Rouen it most
y was that he again met his beloved Duchess, who,
gh uncrowned, already, on Latin-speaking lips at least,
the royal title.² Aided by the counsel of the wise and
Roger of Beaumont, she had kept Normandy in peace
prosperity during her husband's absence,³ and it needs
reat flight of imagination to picture to ourselves the
t and purest source of joy in that proud entry, when,
he King or the Conqueror, but the faithful partner of
any cares, came back to the home which, almost alone
ng princely homes, supplied a model for lowlier homes
llow.

ut besides his own household, besides his people at
e, William, the champion of the Church, the crusader
nst the perjured blasphemer, the reformer of the corrupt
ners of the benighted island, stood in a more direct

alike were rewarded with such gifts as no King or Emperor CHAP. XVII.
had ever before lavished on holy men and holy places.¹ His gifts to
Some churches William visited in person; to others he
sent his offerings.² One of the first objects of his per- His visit
sonal pilgrimage was his own creation at Caen, his own to Saint
house of Saint Stephen, which it had been one of his last Stephen's
acts before his voyage to England to place under the care at Caen.
of his chosen counsellor Lanfranc.³ The two now met His prob-
again; but no chronicler gives us the details of their able con-
meeting. We are left to picture to ourselves the mutual sultations
greetings of King and Abbot, and to conceive the more with Lan-
secret discourse between the man whose wit had planned the franc.
great enterprise and the man whose arm had so far guided
it to success. But those two men must have had other
thoughts in their minds than any that were likely to occur
to the minds of the mass of those who greeted the Con-
queror on his return. To the shouting multitudes and to
the rejoicing clergy the work no doubt seemed to be done,
when their Duke returned from his island warfare in the
guise of a triumphant King. But both William and
Lanfranc must have known that the work was only begun,
and that the real Conquest of England was still a thing of
the future. To Lanfranc the Conqueror might not scruple
to reveal the secret that the seeming King of the English
was in truth King only over East-Anglia and part of
Wessex. He had with him the Earls of the North and an
Abbot of the West, but the West and the North were still
wholly unsubdued. That York and Exeter would one day
be his, no less than London and Winchester, William

¹ Will. Pict. 154. "Nullius umquam Regis aut Imperatoris largitatem in oblationibus maiorem comperimus."

² Ib. "Item quas ecclesias non presentia sua, muneribus visitavit iterum." "Iterum" must refer to the gifts sent now, as distinguished from those which had been already sent from England in January. See above, p. 61.

³ See vol. iii. p. 384.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

I hardly doubt; but as to the way, the means, the manner of making his kingship a living thing over the whole realm there was room for much of thoughtful consultation between the two subtle and daring minds which now again met together. And there was one point of still deeper personal moment to the Abbot of Saint Stephen's. William, we know, had, among the other objects of his understanding, gone forth as a missionary to reform the corrupted church of England. The chief prelate, in William and Lanfranc's eyes the intrusive prelate, of that corrupted church, the prelate already doomed in William's counsels, now one of the most honoured among William's train, was a guest within the walls of Lanfranc's own abbey.¹ Is it going too far to surmise that, during William's Lenten pilgrimage to Caen, it was fully arranged who should be the next to fill the throne of Augustine, what should be the policy of the Primate who should succeed into the place of the already condemned schismatic?

too wild a flight of fancy to deem that for the church of CHAP. XVII.
 Saint Stephen was reserved that mighty ingot of all which Harold Hardrada had brought from the far East, and which had passed from the hands of the victor of Stamfordbridge into the hands of the victor of Senlac?¹ However this may be, the choicest wealth of England was poured forth before the altar of the proto-martyr. Men gazed with wonder upon the rich spoils of the conquered island. They might look down on its inhabitants as barbarians; they might scorn them as unskilled in the tactics of the horseman, as lagging behind continental lands in the crafts of the sculptor and the mason. But there were other arts, arts of skill and adornment, in which England and other Teutonic lands were allowed to outdo the nations of the Romance speech. The women of England were renowned for the art which had wrought the Raven on the banner of Ragnar and the Fighting-Man on the banner of Harold. And the same skill turned to more peaceful uses had adorned the gorgeous vestments with which Eadgyth had appeased the wrath of the saintly Abbot of Saint Riquier.² We have seen by what rich rewards the knowledge of that art was purchased for the daughters of Englishmen of high degree.³ The men were no less skilful in workmanship of other kinds. And if insular skill was lacking in any point, the English extended commerce of England with the kindred races of the mainland was ready to supply it. The merchants of many. the Imperial havens brought goodly things of this kind among their precious wares, and strangers of Teutonic birth had settled in the land to practise the gainful crafts of the goldsmith and the moneyer.⁴ All these arts William knew how to encourage in his new realm by rich

Skill of the English
in the arts,
especially
goldwork
and em-
brodery.

recompensavit, domane pallia, libras auri, aliasque magna altaribus et famulis Christi." See above, p. 62.

¹ See vol. iii. p. 342.

² See vol. ii. p. 532.

³ See above, p. 35.

⁴ See above, p. 41, and vol. i. p. 279.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

o their professors of whatever sex or nation.¹ And
the choicest of these fruits of the skill and commerce
of England were scattered among the rejoicing churches
of Normandy, the choicest of all finding their way to
the new-born minster at Caen. The gifts of
men were such that natives of the lands where wealth
and luxury most abounded, men used to the splendours
of the Byzantine Cæsars and Saracen Caliphs, might have
delight in beholding them.² This whole picture is
bearing witness, not only to the early developement of
the ornamental arts in England and in the kindred lands,
but also to the influence over men's minds which was still
exercised by the realms and cities which, fallen as they were
from their ancient power, still kept up the unbroken
recollections of elder days. Constantinople and Bagdad³—
these rather Constantinople and Cordova—were still
up to as the special homes of all that was most magnificient
upon earth. The Greek and the Saracen, the two

of the Normans of those days. The sovereign of Nor- CHAP. XVII.
mandy was bringing the wealth which Greeks and Saracens might wonder at from his conquered island in the northern Ocean. Meanwhile other men of his own race were treading the path which was to lead them to grasp the wealth of Greeks and Saracens in their own land. As William turned to his own ends the skill of the continental and the insular Teuton, so his countrymen were soon to turn the skill of Greek and Saracen to their ends, in that other island of hardly less renown which the Norman won as his home and kingdom in the southern sea.

Easter now drew nigh, and William had appointed the festival to be kept in the ducal palace and monastery of Fécamp.¹ This year no crowning feast, no national Gémot, was held in the royal hall or in the Old Minster at Winchester. After his own Saint Stephen's, no church in Normandy stood higher in William's favour than the great house of Richard the Fearless and Richard the Good. That house was now flourishing under its second Abbot John, William's special friend and counsellor.² But of the mighty pile which now commands the Fécamp valley, that huge length of nave which almost rivals our own Saint Alban's, that central tower so stately in its simple majesty, that Lady chapel where the rich work of later days contrasts with the stern dignity of the thirteenth century, not a stone had yet arisen.³ The monks of Fécamp still

¹ See vol. i. p. 253.

² We shall see him in this character in Chapter xix.

³ The earliest part of the existing church is due to William of Ros, Abbot from 1087 to 1107, whose panegyric—it can hardly be that of the first William—is given by Prior Godfrey (*Satirical Poets*, ii. 155). See Ord. Vit. 665 B, 832 A, who says of him, "Canoellum veteris ecclesiae, quam Ricardus Dux construxerat, dejecit, et eximie pulcritudinis opere in melius renovavit, atque in longitudine et latitudine decenter augmentavit. Navem quoque basilice ubi oratorium Sancti Frodmundi habetur eleganter auxit,

The Normans in England and in Sicily.

William keeps Easter at Fécamp, April 8, 1067.

Condition and history of the monastery.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

settled in the elder church of Richard the Fearless.
Under Richard the Good, the patron and father of
the house,¹ the secular canons of the original foundation gave
place to regulars, the new occupants of the house were
brought from Saint Benignus of Dijon, that great Bur-
gundian abbey which has become the cathedral church of a
modern diocese.² Thence too came their first Abbot, the
venerable and holy William,³ a native of Italy, who
boasted of a descent from the ancient Lombard Kings
and of being held at the font by the restorer of the
Roman Empire. The godson of Otto and Adelaide⁴ ruled
his house in wisdom and holiness; he enjoyed the special
protection of Duke Richard, and he is said to have been the
first prelate in Normandy to shelter the banished *Æthelred*
the Unready, when he fled before the arms of the conquering Dane.⁵
The church boasted, as it still boasts, of a relic holy beyond
description, of that Precious Blood which had been brought
from the Holy Land by miracle,⁶ and which to this day draws thither

founders of the church were buried, neither within nor without the pile which they had reared and enriched.¹ There too its second founder loved to keep the highest of the Church's festivals, and to honour rather than to abase himself by performing menial services to the holy inmates.² In later days the house of the two Richards became the special home of those among their descendants who embraced the monastic life. There the unhappy Malger had passed his youthful years,³ and there too dwelt perhaps the only members of the ducal house whose names are never mentioned in connexion with political strife, William the son of Richard the Good,⁴ and Nicolas, the son of the third Richard, who left his cell at Fécamp to receive the abbatial staff of Saint Ouen.⁵ There the young and pious Margaret, the last scion of the house of Maine, had found her grave, when she had escaped from the fear of earthly wedlock to the presence of a heavenly Bridegroom.⁶ The reigning Abbot John, of Lombard birth like his predecessor, had now presided over the house for six and thirty years. He had received the second profession of Maurilius, the Primate who still for a short time longer filled the metropolitan throne of Rouen.⁷ He had crossed the sea to get what he might at the hands of Eadward; the bountiful King had granted to his house a prospective interest in the lordship of Steyning in the South-Saxon land; but Godwine, not coveting the presence of strangers in his own special shire, had managed to convert the estate to his own use. Harold had been less austere or less grasping; he had not restored Steyning, but he had allowed the church of Fécamp to obtain other possessions in England. William, before he crossed

¹ See the story in Dudo, 156 D; Palgrave, ii. 903.

² See Add. ad Will. Gem., Duchêne, 317 A.

³ See vol. ii. p. 208; iii. p. 94.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 464; iii. p. 381.

⁵ See vol. iii. p. 100.

⁶ Will. Gem. v. 13.

⁷ See vol. iii. p. 213.

its special
connexion
with the
Ducal
house.

Abbot
John.
1031-1082.

Gifts of
Eadward
to Fécamp,
hindered
by God-
wine;

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

a, had promised the restoration of the disputed lands, the promise had been carried out in a charter granted by the new King, which most likely formed part of his coronation at the present paschal feast.¹ In no part of William's dominions had he been more loyally served than within the monastic walls of Fécamp. One monk of the abbey, Hugh Margot, had borne William's messages of warning and defiance to his rival.² Another, the almoner of St. Peter, Regius, had given a well-manned ship to share in the passage from Saint Valery to Pevensey,³ and had himself been present, perhaps with temporal, certainly with spiritual blessing, on the day of the great battle. The house itself, however, above all this last-named zealous member of the house, waited now to reap their reward.

The Easter Feast at Fécamp was attended by a goodly company of various nations. The knights and soldiers of William's army followed him thither, and a vast crowd of nobles came together to meet him. The Bishops and

was loudly denounced, and Ralph underwent more than one excommunication.¹ A princess brought up in Eastern orthodoxy may perhaps have felt but little dread of Western anathemas, and William, with all his piety, may have felt some lurking sympathy for those who had drawn on themselves the censures of the Church for this particular cause. At all events the excommunicated Count was received with all honour at the festival at Fééamp, and, as we are told that William exacted strict attendance at divine service from all his company,² we must infer that the assembled prelates of Normandy did not shrink from his spiritual society. But chief among the guests of the King-
The English visitors.
Duke were the companions, the hostages, whom he had brought with him from his island realm. To Eadgar, the momentary King, brought as a child from Hungary to England, a visit to Normandy was but a small episode in a life of wanderings. Eadwine and Morkere may perhaps have been visiting the native land of their own mother.³ But Waltheof the son of Siward, whose not remote fore-father was held to have been a bear in a Norwegian forest,⁴ was treading a land which his kindred had certainly never visited in any peaceful guise. Amid the splendours of the Easter feast the Abbot of Glastonbury might compare the church of Duke Richard with his own church reared by the great Dunstan, and with that primæval temple of wood which still lingered on from the days of the conquered Briton.⁵ The older and wiser among the English visitors, the Primate above all, might see through the hollowness of the honours which were everywhere shown to themselves

¹ Chron. S. Petri Vivi Senon. 1060 (ap. D'Achery, ii. 476). "Rodulfus comes consanguineus ejusdem Regis duxit uxorem in conjugio contra jus et fas, unde fuit excommunicatus." See Art de Vérifier les Dates, ii. 701.

² Will. Pict. 155. "Humiliter adstans ille choris ordinum religiosorum, ludicra intermittere, concurrere ad divina, militum pleisque turbas coegerit."

³ See vol. ii. p. 658; iii. p. 710.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 768.

⁵ See vol. i. p. 436.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

their countrymen. But outwardly at least all was joy festivity. The English visitors were the objects of universal attention, of universal admiration. The outward charms of our countrymen had not lessened since victory had beheld the angelic children of Deira in the Danish slave-market. The beauty of the English youth, those long-haired children of the North, rivetted the eyes of the close-shorn Normans.¹ And the wealth of England must have dazzled all eyes at Fécamp, as at every other stage of William's Norman progress. The robes of state of the king and his chief nobles, rich with the embroidery of gold wrought by English hands, made all that France and Normandy had beheld of the same kind seem mean by comparison.² At William's paschal feast the whole company, we are told, drank out of the spoils of England, cups of gold and silver, in number and goodness such as no man had seen before, cups too made of the horns of the wild bull of the English woods, and tipped at either

several great monastic churches, which had probably been CHAP. XVII. finished some while before, were still waiting for consecration. The piety of the Duke demanded that the ceremony should be no longer delayed. The feast of Saint Philip and Saint James was fixed by his bidding for the hallowing of the minster of our Lady at Saint Peter on the Dive.¹ This was the great foundation of the pious Saint Mary Lescelina, the widow of Count William of Eu, the mother (or Peter) on Dive. of his three sons, the valiant Robert, the holy Hugh, and May 1, 1007. the traitor William.² The first Abbot Ainard had been appointed one and twenty years before, and the minster, which has been wholly supplanted by work of later date, was now ready for consecration. The King was present at the ceremony, and the church on the Dive, like other churches, came in for its share of William's bounty.³ But it would seem that William's *Champ de Mai* was not held only for ecclesiastical purposes. We hear of a large gathering of men of all ranks, to whom certain decrees which the Duke had made for the good of his whole people were announced by the voice of the herald.⁴ Of this legislation, whatever was its nature and object, we should gladly learn some further details. A day two months later Consecra- was devoted to a still greater ceremony of the same kind, Jumièges. the hallowing of a minster of still higher renown, one July 1. which still remains, though unhappily in ruins, to bear witness to the arts of those days and of days far earlier The church still.⁵ The church of Jumièges had been begun, seven and of Robert. 1040-1058.

¹ Ord. Vit. 507 A. "Celebrat̄ Pasche solennitate, Rex dedicari basili-
cam Sancte Marie super Divam preecepit." See Neustria Pia, p. 498.

² See vol. iii. p. 117.

³ Ord. Vit. 507 A. "Utramque [Dives and Jumièges] nimirum ex
prediis dominii sui largiter dotavit, suaque presentiā, dum sanctum mys-
terium celebraretur, devote sublimavit."

⁴ Ib. "Ipse cum magno cōcū optimatum et mediocriū Kal. Maii
reverenter interfuit, et utilissima totius populi commoditati edicta sub voce
praeconis promulgavit."

⁵ The existence of work of Merowingian days in the earlier and smaller church at Jumièges has been satisfactorily proved by M. Bouet.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

ty years before, by that Abbot Robert whom the blind
ar of Eadward had successively thrust into the episcopal
s of London and Canterbury, and whom the indignant
of the English people had driven from the office in
n he had made himself the root of all evil.¹ Robert
now dead, and he had been buried in the church of his
rearing, but the consecrating rite had been delayed
gh the incumbencies of two Abbots, Godfrey, the
ediate successor of Robert, and another Robert who
held the office.² The slender towers of Robert's west
, the massive and almost rude arcades of his nave,
have already looked antiquated at a time when the
churches of Caen were rising in a more developed,
re strictly national, form of Norman art. It would
that it was at William's express order³ that the
mony was now performed by Archbishop Maurilius,
ed by one or more of his suffragans.⁴ With what
we may again ask, did Stigand look on the works of

the metropolitan throne of Normandy was again vacant.¹ CHAP. XVII. In the search for a successor the claims of one man stood forth beyond all comparison. There was one prelate in Normandy who towered, as no prelate had ever towered before, over the whole Church of the duchy. Lanfranc, Unani- Abbot of Saint Stephen's, was called by every voice to fill the highest spiritual place in his adopted country. The process of his election reads as if it were copied from our own side of the water in the days of Eadward. The Church of Rouen chose Lanfranc as Archbishop by a canonical election; the Duke, the nobles, and the whole people of Normandy—we seem to be reading the acts of an English Witenagemót—with one voice confirmed their choice.² But Lanfranc refused to bow his shoulders to such a bur-then; he was even zealous on behalf of another candidate, John, Bishop of Avranches.³ When we look forward three years, and see how much heavier a burthen was then laid on Lanfranc's shoulders, we cannot avoid the suspicion that the refusal was preconcerted between the Abbot of Saint

mous
election of
Lanfranc.

He de-
clines the
office.

¹ Ord. Vit. 507 A, B. "Paullo post, duodecimo episcopatis sui anno, in lectum decubuit. Peracto autem quidquid religioso Dei vernule competit v. Idus Augusti ad Deum (cui diu servierat) migravit. Corpus vero ejus in episcopali ecclesia (quam ipse ante v. annos Indictione I. sanctæ Dei genitrici Mariae dedicaverat) delatum est; et ante crucifixum honorifice tumulatum est." So Will. Gem. vii. 38. On his church see vol. iii. p. 101.

² Ord. Vit. 507 B. "Post mortem antistitis sui Rotomagensis ecclesia Lanfrancum Cadomensem abbatem sibi præsulem elegit; et Rex Guillelmus, cum optimatibus suis omniq[ue] populo, libentissime concessit." Vit. Lanfr. ed. Giles, i. 292. "EA tempestate civitas Rothomaga viduata est sancto ac venerabili archipræsule Maurilio; tum clerus omnis et populus congregati volebant substituendum eligere Lanfrancum."

³ Ord. Vit. 507 B, C. "Sed vir Deo devotus, et humilitate studens, tanti primatū sarcinam refutavit; et sibi ad hunc apicem toto conatu Johannem Abrincatenium præsulem preferre satagit." Vit. Lanfr. ed. Giles, i. 292. "Verum toto conamine ille [Lanfrancus] tale onus devitabat subire, humiliter magis cupiens subesse quam præsse. Nam abbatiam Cadomensem, quam invitus suscepserat libenter dimisisset, si extra animæ lesionem gravem facere valuisset." William of Jumièges mentions the appointment of John without mentioning the offer to Lanfranc.

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

hen's and his sovereign and founder. The votes of the
oter of Rouen, the assent of the nobles and people,
e doubtless given in good faith; but we may feel sure
the ducal confirmation was given only on the under-
ding that the primacy of Rouen would be declined
the man who was already designed for the primacy
Canterbury. On Lanfranc's refusal, the Bishop of
anches, his favourite and doubtless the favourite of
liam, obtained the metropolitan see. John was a re-
kinsman of the ducal house, being a son of that
olf of Ivry who won for himself so unenviable a fame
the early days of Richard the Good.¹ He was thus a
of a past generation, a cousin of the grandfather of
reigning Duke. An elder brother, Hugh, had held the
of Bayeux for forty years before the appointment of
, and had proved himself a troublesome kinsman and
ect to William's father Robert.² In these two prelates
male line of Asperleng and Sprotta came to an end, but

the new Primate, a step which is spoken of as if it were CHAP. XVII. at once praiseworthy and unusual. But when we read that the messenger employed on this errand was no other than the Abbot of Saint Stephen's, and that he went at the Duke's special bidding, we cannot help suspecting that Lanfranc was sent to act as the mouth-piece of William towards Alexander and Hildebrand on other matters besides the grant of the pallium to the new Archbishop of Rouen.¹ The pallium was of course sent without difficulty, and Primate John ruled for ten years with great strictness and holy indignation against offenders of all kinds.² His John's zeal against the married clergy. . . .

zeal was that of another Phinehas, and it was specially displayed against the married clergy. In one synod which he held on this matter, the party of laxity had the upper hand, and the zealous Primate was driven out of the church amidst a volley of stones, crying aloud as he went that the heathen had come into God's inheritance.³ It could hardly have been in the same cause that the monks of Saint Ouen's set upon him with force and arms when he

¹ Orderic (507 C) says, "Porro ut canonice fieret ista conjugatio, Romanus adiit, praedictae ordinatio licentiam ab Alexandro Papâ impetravit: sacrum quoque pallium, unde et ipsi et toti Normannis glorandum erat, cum licentiâ deportavit." This becomes clear in the Life of Lanfranc (i. 292); "Quod Rex advertens providit subrogare Johannem quem Abbatum constituerat pontificem; sed ut hoc canonice fieret, licentiam petendi gratiâ Romanam direxit eundem abbatem Cadomensem Lanfrancum; qui onus hujusce legationis alacriter perferens *sicut ecclesiis cupiebat esse consultum* a Papâ Alexandre impetravit; sacrum quoque pallium, cum licentiâ hujus promotionis deportavit; unde et ipsi toti Neustriae gaudium fuit." The words in Italics may cover a great deal. It should be remembered that Malger had held the archbishoprick without the pallium. See vol. iii. p. 96.

The journey seems to fill up the space between 1067 and 1069, from which the years of John as Archbishop are reckoned.

² Ord. Vit. 507 C. "Hic ardore virtutum in verbis et operibus multipliciter fermebat, nimioque zelo in virtutis ut Phinees sechiebat."

³ Ib. "Multum contra impudicos presbyteros pro auferendis pellicibus laboravit; a quibus, dum in synodo concubinas eis sub anathemate prohiberet, lapidibus percussus aufugit, fugiensque de ecclesia, 'Deus, venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam,' fortiter clamavit."

THE FIRST DAYS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN.

saying mass on the day of their patron.¹ But the nate was, to say the least, unlucky who thus contrived set both regulars and seculars against him. He was eeded in the see of Avranches by an Italian named hael, whose learning and piety are highly spoken of.² e we have another instance of the discerning patronage ch William was ready to extend on both sides of the to worthy men of any speech or any country except the scribed natives of England.³

hese ecclesiastical cares and other peaceful duties occu- William during the whole summer and autumn. mandy is, as usual, described—and doubtless described a truth—as rejoicing and flourishing in the presence of sovereign. The peace and order which the watchful of William established throughout his duchy are set h in glowing terms.⁴ From works of this kind, so

Chron. S. Steph. Cad. 1073 (Duchesne 1017 D). "Invaserunt monachi

worthy of the higher parts of his nature, he was presently CHAP. XVII. called away to occupations of quite another kind. While Imperfection of the conquest of England. William was busied with ecclesiastical ceremonies at Caen and Jumièges, while he was displaying in Normandy the gifts of the wise lawgiver and the firm administrator, events were happening in England which showed, what he at least doubtless knew well enough, that his work in his island realm, instead of being ended, was hardly begun. It now became plain that, after the victory at Senlac, the homage at Berkhamstead, the coronation at Westminster, the kingship of William was still hardly more than a name, and the Conquest of England was still a thing of the future.

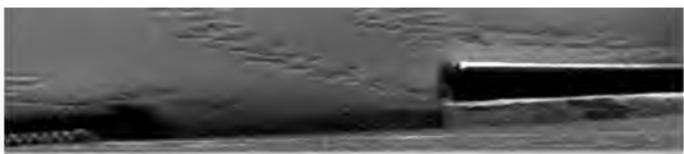
CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.¹

March 1067—April 1070.

WE have now reached a stage in our history in which it is of special moment to bear in mind the peculiarities of William's position as I have already set it forth. William had taken seizin of his kingdom on the shore of

In the course of this Chapter we lose the help of William of Poitiers, whose work, as we have it, suddenly breaks off soon after William's return.



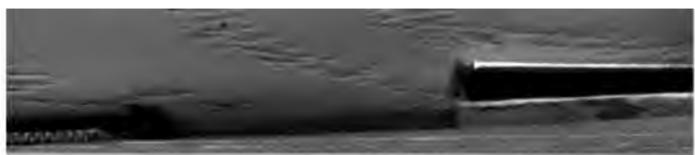
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ENGLAND
ACCORDING TO DOMESDAY
Shewing the progress of
WILLIAM'S CONQUESTS.

1066	
1066	Springs
1068	Summer
1069	70
1072	
1081	



Pevensie;¹ he had been solemnly invested with the kingly office before the altar at Westminster; he had shown himself as King and Conqueror before the eyes of his native subjects; he had actual possession of many shires of England, and he held in his power such among the chiefs of the rest of the land as seemed likely to endanger his dominion. He had now to establish his power over those parts of England where he was King only so far as that no one else was King. And it was by the sword that his power was established. It was now, for more than half England, that the Conquest really began. And it was now that William reaped the fruit of his great victory and of his coronation. No rival King or leader acknowledged by the whole kingdom appeared against him. The land was therefore conquered piecemeal, and William was enabled to use the force of one district to overcome the resistance of another. And, as the King, he had the great moral advantage of being able to brand all resistance to the establishment of his power as rebellion against a power already lawfully established.

It is a natural question to ask why, when William must have seen that his hold over England was so imperfect, he should have left the country so long without the restraint of his own presence. He did not even come back at the first hearing of news which seemed to make his presence specially needful. In such a mind as William's we may be sure that many motives joined together. It was due to his own native duchy, which had served him so loyally in his great undertaking, to show himself once more among his own people, and to thank and reward both his earthly and his heavenly helpers. Moreover, as the ruler of two

without deciding the question of authorship, quote the enlarged Florence as Simeon, referring to Mr. Hinde's own edition. But I shall of course weigh the evidence for each of the statements which Mr. Hinde calls in question.

¹ See vol. iii. p. 407.

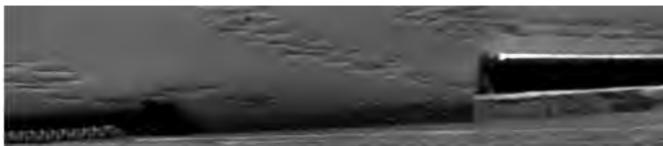
A large part of the land still to be conquered.

William's probable motives for leaving England.

Necessity of keeping up his popularity in Norway.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

es, it was impossible for him to dwell wholly in either, it was doubtless good policy to visit Normandy at this peculiar moment. His popularity in his native duchy must now have been at its very highest, but anything which could be construed as neglect of his own land and people might have caused that popularity to cool as it had done. The visit to Normandy, the Easter feast at Jumièges, the ceremonies at Jumièges and on the Dive, were signs that the King of the English was not puffed up by his new greatness, that he was still the Duke of the Normans, loving his own land, labouring for its welfare, giving honour to its holy men and its holy places. And his presence in Normandy was certainly politic, his absence from England may have been politic also. It was needless meant to be taken as a sign of confidence in his subjects. King William, a righteous and merciful king, had dealt in all gentleness and tenderness with a



enabled him directly to prove the disposition of the people CHAP. XVIII. at large. The shires which had submitted were free from the terror of his own presence, and the presence in his train of the Earls of northern and central England left the still independent districts to their own devices. I do not believe for a moment that William purposely put England into the hands of oppressive lieutenants, in order that the people might be goaded into revolt. But it is not unlikely that he may have wished to bring matters to an issue and to learn what the temper of the nation really was. It is possible that he was not sorry when an imperfect and unsatisfactory state of things was put an end to by the act of others, when he found that, if he meant to be King at all, he must go on with the work of conquest. Reasons for delaying his return. The same kind of feeling may have led him not to hurry back at once on the first news of disaffection. Haste would have implied fear. It would rather suit his purpose to deal with the isolated movements which took place during his absence as trifles which his lieutenants could easily put down, even if they were not put down by the loyal English themselves. It was only when he found that the disaffected were intriguing for foreign help, that there was a prospect of foreign invasion. William called back by the | Swegen of Denmark or some other foreign King, that William thought that the time was come to return to England with all speed.

§ 1. *The Administration of Odo and William Fitz-Osbern.*

March—December, 1067.

The new Earls of Kent and Hereford, Bishop Odo of Bayeux and William Fitz-Osbern, had been left, as we have seen, in a joint general command in England. The Bishop was charged with the special care of the South, the region of Joint command of Odo and William Fitz-Osbern.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ch was most thoroughly subdued, while the Seneschal to keep watch against movements from Northumber- and the still unsubdued parts of Mercia.¹ Of the acter of their administration the Norman panegyrist of iam gives a glowing picture. They were models of ity towards their master, of harmony towards one her, and of just government towards those over whom were set. Their example in all these respects was fully followed by the subordinate commanders of the es, whose building, in conformity with William's ing orders,² they were diligently pressing on.³ The ve Chronicler has another tale to tell. From him we how Odo Bishop and William Earl stayed in the , and wrought castles wide among the people, and lessed the poor folk, and how evil grew ever after.⁴ e is another speaking witness to the horror with which fathers looked on the fortresses, the special badges of

tinction between William and his unworthy representatives CHAP.XVIII. is plainly drawn. The two haughty chiefs whom he had left in command despised his orders, and laid every kind of oppression on the people. The English were insulted by the pride of the Normans. Their goods and the honour of their women lay open to the attacks of the followers of the two viceroys, and no redress could be had from Earl or Bishop for any wrong that an Englishman suffered; if an injured man dared to bring a complaint before them, he was driven from the judgment-seat with scorn.¹ We must remember that the excesses here complained of were not the momentary excesses of soldiers whose blood is roused by the excitement of a battle or a storm. The land was now, at least nominally, at peace, and the oppression here described is the wearing, grinding, daily oppression of unrighteous rulers in time of peace. And the evils spoken of were just the evils which it was William's own great object, both in Normandy and in England, to put down. Wherever his personal authority was peaceably established, he had no mercy for the robber or the ravisher.² We may fully acquit William of any personal share in the evil deeds of Odo and his fellow-viceroy; his share in the blame is

Amount
of the
King's
own re-
spon-
sibility.

¹ Ord. Vit. 507 D. "Interea Normannico fastu Angli opprimuntur, et praesidiis superbis, qui Regis monitus spernabant, admodum injuriabantur. . . . Odo nimurum episcopus et Guillelmus Osberni filius nimiā cervicoditate tumebant, et clamores Anglorum rationabiliter audire, eisque sequitatis lance suffragari despiciebant. Nam armigeros suos immodicas pradas et incestos raptus facientes vi tuebantur, et super eos qui contumeliis affecti querimonias agebant, magis debacchabantur." This account of Orderic is very remarkable, because in this part of his work he is, in his main facts, following William of Poitiers. But he here deliberately leaves out William's panegyric on the two Earls and puts this widely different description of them instead. The passage has the same kind of value as the controversial passages of Florence (see vol. ii. p. 635; iii. p. 581), or as the places where Matthew Paris, following the narrative of Roger of Wendover, changes the political colouring.

² See the famous character in the Peterborough Chronicle, 1087, and vol. ii. p. 170.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

of not seeing how utterly unfit his brother and his best friend were for the trust which he placed in them. perhaps no fitter deputies could be found. As through-the whole story, wrong was its own punishment. The final sin of an unjust enterprise drove William against will to become a tyrant and a favourer of lesser tyrants. Is were done under the shadow of his name which we be sure that in his own heart he abhorred. For the r commanders, each safe in his own castle, faithfully wed the example of the two great viceroys, and ground Englishmen of every degree both with illegal exac-s and with insults which were probably more bitter than any injury.¹ While the new King's authority was held by men like these, any feelings which may have lingered on from the momentary and factitious joy which had greeted the day of William's crowning died early away.

way into the extreme north of England so early in William's reign: But, however Copsige found the means, it was only by force that he was able to dispossess the reigning Earl Oswulf.¹ Then the son of the old Earls had to lurk in woods and mountains till his day of vengeance came. He soon gathered together a band of outlaws,² and it presently became plain that popular feeling was on his side. Five weeks after William's grant,³ a much shorter time therefore after Copsige could have actually shown himself north of the Tyne, the new Earl was feasting in a place called Newburn. Then followed a scene to which we find several parallels in Northumbrian history. The partizans of Oswulf beset the house where Copsige was; he contrived to slip out secretly and to seek shelter in a neighbouring church. But his lurking-place was soon betrayed; the church was set on fire; the Earl, to escape the flames, tried to make his way out by the door, and was cut down on the threshold by the hands of Oswulf himself.⁴ The victor in this struggle, a scuffle rather than a battle, again took possession of the earldom, and held it for a few months.

By the Norman writers Copsige, or, as they call him, Coxo,⁵ is held up to honour as the martyr of his loyalty to the Norman King, and they are not sparing of the praises which, according to their views, were due to the one Englishman whom William found thoroughly faithful.⁶

¹ Sim. Dun. Gest. Reg. 1072, p. 91, ed. Hinde. "Pulsus a Copsio de comitatu Osulfus."

² Ib. "Osulfus in fame et egestate silvis latitans et montibus, tandem collectis quoq[ue] eadem necessitas compulerat sociis, Copedium in Nyweburne convivantem concludit."

³ Ib. 92. "Quintā hebdomadā commissi sibi comitatūs iiii. Idus Martii."

⁴ Ib. "Qui [Copsius] inter tumultantes turbas lapes dum lateret in ecclesie proditus, incendio ecclesie compellitur usque ad ostium procedere, ubi in ipso ostio manibus Osulf detruncatur."

⁵ See vol. ii. p. 480.

⁶ Will. Pict. 158. "Sed ubi mentem firmiter in tenore boni fixam taliter

Copsige
slain by
Oswulf.
March 11,
1067.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

English ears, whether then or now, such praise might
seem to have done was to use the name of the
King as a means to carry out a personal scheme,
likely to carry out a Northumbrian deadly feud.
act was an attempted betrayal of the country into
hands of an invader who had as yet not ventured to
put his claims in any practical form. It is not won-
derful that Northumbrian feeling was aroused against
and that his enterprise had only a momentary
success. The day when William was really to subdue the
northern shire of England was still far away.

These Northumbrian disturbances had little bearing on
the general march of the events, and they had no immediate
connection with the outbreaks in other parts of England
which were caused by the oppressions of Odo and William

possible that the grievances in the near neighbourhood of CHAP.XVIII.
head-quarters may have been even greater than elsewhere. A local commander, perhaps of no great mark in his own country, but who found his services at Senlac rewarded with an English estate and sometimes with an English wife, might, from the very beginning, be more inclined to feel at home in his new country than men of such high place in their own land as the Bishop of Bayeux and the Seneschal of Normandy. Kent and Foreign
Herefordshire were moreover the two ends of William's help more
real dominion, and they were the districts where foreign easily
aid might most easily be found. Kent lay open to help found there.
from any enemies of William who might be found beyond the sea, and on the Herefordshire border the Readiness
Welsh were always ready to step it on any pretext which of the
promised a chance of fighting and plunder. We have Welsh to
seen that the old alliance between Ælfgar and Gruffydd join in any
quarrel. English
had caused Eadwine to be accompanied by Welsh followers
on his march to Northampton.¹ That alliance was doubtless still remembered. On the other hand, the reigning princes, Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, had received their kingship at the hands of Harold and had become his men.² They had therefore, if they chose, a fair right to give themselves out as his avengers or as assertors of the rights of his house. When English plunder was to be had, kinsmen and followers both of the Northern and of the Southern Gruffydd would be ready to answer either call. The unhappy thing was that, in those times, a movement for the deliverance of any district too often took the form of a general harrying of that district by friends and enemies alike. So it now was in Herefordshire. The land had not yet recovered, it had not fully recovered twenty years after, from the wasting warfare of Gruffydd the son of

¹ See vol. ii. p. 485.

² See vol. ii. pp. 472, 473.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

welyn.¹ It was now to be wasted again. The most powerful, at any rate the most enterprising, Englishman whose parts was Eadric, of whom we have already heard.² held lands both in the north of Herefordshire and Shropshire, and he had refused all submission to the King. Here then, right in the teeth of the new of Hereford, right in the teeth of the old enemies, hard the son of Scrob and his son Osbern, lay an eying piece of independent England which still needed be conquered. None of the representatives of Norman in the district were slow to act in such a case. The prisons of both fortresses, of Richard's Castle and of the le of Hereford, made constant inroads on the lands of refractory Eadric. The English Thengn and his followers, and whoever else may have joined him, stood fully on their defence, and every Norman incursion beaten back with loss on the part of the invaders.³ last in the month of August the English chief

The geographical limit thus given would take in the city CHAP.XVIII.
of Hereford itself. The town and its fortress were clearly Distress of
not taken, but the Norman garrison was brought to great the garri-
straits.¹ Eadric himself kept his independence for at son of
least two years longer. The impression which he made Hereford.
on the Normans is shown by the surname of the Wild or Eadric re-
Savage which he bore among them.² Among the hills mains un-
and woods of the border land, Eadric and his British allies subdued.
could maintain themselves as easily against the Norman 1067-1069.
chivalry as Gruffydd had done against the English House-
carls, till the genius of Harold found out the way to bring
the restless enemy to submission.³

This contest in Herefordshire was strictly a local war. Difference
It was an attempt, and an unsuccessful attempt, on the between
part of the invaders to subdue a district, however small, the Her-
which had never bowed to William's authority. The fordshire
outbreak in Kent, a shire where William's authority was and Kent-
fully established, was of course strictly a revolt. In the ish out-
Herefordshire case, the strangers had simply to be kept breaks.
out; in the Kentish case, they had to be driven out. It may possibly be owing to this difference that the exploits of Eadric are recorded by the English writers only, while the movement in Kent is narrated at some length by our Norman informants, but is wholly passed by in the national Chronicles. The attempt at deliverance in Kent was certainly planned with very little regard to its chance of success, and with still less regard to the national honour. The Kentishmen sought for foreign

S. Maris, Herefordensem provinciam usque ad pontem annis Luce, devastavit, ingentemque prædam reduxit."

¹ Chron. Wig. 1067. "And Eadric cild and þa Bryttas wurdon unsehte, and wunnon heom wið þa castelmann on Hereforda, and fela hearmas heom dydon."

² See Appendix E.

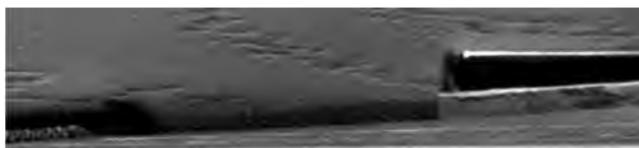
³ See vol. ii. pp. 468, 469.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

o, but they sought it in a very different quarter from
t in which it was sought by Eadric. However practi-
y dangerous might be the presence of Bleddyn and
wallon on English ground, there was no formal treason
ards England in an alliance with Under-kings of the
glish Empire against strangers who threatened Briton

Englishman alike. But the Kentish insurgents
ght for help at the hands of a stranger who had done
ater despite to Englishmen than any other man living,

for whose rule it would have been madness indeed to
hange the rule of William. Oppression must indeed
e reached its height, men's minds must have reached
t state when any change seems as if it must be a
nge for the better, when the men of Kent sent to ask
the help of Eustace of Boulogne in an attack on the
le of Dover. The man whose crime had been the
inning of evils, the man who had slaughtered the
thers of Dover in their streets and in their houses¹



that some vague sentimental feeling may have attached CHAP.XVIII.
to the son-in-law of *Æthelred*,¹ otherwise one would have
thought that what was known of William was, even now,
better than what was known of Eustace. Men could
hardly have dreamed that the Count of Boulogne could
dispossess William of those parts of England which he
had already conquered, or that the still unsubdued districts
could be persuaded or compelled to receive him as their
King. They could hardly have seriously thought that, if
a foreign King had to be borne with, they were likely
to find a better King in a paltry coward and murderer
than they already had in the great Conqueror. Most likely
the reckonings of the men of Kent did not go so far afield.
Anything seemed better than the rule of Odo and Hugh
of Montfort. Eustace was at that moment the enemy of
William,² and any enemy of William seemed for the
moment to be the friend of England.³ Eustace's own Probable
views were most likely not much clearer than those of his views of
Kentish allies. He may, or he may not, have aspired to
the Imperial Crown of Britain; but our hints rather set
him before us as one who looked with jealousy on the
Norman power, and who hoped, by obtaining possession
of the strong fortress of Dover, to be better able to hold
his powerful neighbour in check on both sides of the sea.⁴

¹ See vol. ii. p. 129.

² Will. Pict. 157. "Regi eâ tempestate Eustachius comes Boloniæ
adversabatur, qui filium de fide ante bellum in Normaniâ obseidem de-
derat." Cf. vol. iii. p. 768. I do not know the grounds or circumstances
of this quarrel between Eustace and William, or of the suspicion in which
William seemingly held Eustace even before his expedition.

³ Ord. Vit. 508 B. "Olim cum eodem inimicitias ingentes habuerant,
sed nunc, quia similitates inter eum et Regem insurrexerant . . . pacem
cum illo fecerunt."

⁴ Will. Pict. 157. "Evidem fore, si firmissimo loco hoc sit potitus cum
portu marino, ut potentia ejus latius distendatur, sicque potentiam Nor-
mannorum diminutum iri." These words are put into the mouths of the
English messengers, but they express the reasons why Eustace should accept
the invitation, not why the English should send it.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

, whatever may have been the views on both sides, men of Kent patched up an alliance with their bitterest enemy.¹ It was agreed that the Count of Boulogne should sail across with a fleet and with a fitting landing-force, and that the Kentishmen should be ready to do their best to make him master of the castle of Dover.² However unwise the scheme of Eustace and the Kentishmen may seem in a wider view of things, the actual attack on the castle seems, as a military enterprise, to have been skilfully planned. Advantage was taken of a time when Bishop Odo, Viceroy and Earl, and Hugh of Montfort, the immediate commander of the castle, were both of them absent. They had gone beyond the Thames with the greater part of their forces.³ This movement clearly shows that something was going on in other parts of England which we should gladly learn more. It can hardly be supposed that the forces which were meant to keep down the men of Kent were called away for the defence of Hereford

which could be of little use in attacking the castle on the cliff, were, save a few, left behind, of which the Count's own horse was one.¹ The state of readiness in which Eustace kept himself, and the energy shown in his passage, should be noted. And it is important also to notice that, in his general plan at least, he seems to have risen above that superstitious trust in horses in all times and places which distinguished the French and Norman knights of those days.² It may be that his former experience in Dover itself had taught him a lesson on this head. What we hear of Eustace now, just like what we hear of him at Senlac,³ suggests the idea of a man who well understood the science of war,⁴ but who, like his stepson Ralph,⁵ was lacking in personal courage. He landed, and found a large English force gathered together to join him, the Kentishmen being the most forward of all. Within two days, if the siege should last so long, still larger reinforcements were looked for from the more distant parts of the country.⁶ It was however judged better to begin the attack at once; the two days which might bring together a larger English force might also bring back Odo and Hugh with their following. At day-break

¹ Will. Pict. 157. "Eustachius itaque, accepto nuntio Anglorum [‘Cantiorum veredario’ in Ord. Vit.], cum suis ad eos noctis conticinio transivit, ut incœta oppimeret castellanos [‘classem paratam ascendit, noctisque conticinio, ut oppidum ex insperato preeoccuparet, cum suis festinanter transfretavit.’ Ord. Vit.]. Classem duxit militibus delectis onerata[m] [‘milites multos secum duxit.’ Ord. Vit.], relictis equis preter admodum paucos."

² See vol. ii. p. 131.

³ See vol. iii. p. 768.

⁴ Will. Pict. 157. "Eum bellandi peritum atque in proelio felicem experimentis cognoverant." Does this mean at Dover itself, or at Senlac, or where?

⁵ See vol. ii. p. 388.

⁶ Will. Pict. 158. "Vicinia omnis adfuit armata [Orderic adds ‘maxime Cantiorum caterva, quæ totu[m] nisu suffragari Eustachio erat conata’]; auctor numerus ex ulterioribus accederet, si morte biduana obedio traheretur."

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ordingly the attack was made.¹ Eustace and his English allies seem to have looked for an easy success. But the garrison was found better prepared and in higher spirits for defence than they had deemed possible.² At every point which lay open to attack, the assailants were bravely withheld, and a stout fight was kept up on both sides for several hours.³ At last the heart of Eustace failed him, as it had failed him on the steep of Malfosse in the twilight of Saint Calixtus.⁴ The assault must have begun to slacken, for he feared a sally of the besieged. He therefore ordered a retreat to the ships.⁵ The evil which he thought to avoid now came upon him; the gates were thrown open, and a general attack on the part of the besieged changed the retreat into a flight. In the scene of the great battle the thought of Eustace had been that a new English host was coming to snatch the victory from the conquerors; so now his cry and the cry of his whole host was that the Bishop of Bayeux was

frightful, but, though the Norman horsemen followed on CHAP.XVIII.
 the fliers, slaying and taking captives, yet the smallest
 number of those who fell that day were those who were
 slain by the sword. The terrible name of Odo scattered
 them in all directions. Some, seeking to escape the horse-
 men, strove to climb the steep heights on either side of the
 town. But in their flight and hurry and ignorance of the
 paths, the more part of them perished by falling over the
 rocks. Some threw aside their arms, and were dashed to
 pieces by the mere fall ; others, in the general confusion
 and entanglement, received deadly wounds from their own
 weapons or from those of their comrades. Some contrived
 to reach the coast unhurt, but, as they crowded recklessly
 into their ships, the frail vessels sank, and many of them
 perished.¹ The Count himself was more lucky ; he had indeed taken special care for his own safety. He at least knew the way, if his comrades did not, and for him a fleet horse was ready. He made fast for his ship, where better order was kept than in the others, and so saved himself from the general wreck of the undertaking.² His nephew, who had accompanied him, was less lucky, perhaps more

Escape of
Eustace.

Capture of
his nephew.

caute sequentes novissimos conciderunt. Fugientes vero Baiocensem Episcopum cum agmine copioso subito supervenisse rati sunt." So Will. Gem. vii. 39.

¹ The description in Orderic (508 C, D) is very graphic ; "Ea formidine velut amentes per avie rupis precipitum se dejecerunt, et tali compendio fodius quam eme virorum perierunt. . . . Plerique abjectis armis, acumine saxeo examinati sunt, nonnulli telo suo se sociosque suos labentes necarunt, et multi letaliter vulnerati vel collisi spirantes ad mare devoluti sunt. Plures etiam qui ad puppes propere anhelant, dum salutis nimium cupidi trepidant, suaque multitudine naves deprimunt, subito submersi pereunt. Equites Normanni quantos consecutari possunt comprehendunt vel occidunt."

² At this point William of Poitiers (158) begins again ; "Eripunt velocitas equi, notitia tramitis, navisque paratior." But the accusative "Eustachium," which is needed to explain who this lucky rider was, is left to be supplied by Orderic, who also improves "equi" into "cornipedias." William of Jumièges (vii. 39) tells us how "Eustachius ad mare revertens, cum paucis indecenter navigio aufugit."

CONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

pliant, and he became the captive of the pursuers.¹ As was natural, the horrors of the flight and slaughter fell mainly on the French followers of Eustace. His English allies knew the country, and, protected by their own numbers, they contrived to baffle the smaller bands which attempted to follow them.

An enterprise which had been planned in folly thus ended in utter disgrace. While the sons of the soil, British and English alike, could still hold their own on the Herefordshire march, the attempt to rescue England by an alliance with the basest foe of Englishmen had led, as it deserved, only to signal discomfiture. Of the rest of the land which was already conquered we hear nothing in detail. Our stories of oppression and discontent are all quite general. But men were everywhere seeking either to shake off the yoke or to escape it in their own persons. Even where no open outbreak took place, local conspiracies

other of their countrymen, were scattered over every corner of Europe where there was any chance of help being found. Some seem to have sought for allies in the old land of their fathers at the mouth of the Elbe and the Weser.¹ But the state of things during the sickly and licentious youth of Henry the Fourth did not give much hope of help from the Teutonic Kingdom. The King himself was, in the autumn of this very year, lying on a bed of sickness at Goslar;² and the troubles of Saxony and Thuringia, if they had not yet broken forth, were already festering in silence. There was another quarter in which such attempts were far more likely to be crowned with success. There was one foreign prince to whom English-men might look as all but their countryman. The old West-Saxon dynasty had died out; its only representative was the King of a moment who was now tarrying in William's Norman court. The new West-Saxon dynasty had been cut off in the cause of England; besides the sons of the traitor Tostig, its only adult legitimate representative was the hostage Wulfnoth, who was tarrying either in William's court or in William's dungeon.³ But the stock of the Northern kinsmen and conquerors of England still flourished in a prince who was bound by the closest ties of blood alike to the House of Cnut and to the House of Godwine. Swegen, the son of Ulf and Estrith, the nephew of Cnut, the nephew of Gytha, the brother of the murdered Beorn, the cousin of the fallen Harold, was, of all men not

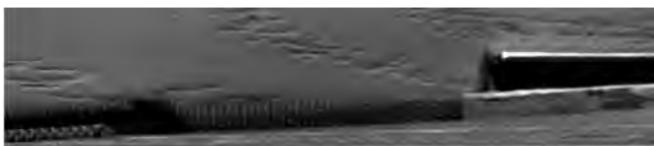
¹ I think we may infer this from the words of William of Poitiers (157), "Ad Danos, vel alio, unde auxilium aliquod speratur, legatos missitant," compared with the legend of Harold's German journey (see vol. iii. pp. 515, 787), and with the various indications which we shall come across of the intercourse between England and Germany at this time.

² Lambert, 1067. Henry fell sick on November 11th. His life had been despaired of in a former sickness in May, 1066.

³ See vol. iii. pp. 243, 684. I shall give, a little further on, some account of the state of the House of Godwine at this moment.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

of English parents on English soil, the man who was called on to avenge the blood of his kinsmen and to break the chains of what he might almost call his country. Twenty years earlier, a party in England had sought to place him on the throne rather than Eadward the Confessor.¹ Since that time he had acted as the ally of Godwine, and as the friend of Godwine, and he had perhaps deserved less of English thankfulness than his services deserved.² He had refused to abet the schemes of Tostig which clutched at the crown which Tostig offered him.³ He equally refused to abet the schemes of William, and many writers believed, though doubtless without truth, that subjects of his had been among their foes on Sicily.⁴ But now everything had changed since the day when Swegen had refused to undertake at Tostig's bidding an enterprise which might befit the greatness of Cnut, but which was beyond the power of his own littleness. It was now a solitary Englishman, banished by English law,



to believe the wild fable of a late writer that, as soon as CHAP.XVIII.
William was crowned, Swegen sent to call on the new
King to hold the English Crown of him as its lawful
over-lord.¹ Such a piece of bravado would be quite out of
character with the prudence which had enabled the Danish
King to hold his own among so many storms. But now
that Englishmen were bidding him to come and deliver
England from the invader, there is no doubt that their re-
quests were willingly listened to. And among the English-
men who sought refuge in his kingdom there was one above
all who could best tell him all that he needed to know as to
the naval resources of England. Eadric, the captain of King
Eadward's ship, who had perhaps met Norman ships in
naval warfare before the day of Senlac, had been outlawed
at the coming of William, and was now an exile in the
Danish kingdom.² While he and other Englishmen were
pressing Swegen to action, there could be no doubt where
the greatest hope for England, the greatest danger for
William, now lay. The whole North lay open to a Danish
invasion at any moment. No Norman soldier had crossed
the Humber; the brother Earls were with William in
Normandy; the Northumbrian people, as yet unchecked
by Norman castles and garrisons, would doubtless have
welcomed the Danish King to put an end to what, as far
as they were concerned, was a state of interregnum. Even
if Swegen had hastened, even if the expedition which took
place two years later had taken place at once, it would
perhaps be too much to deem that William could have
been driven out of England. But there can be little doubt
that, if such a course had been taken, the final conquest
must have been long delayed. If Swegen had come at
once, William could never have occupied northern England,

Presence of
Eadric of
Norfolk in
Denmark.

Northum-
berland
ready for
Danish
help.

Swegen
loses the
favourable
moment.

¹ See the story in Knighton, 2343, and Appendix K.

² On this Eadric from the East of England, see vol. iii. p. 729, and Appendix E.

CONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ept at the price of a hard struggle against the men of land, supported by their kinsfolk from Denmark. Besides the Danes, we hear vaguely of what the Norman masters call other barbarous nations, as likely to take a part disturbing William's possession of England.¹ Norway doubtless meant, and we shall see that William did, a little time later, find it worth his while to send an embassy thither,² no doubt with the object of warding off any danger from that quarter. But under the sons of Harold Hardrada, Magnus and Olaf surnamed Kyrre or the Trael, Norway, instead of threatening either Denmark or England, had well nigh itself fallen under the power of Egen.³ The power of the kingdom, as well as its reputation, must have been greatly lessened by the failure of a great expedition against England, and even by the dire slaughter of Stamfordbridge. Neither of the brothers seems to have inherited the enterprising disposition of their father.

¹ See Hall. 1. 1. 1. 1. King. 1. the battle of

of Harold of England after his great victory,¹ they could CHAP.XVIII.
 have had no motive to avenge his fall, or to disturb the reign No danger
 of his conqueror. From Norway then there was no real to William
 hope for England, no real danger for William. The real from Nor-
 hope, the real danger, was to be looked for wholly way,
 but from Denmark. Denmark. And it was doubtless the news that English
 exiles were gathering at the Danish court, and that King
 Swegen was lending a favourable ear to their prayers,
 which made William suddenly break off his festive and
 devout sojourn in his native duchy, to embark once more
 on the sea of troubles which still awaited him in his half-
 conquered island kingdom.

§ 2. The Conquest of the West.

December 1067—March 1068.

When William had once determined on his return to Matilda England, he did not tarry long in carrying his purpose into effect. The Lady Matilda, a King's wife but not yet a crowned Queen, was again entrusted with the government of Normandy, but this time William's eldest son Robert was nominally associated with his mother.² He was still a boy; he could not have been above thirteen years old, and he was most likely younger;³ but his capacity for government was perhaps as great now as it ever was, and the real authority must have been left in the hands of his wiser parent. Matilda was still surrounded by a Council of prelates and barons; but it would seem

and Robert
left Re-
gents in
Normandy.

¹ See vol. iii. p. 376.

² Ord. Vit. 509 C. "Rex igitur Mathildi conjugi suæ, filioque suo Roberto adolescenti principatum Neustrie commisit, et cum eis religiosos præsules et strenuos proceres ad tuendam regionem dimisit."

³ M. Bouet (Saint-Etienne, p. 8) places Robert's birth about ("environ") 1056, but I know of no evidence for the exact date. It could not have been before 1054.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

they were now deprived of the man who had acted their president during William's first absence. The experienced Roger of Beaumont was called on to accompany his sovereign to his new kingdom at this moment.¹ And later events show that William brought back with him the English attendants or pages who had been his companions in Normandy, and that he could not venture to leave out of his sight either country. Having made these arrangements, William hastened to the haven at the mouth of the Dieppe, which was then spoken of as lying near the town of Dieppe.² He passed by the scene of his exploits of four years earlier,³ and once more took ship for England. The month was December; the sea was stormy; but we are told that the prayers of the Norman Church, then engaged in keeping the festival of Saint Nicolas, kept its crew safe from all dangers.⁴ As in the September of the

year before, one night was enough for the passage, though CHAP.XVIII.
the course taken, from Dieppe to Winchelsea, was longer and lands
than the course of the great fleet from the mouth of the at Win-
Dive to Pevensey. On the Morrow of the festival, Wil- chelsea,
liam stood once more on English ground.¹ December 7.

He came on a day of evil omen for England. The most Christ
honoured among the minsters of England, the mother Church at
church of the whole land, the church of Christ at Canter-
bury,² was on that Saint Nicolas' day burned to the
ground. The church, which had been simply damaged,
but not destroyed, by the fire of Thirkill's Danes,³ was
now utterly wasted by the flames which lighted William
back to complete his errand of conquest. That church, so
men fondly deemed, was still the first building of Augus-
tine and Æthelberht, which had been simply repaired and
heightened under the primacy of Oda.⁴ But the native
fabric was now to be wholly swept away to make room for
the work of the first of a line of foreign Primates. Men's
minds must indeed have been impressed, when the return
of the Conqueror was ushered in by the destruction of the
ecclesiastical home of the nation at the very moment of his
coming.

At the time of William's return no part of those shires
of England which had ever been really subdued was

¹ Ord. Vit. 509 C. "Mane portum oppositi litoris, quem Wicenesium vocitant, prosperrimo cursu arripuit."

² Chron. Wig. 1067. "Her com se kyng eft ongean to Englalande, on Sce Nicolaes messedage, and þes dæges forbarn Cristes cyrce on Cant-warebyri."

³ This is distinctly affirmed by Eadmer in the "Epistola ad Glastonienses," Ang. Sac. ii. 225. "Ad hæc considerandum quia Ecclesia ipsa in passione beatissimi martyris Elphegi nec igne consumpta nec tecto aut parietibus diruta fuit. Violatam quippe fuisse et pluribus ornamenti spoliata, ac supposito de foris igne ut concremaretur adorsam, novimus quo vesana manus pontificem intus sese tuentem, quem mandaret exire, compelleret."

⁴ See all the passages bearing on this point collected by Willis, Architectural History of Canterbury, 7, 8.

CONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND

ually in arms against him. Eadric still held the Herefordshire march, but Eadric had never served. The Kentish revolt had met with the fate deserved. And, if we believe the Norman writer, the order had sprung up among all classes of England. It stood firmly by the Norman King against his sanguinary fellow-countrymen. At its head was Earl Godwin, Primate and several other Bishops, and supported by many others, Thengns, citizens, and clerks, the wisest and most respected, we are assured, members of several orders, who had learned to practise the discipline which bids men fear God and honour the King. Wherever William had either himself appeared or caused the district by the building of a castle, generally throughout south-eastern England, his word at least, was law.² He was received on his arrival by the English inhabitants, clergy and laity alike, with a formal sign of loyalty.³ On the other ha-

This new act of the drama began with the great ceremony, ecclesiastical and political, which habitually marked the Midwinter Festival. For the third successive year that festival was kept, not as it had been in past times and was again to be in later times, at Gloucester, but in the new seat of royalty at Westminster.¹ There, in the chosen dwelling of his revered predecessor, King William wore his Crown and gathered the Witan of England around him for counsel and for judgement. We hear much of the courtesy and honour with which he received the English Prelates and Thegns, with what readiness they were admitted to the royal kiss, how willingly their requests were granted and their counsels followed, and how by these generous arts many of the disaffected were won over.² After making the needful deductions, there is probably much of truth in this. Now, as ever, there were those to whom William found it prudent to be gentle, and those to whom he deemed it his wisdom to be harsh. It stands unmistakeably on record that William's return was accompanied by a confiscation and distribution of lands on so wide a scale that it could be said with indignant sarcasm that he gave away the land of every man.³ The revolts

¹ Ord. Vit. 509 D. "Ipse Lundonie Dominicam nativitatem celebravit." See vol. iii. p. 65.

² Ib. "Pontificibus Anglis proceribusque multa calliditate favit. Ipse omnes officioso affectu demulcebat, dulciter ad oculia invitabat, benigne, si quid orabant, concedebat, prompte, si nuntiabant aut suggerebant, auscultabat. Desertores hujusmodi arte aliquoties reducuntur."

³ Chron. Petrib. 1067. "And he geaf seloe mannes land þa he ongean com." Thomas Rudborne (Ang. Sac. i. 248) gives a rhetorical account of William's doings at this time in which, among a good deal of exaggeration, some expressions are worth notice; "Willelmus in Regem sublimatus pacifice tractabat nobiliores regni Anglie, post fidelitatis juramentum ab ipsis sibi prestitum quamdui fidem ei servabant, sed postquam rebellare coperunt, homagiis iterum ab ipsis acceptis datisque obsidibus, omnibus, qui ad regnum aspiraverant factus est terrori. Civitatibus quoque depositis et castellis propriisque ministris impositis, ad Normanniam cum obsidibus Anglie et thesauris impregabilibus navigavit. Quibus incareratis et sub

CHAP.XVIII.

William keeps Christmas at Westminster, December 25, 1067—January 6, 1068.

The Mid-winter Gemót : William's policy towards the English Thegns.

Second confisca-tion and distribution of lands.

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

conspiracies which had happened during his absence had give ample excuse for such a measure. And the scation was further attended by one of those heavy stirs in money which to the feelings of those days were more hateful than confiscation. "The King set mickle on the poor folk."¹

William was thus busy in half caressing, half coercing, English subjects. Meanwhile the men of French and Norman birth who were about him were carefully warned of the state of the country, and bidden to be ever on their guard against the plots of the disaffected English.² And it fell in with William's policy to give his subjects of both nations the spectacle of a great judicial pageant, to teach them that their King was no respecter of persons, and that no man of either race could safely revolt against him. This winter Gemót of Westminster was made unusually impressive by a trial of which the like had certainly never been seen in England. Sentence of banishment and for-

thing for a foreign prince to be formally put on his trial CHAP.XVIII. before an English court, and, as it would seem, to be condemned by default. Eustace of Boulogne was, in Eustace of Boulogne his county of Boulogne, a sovereign prince, owning no tried and condemned by the Gemot. superior but his lord the King of the French. But by taking service in William's army he had become the man of the Duke of the Normans, and by receiving grants of English lands, he became for them the man of the King of the English. As such, he had been guilty of treason against his lord, and for that crime he was arraigned, in ancient form, before the King and his Witan. It cannot be supposed that he appeared; but we know that the voices of the assembled Wise Men, French and English, were given against him, as they could hardly fail to be when all Kent might have been summoned to bear witness.¹ The sentence is not recorded, but according to all English precedent, it would be outlawry and forfeiture of all lands and honours within the Kingdom of England. But, at some later day, Eustace found means to win back Eustace's later re-conciliation with William. William's favour and to be again reckoned among those who were most highly honoured by him.² He was enriched with lands, chiefly in those parts of England which were not in any dangerous neighbourhood to his foreign dominions. He himself was dead at the time of the Lands held by his widow and son. Survey, but his widow and son appear there as holders of

¹ The trial and sentence are clearly implied by William of Poitiers (158), though he cuts the thing as short as he can; "Neque sententia erravit dicta consensu Anglorum et Gallorum, quâ de reatu convictus est."

² The caution of William of Poitiers (158) is amusing; "Evidem si rationes quæ ejus liti controversantur depromerem, Regis eum gratiam atque *Regis dono accepta beneficia ex sequo et bono amicitiæ* plane convincerem. . . Sed parendum sentimus personæ multifariam illustri, comiti nominato, qui reconciliatus nunc in proximis Regis honoratur." The words in Italics imply forfeiture. Orderic (508 D) of course changes the tense; "Non multo post Eustachius consul Willermo Regi reconciliatus est, ejusque amicitiâ longo tempore postmodum perfunctus est. Erat enim idem comes magnæ nobilitatis," &c. He goes on to speak of his pedigree and his children.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ships, both in various other shires and in those western
s which on the day of his sentence were still uncon-
ed. The names of Ida and Eustace, the widow and the
of the coward of Boulogne, the mother and the brother
the hero of Jerusalem, are found as owners of English
on spots which would have a strange fitness if we could
n that they were ever honoured with the sojourn of the
ntiest of the foes of Paynimrie. One of the western
essions of the House of Boulogne lies nestling at the
of the north-western crest of Mendip, where the power
il of the old Teutonic creed has left his name in Count
ace's lordship of Loxton. Another, Kenwardston, the
ry of the widowed Countess, crowns the wooded height
h looks full on that inland mount of the Archangel
h shelters the earliest home of Christianity in Britain.¹

was probably in the same Gemót that William for the
time exercised the power of bestowing an English

stranger. He died at Winchester, but he was buried in ^{CHAP.XVIII.} his own church, the last of the long line of prelates who had not despised that lowly dwelling-place.

The appointment of his successor marked the beginning of a new era. Since the flight of Robert and Ulf no man of French speech had been raised to an episcopal throne in England. The few men not natives of the island whom the policy of Harold had called to such high offices were men whom England could hardly look on as strangers, men from the kindred land of the Lower Lotharingia.¹ William of London alone, honoured equally by men of all races, had been allowed to hand on to the reign of William the worst tradition of the early reign of Eadward. What Eadward had done out of mere weakness and personal favouritism William was now to do out of systematic policy. The prelacy of England was to be used as a means for rivetting the fetters of England. The rule which was strictly carried out through the rest of the century and the first half of the next now began. As the bishoprics and abbeys of England became vacant by the death or deprivation of English prelates, men of Norman or other foreign birth were appointed in their room. For a long time to come the appointment of an Englishman to a bishopric is unknown, and even to a great abbey it is extremely rare. In the case of the primacy indeed the rule was so strict that the exclusion of Englishmen reached even to men of Norman descent born in England, and for a hundred years after the Conquest, till the days of Thomas of London, no native of the Isle of Britain sat in the chair of Augustine. We have now to see the firstfruits of this system in the choice of a successor for Wulfwig. The great bishopric of Mid-England, a large part of whose diocese was not yet in William's power, was given to Remigius the Almoner of Fécamp, whose zeal and liberality

Wulfwig
the last of
the bishops
of Dor-
chester.

Long ex-
clusion of
English-
men from
high
spiritual
prefer-
ment.

Remigius
of Fécamp
appointed
Bishop
of Dor-
chester
1067-1092.

¹ See vol. ii. Appendix L.

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

William's cause has been already recorded.¹ The voice of scandal ventured to breathe that neither the gift of Remigius nor the gratitude of William was wholly a free-willing. It was in after times brought up as a formal charge against the new prelate that, before the fleet had sailed from Saint Valery, an English bishopric had been promised as the price of the well-appointed ship which had received the contribution of the loyal almoner.² As yet however Remigius took possession of the see without objection, it is specially to be noticed that the first Norman intended by William to an English bishopric received excommunication at the hands of Stigand.³ Remigius himself, in his later profession to Lanfranc, declared that he did it willingly, that he went for the rite to the actual Metropolitan, without knowing the uncanonical and schismatical character which attached to all his official acts.⁴ Yet we must not forget the notoriety of Stigand's position, and the

¹ *Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis, Vol. II, p. 111.*

² *Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis, Vol. II, p. 111.*

³ *Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis, Vol. II, p. 111.*

⁴ *Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis, Vol. II, p. 111.*

of Fécamp; it would be yet stranger if Remigius, on coming CHAP.XVIII. to England, found no one, Norman or English, to warn him of the canonical risk which he was running. It is hard to avoid the belief that it was not so much the ignorance of Remigius as the policy of William which led to what all strict churchmen must have deemed a gross breach of ecclesiastical order. William was still temporizing with Stigand; the time for his degradation was not yet come.¹ It would be a great, perhaps an unlooked for, mark of his continued confidence if the King bade the new Bishop of Dorchester to seek consecration from the still acknowledged Primate. When the day came, the friend of Lanfranc and Hildebrand could easily find means to set straight any past irregularity. At all events, Remigius was consecrated by Stigand, with the help of what assistant Bishops we are not told, and he made profession to the schismatic as his lawful Metropolitan. He took possession of his humble Remigius begins buildings at Dorchester. The see removed to Lincoln.

At the same Gemót William had also most probably the opportunity of again, nominally at least, bestowing an English earldom. The second reign of Oswulf beyond the Tyne had not lasted long. In the course of the autumn he was slain, not however, as it would seem, in any political broil or at the hand of any avenger of Copsige. He died by the spear of a common robber, one of the brood who had escaped the heavy hands of Siward and Tostig, and the story reads as if he were killed in the act of trying

¹ See above, p. 78.

² Will. Malm. Gest. Pont. 312. See the next Chapter.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

nally to arrest the wrong-doer.¹ His death left the hereditary post open to the ambition of another Englishman of the highest rank. This was Gospatric the son of Ealdred, who, by female descent at least, sprang of the last blood of Northumberland and even of the kingly race of Wessex. For his mother Ealdgyth was the daughter of Uhtred by his third wife, the daughter of Æthelred. And the words of our chief Northumbrian guide seem to imply that this descent gave him some right of preference to the earldom.² This is a sign of the growing notion of hereditary right with regard to offices, and it is further remarkable as showing that the notion of succession through females was already beginning to be entertained. We cannot suppose that it would have come into any man's head to propose a woman as a candidate for an earldom, but men were clearly beginning to think that the son of an Earl's daughter had a right to his grandfather's dignity than an utter

veil shrouds the affairs of the extreme North for some time CHAP. XVIII.
to come, and when we next hear of Gospatric, he appears
in the same character as Eadwine and Morkere, as a
dweller in William's court, but as one who had already
begun to fear his enmity.¹

But William had other cares besides thus ordering the affairs of the obedient shires of England, and granting away the nominal government of shires which were still to be subdued. He had to guard against the dangers which threatened him both from Denmark and from the still unsubdued West. In that quarter the determination not to admit his authority was every day putting on a garb of more direct hostility. William had his cure for both dangers. The intentions of the Danish King were to be sounded, and his purposes, if hostile, were to be staved off by the discretion and power of speech of an ambassador of English birth. For the defenders of western England, the rebels as they were deemed in Norman eyes, William determined on the bold step of a winter campaign. To Policy of choosing an English ambassador. employ an Englishman as his ambassador to the Danish King was a clear stroke of policy on William's part. Such an ambassador would come, not from the Norman Conqueror, King by the edge of the sword, but from the lawful King of the English, the kinsman and successor of the saintly Eadward. The man chosen for this purpose was a churchman of high rank of whom we have already heard more than once. Æthelsige, Abbot of Saint Augustine's, had received the abbatial benediction, as Remigius of Dorchester had received his episcopal consecration, at the hands of Stigand.² He had been further entrusted by Eadward in his lifetime with the government of the great house of Saint Bene't of Ramsey,³ and legends went on to

¹ On the Earldom of Gospatric, see Appendix I.

² See vol. ii. p. 451.

³ Ib. p. 452.

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

hat he had been chosen by the departed King to carry message of health and victory from Eadward to his chosen successor.¹ No choice on William's part could have been better planned to make a moral impression on the minds of Englishmen and Englishmen. A prelate who had been the fast friend both of Eadward and of Harold now appeared at the court of Swegen as the representative of William. The life of Æthelsige is wrapped in confusions and contradictions, and the details of his embassy to Swegen have come down to us only in a legendary shape. But there is no room to doubt the fact of his mission, as the legend falls in remarkably well with several entries in the great Survey.² Æthelsige then sailed for Denmark and reached the court of Swegen in safety. He was received with honour, and brought the gifts of William to the Danish King and his sons. His stay was long; of the political details of his mission we have no account, but the course of events seems to show that he succeeded in staying off for a

on his return to England, his ship was well nigh lost in a ^{CHAP.XVIII.} storm. In answer to the prayers of the Abbot and his companions an angel presently appeared, and bade them keep the feast of the Conception—not yet declared to be immaculate—of our Lady. On his vow so to do, the storm ceased, and on his return the new festival was first kept in the church of Ramsey, and from thence its observance spread over England and Christendom.¹

Abbot Æthelsige is thus set before us as chosen for the ^{Later history of} ^{Æthelsige.} second time to be the bearer of a supernatural message. And his real history is well nigh as wonderful as anything that legend could invent. It may be as well, at the expense of strict chronological order, to sketch the remainder of his strangely chequered life. At this moment he seems to have been as high in the favour of William as he had been in that of Eadward and Harold. Within two years he lost the favour both of William and of his own monks at Saint Augustine's. The displeasure of the monks is said to have been caused by alienations of the lands of the monastery to Normans. The grounds of William's displeasure are not mentioned, but there is no doubt that the Abbot was outlawed, and that he took shelter in the land which he had so lately visited as William's ambassador. The strange thing is that, ten years later, he had, by some means or other, by some service doubtless at the Danish court, contrived to win back the favour of William. He was allowed to return, not to Saint Augustine's, which was in the hands of his Norman successor Scotland, but to Ramsey, where his place during his absence seems to have been taken by his predecessor Ælfwine.² His outlawry is recorded in the great Survey, but it is no less plain that, when the Survey itself was made, he was again Abbot of

^{His out-}
^{lawry and}
^{flight to}
^{Denmark.}

1070.

¹ See the different versions in *Langebek*, iii. 253 et seqq., and Appendix K.

² See vol. ii. p. 452.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

y. And to wind up all, as if purposely to make way
ew state of things, both *Aethelsige* and his successor
nt Augustine's died in the same year as William
e.¹

nwhile William was making every preparation for
mpaign in the West. The shires of the *Wealhcyn* seem
to have retained perfect independence. The only
f anything like an acknowledgement of William's
hip in those parts is the fact of the Abbot of Glaston-
being one of William's companions in his voyage to
ndy.² On the other hand, we are distinctly told
Exeter, the great city of western England, had had
lings whatever with the new King.³ And it would
hat the schemes of the men of the West were now
the form of something beyond a mere refusal to
vledge the King who reigned in London and Win-
r. Exeter was of course the centre of all patriotic

not imply that a force had been sent against the West ^{CHAP.XVIII.} while William was still in Normandy. At all events the Zeal and city was at this moment perfectly independent and full of ^{valour of} all ranks. zeal for the national cause. The citizens of Exeter were rich, numerous, and valiant, and, at this stage at least of the story, all ranks joined in full purpose to withstand the stranger to the uttermost.¹ Like their brethren at Winchester, they stood in a special relation to the widowed Eadgyth,² as their forefathers had stood towards the widowed Emma. But the influence which the absent Lady could exercise at Exeter was far less than that which she could exercise in her own dwelling-place at Winchester.³ The walls which Æthelstan had reared, and which Swegen had at least partly overthrown,⁴ had been repaired or rebuilt, and the city was again strongly fortified.⁵ And now towers and battlements, and whatever was needed for defence against a siege, were carefully repaired, and new works were added wherever any further strength could be given.⁶ But the resistance of the West was not to be only the resistance of a single city, however great; the men of Exeter sent messengers to and fro to rouse the men of the neighbouring shires, and to call on their towns to enter They seek help from the neighbouring shires and towns.

¹ Ord. Vit. 510 A. "Cives eam tenebant furiosi, copiose multitudinis, infestissimi mortaliibus Gallici generis, puberes ac senatus." One is tempted to read either "plebs et senatus" or "puberes ac seniores." But the mention of "senatus," it will be presently seen, is important. (In this suggestion I find myself forestalled in the excellent note of Maseres, p. 210.)

² In Domesday (100) twelve houses in Exeter appear as "libere ad numerum in ministeriis Eddid Reginæ."

³ See vol. iii. p. 540.

⁴ See vol. i. pp. 308, 315. In the days of Stephen (Gesta Steph. 21) the walls were already looked on as Roman work; "Est Esonia civitas ampla, vetustissimo Cœsarum opere murata, quarta ut ferunt, principalis Anglie sedes [see vol. ii. p. 508] aequoreorum piscium, carnium quoque et navalium commercii refertissima."

⁵ "Operose munita," says Orderic.

⁶ Ord. Vit. 510 A. "Pinnas ac turres et queque necessaria sibi censabant in munimentis addebant vel restaurabant."

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

a league with Exeter against the foreign King.¹ In the shires, those towns, were now undoubtedly wholly English in feeling; they were probably by this time mainly English in blood. The Thengns and the citizens at all events would be so; the towns, we may be sure, had, like the country itself, been from the beginning English colonies in Celtic land. The memory of older distinctions would naturally tend, as in some parts it tends to this day, to make the English feeling a little stronger than elsewhere. But the citizens of Exeter were ready to welcome help from any quarter, and, among other quarters, they sought it among strangers from distant lands whom the commercial importance of their city had brought to sojourn within its gates. Foreign merchants, if they seemed likely to be useful in the campaign, were pressed into the service, to take their part on behalf of the land to which they had given a temporary allegiance.² It was plain that to put such a movement as this must be William's first

mother of heroes, craved the body of her son on the morrow CHAP. XVIII. of the great battle.¹ But now the widow of Godwine was present in the city whose holy places she had enriched with offerings for the soul of her husband.² There was no part of England in which her own possessions and those of her children were larger than in the shires of Devon and Somerset. And it is in those shires only that we can trace in the Survey the names of those younger members of the family of whom so little record is to be found elsewhere.³ The lands of the House of Godwine, at all events the lands of Harold, Gyrth, and Leofwine, had, wherever William's rule had reached, been forfeited to the behoof of the Conqueror and his followers. Here, in the free West, their revenues and the fighting power of their occupants were still ready to be used in the cause of England. The men of Somerset and Dorset had sent their contingents to Senlac. The men of Devonshire and Cornwall are not mentioned ;⁴ but in the swift march of events between the two great battles the forces of such distant shires may easily, without any suspicion of backwardness or disloyalty, have failed to find their way to Harold's muster. But for this very reason those shires were better able to resist now ; their noblest and bravest had not been cut off, like the noblest and bravest of Kent and Berkshire. The widow of the great Earl, the mother of the fallen King, was thus dwelling within the walls of a city where she was well known, in the midst of vast estates belonging to herself and her house. We may here stop and see what was at this moment the state of the House of Godwine, as several of its members will flit before our eyes for a few moments. All the sons of Godwine were dead, save only Wulfnoth the hostage, the only

¹ See vol. iii. p. 511; cf. p. 519.

² See vol. ii. p. 350 for her gifts to Saint Olaf's church at Exeter.

³ See Appendix L and M.

⁴ See the list from Wace in vol. iii. p. 425.

State of
the House
of God-
wine.
Wulfnoth

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

o was in the hands of William.¹ Of Harold's other companion in his fatal voyage, Hakon the son of Swegen, certain account can be given. I have ventured, rather boldly, to give him his place among the warriors of lac.² He may have died there, or the conjecture³ may be true which, without any further evidence, makes him the same as a Danish Earl Hakon of whom we shall hear later in the history. Of the daughters of Godwine, Eadgith was still enjoying the honours of the Old Lady when the walls of her Imperial morning-gift. Ælfgifu, according to one version, was dead;⁴ at all events there is no further account to give of her. Gunhild, alive and married, was doubtless in attendance on her mother. In the third generation, besides the doubtful case of Hakon, the sons of Tostig were in Norway;⁵ of any children of Eadred and Leofwine we hear nothing. But Harold had left behind him five children, who, as I have elsewhere

¹ See *Ælfric's Treatise of St. Edmund*, p. 112.

the sons—therefore necessarily the twin sons—of Harold CHAP.XVIII. and Ealdgyth, were born after their father's death.¹ It would follow that they were born at Chester, whither their mother had been sent for safety by her brothers.² As Chester was not yet in William's possession, the babes, whom the event of the great battle had hindered from being born *Æthelings*, were probably dwelling with their mother within the Mercian earldom. Of the young Harold we hear nothing till long after. Wulf fell into Captivity of Wulf. William's clutches and remained a prisoner till the end of William's reign.³ But we may believe that his captivity dated only from the fall of Chester rather than suspect that even Eadwine could stoop to the baseness of giving up his infant nephew as the price of the Conqueror's favour to himself.

The sons of Ealdgyth united the blood of the two greatest houses in England, and, had their father's reign been as long as the heart of England had prayed for at his crowning, one of them might have been the second King of the House of Godwine. The sons of Harold who were within the walls of Exeter came of a lowlier and doubtful stock. But, as vigorous youths fast approaching manhood, they were better fitted to become the rallying point of a patriotic movement, and the probable stain on their birth could hardly be thrown in their teeth in the days of William the Bastard. The whole West was ready for Volunteers from other districts. defence, and volunteers flocked in from other parts. One recorded instance in such cases proves many unrecorded. Blæcman, a wealthy secular priest of Berkshire, a tenant Blæcman of Berk-shire. of the abbey of Abingdon, and himself founder of a goodly church in its neighbourhood, risked all his possessions, temporal and spiritual, to share the fortunes of the widow

¹ See Appendix M.

² See vol. iii. pp. 510, 791.

³ See *Flor. Wig.* 1067.

CHAP.XVIII. of Godwine.¹ Such a man, we may be sure, did not stand alone; Exeter, the one great city of southern England which remained free, was doubtless a city of refuge to many a patriotic heart from all the shires over which the House of Godwine had ruled. At no moment since the battle had the hopes of deliverance been higher. But, as usual, local and internal dissensions spoiled everything. England had no leader. If the North had risen now, if the Danish fleet had come now, their united forces might perhaps have driven William once more beyond the sea. But while Exeter was in arms, York did not stir, and when York did stir, Exeter had no longer the power of stirring. The grandsons of Leofric doubtless cared little for a movement on behalf of the House of Godwine. Had the sons of Harold and Ealdgyth been grown men, capable of leading armies, both the great divisions of England might possibly

The Western movement not supported by the North.

¹ Blæcman, Blacheman, Blachemannus, is spoken of in the History of Abingdon, i. 474, as "presbyter pecuniosus." By the leave of the convent he built a church, with buildings of a monastic pattern attached, on an island lying in the river to the south of the monastery, which, from the dedication of the church to Saint Andrew, got the name of "Andresia" (Andreasēge!). The buildings were "mirifice coaptata, picturis calaturisque infra et extra ubique

have gathered round one who united the blood of Godwine CHAP.XVIII. and the blood of Leofric. But the babes at Chester could give no strength to any cause, and Eadwine and Morkere tarried in the Court of William till William's rule was as safe at Exeter as it was at Winchester and London.

In overcoming the hostility of the West, William acted negotiates. as he always did act. Before he tried arms, he tried negotiation. In the great case of all, in his dealings with Harold himself, he did not strike a blow till all the powers of diplomacy had been thoroughly worn out between himself and his rival. In the course of his march after the battle, he had sent a successful embassy to Winchester,¹ and one of more doubtful issue to London.² So he now sent to Exeter He demands the submission of Exeter. to demand that the citizens should take the oath of allegiance to him as their lawful King.³ He also, it would seem, required to be received in person within the city. William, on becoming full sovereign of Exeter, might have purposed, like Æthelstan, to celebrate and to secure his conquest by holding one of the solemn Gemots of the year within its walls.⁴ On the arrival of this message, we see the first signs of a wavering policy, of a division of feeling between different classes in the city. At Exeter, as everywhere else, the mass of the people were patriotic; but a fainhearted, if not a traitorous, faction soon began to show itself among those of higher degree.⁵ The chief men, whether by those words we are to understand the local magistracy or generally the leading men who were gathered within the walls, sent a temporizing answer to William. In so doing they showed that they as little understood the man with whom they were dealing as Robert the Staller had understood him

¹ See vol. iii. p. 540.

² Ib. p. 545.

³ Ord. Vit. 510 A. "Rex ubi haec certius comperit, primoribus civitatis jurare sibi fidelitatem mandavit."

⁴ See vol. i. p. 308.

⁵ See the note in vol. iii. p. 333.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

he counselled him to go back quietly from Hastings
mandy.¹ In dealing with William the Conqueror
were only two choicess, unconditional submission and
nce to the last. Submission would bring favourable

Resistance might be successful, and William more-
now and then showed that he could find it in his
to honour a valiant enemy. The wise men of Exeter
a middle course, a course which made success im-
me; but their answer is most valuable as an illus-
n of the politics of the time. It shows the strength
al, as distinguished from national, patriotism ; it
the ideas of municipal freedom which were growing
shows, we may add, the chances and tendencies
which William saved England. The answer to
m's summons, as reported by our Norman infor-
, ran thus, " We will take no oaths to the King ;
ll not receive him within our walls ; but we are
to pay to him the tribute which we have been

such language came from the magistrates of Exeter only, CHAP.XVIII. or whether it was shared by the Thegns of the West in general. In the former case the object is plain; the aim of the Exeter patricians was to make their city an aristocratic commonwealth, like those of which the germs were already showing themselves within the continental Empire. Is it possible that, among the foreign visitors who gave their help in matters of war, there were some who could give lessons to the rulers of Exeter in matters of Italian policy? Exeter was to be a republic, independent in all its internal affairs.¹ The Emperor of Britain might be over-lord of the commonwealth; his protection might be bought, or his enmity might be bought off, by a payment in money. The burthens which had been laid on the city by former Kings had not been grievous. Exeter paid in money only when London, York, and Winchester paid, and the sum to be paid was a single half-mark of silver, for the behoof of the soldiers, that is doubtless of the King's Housecarls.² The mention of Exeter in such company marks the high position which it held among the cities of England. When the King summoned his *fyrd* to his standard, by sea or by land, Exeter supplied the same number of men as were supplied by five hides of land.³ These payments, these services, the commonwealth was ready to render to the new master who claimed its allegiance. But the men of Exeter would not, each citizen personally, become his men; they would not receive so dangerous a visitor within their

¹ On the condition of Exeter at this time and its league with the other boroughs, see Palgrave, iii. 419, 426-429, and English Commonwealth, i. 645. There is perhaps a little exaggeration in the line which he takes, but it is a striking thought when he says, "But a little more, and England might have become the first Federal Commonwealth in Christendom."

² See below, p. 162.

³ Domesday, 100. "Quando expeditio ibat per terram aut per mare, serviebat haec civitas quantum v. hidæ terre." So Exon, 80.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

they would not, we may believe, be handed over morning-gift to any more widows of Kings, or again posed to the treason or the incapacity of reeves missioned by foreign Ladies. Such schemes were bold enough in a civic aristocracy, but they could hardly have been shared by the rural Thegns of Devon and Somerset. Still less were such schemes likely to be shared by Gytha and her grandsons. The sons of Alfred might well dream of kingdoms, greater or smaller, either of England, of Wessex, or only of the *Wealhcyn*. They would hardly aspire to be Consuls or Burgomasters of the Free Imperial City of Exeter. As for the many Thegns of the country, we can hardly attribute to them such a degree of political foresight as to understand the probable results of the establishment of an independent commonwealth in the great western city. Such a commonwealth, if it lived and prospered, was not unlikely to be the part which was afterwards played by Barn and

have no hope of admitting William as Over-lord without CHAP.XVIII. admitting him as immediate King. They could hardly have cherished any dream so wild as that of establishing the *Wealhcyn* as a separate principality like the Northern Wales, paying tribute to William as Basileus of Britain, but ruled by a prince of the House of Godwine, a prince who might himself be the man of the over-lord, but whose personal vassalage should not be shared by his subjects.

But of all princes of his day William was the least likely to be entangled into middle courses or to be satisfied with a half-submission. He might be Duke of the Normans and Cæsar of the English;¹ but in either character he would be the immediate lord of every one of his subjects.

He might be satisfied with maintaining the external superiority of his predecessors over the outlying provinces of his Empire, but within the kingdom which his kinsman had bequeathed to him he would put up with nothing short of unreserved allegiance. He would have nothing to do

with terms and reservations. His answer to the Exeter deputation was terse and to the purpose ; “It is not my custom to take subjects on such conditions.”²

War of course followed ; William marched with an army into Devonshire, an army drawn partly from the English inhabitants of the conquered districts. This was the first, but not the last, time in which William learned to employ English valour in his wars on both sides of the sea.³ The policy of so doing was obvious ; it was not a foreign

His answer to the Exeter deputation.

He marches against Exeter. Englishmen in his army. Policy of their employment.

¹ See vol. i. p. 556.

² Ord. Vit. 510 A. “E contra sic eis remandavit Rex dicens, Non est mihi moris ad hanc conditionem habere subjectos.”

³ Ib. “Deinde cum exercitu ad fines eorum accessit, et primos in eâ expeditione Anglos eduxit.” I do not see that this need mean—though the fact is not at all unlikely—that “the English were placed in the front of his army” (Lappenberg, 121, Eng. tr.). Surely it simply means that this was the first time that William used English troops.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

eror who was marching against an independent city ; the King of the English, at the head of his loyal shmen, marching against a city which refused him wful rights. Nor is it wonderful that native Englisheven from the West-Saxon shires, were found ready rch on such a service. A government in possession, ever unpopular, has vast advantages over a people nt leaders. If King William summoned the *fyrd* in t form, under the same penalties which had been d in the days of Æthelred,¹ the man, Thegen or churl, arded to hold back must have been a man of unusual less and vigour. And, when soldiers are once under the blind instinct of military discipline, and of what ed military honour, has too often been found utterly eweigh the higher biddings of moral and political If the soldiers of Cromwell and the Buonapartes ot scruple to drive out Parliaments at the bidding of military chiefs, we cannot wonder that William, now

His course naturally led him through Dorset, and it was CHAP.XVII. no doubt now that the towns of that shire, Dorchester, William's ravages on his march ; Bridport, Wareham, and Shaftesbury, underwent that ruin of the Dorset towns. fearful harrying the result of which is recorded in Domesday. Bridport was utterly ruined ; not a house seems to have been able to pay taxes at the time of the Survey. At Dorchester, the old Roman settlement, the chief town of the shire, only a small remnant of the houses escaped destruction.¹ These facts are signs that William followed the same policy against Exeter which he had followed against Le Mans² and against London.³ The boroughs of Dorset were doubtless among the towns which had joined in the civic league. Most likely they stood sieges and were taken by storm. At any rate they were ruthlessly harried, in order at once to isolate and to frighten the greater city which lay beyond them. This policy did its work. As William drew near, the fear of him and his wrath fell on the patricians of the commonwealth of Exeter. At a distance of four miles from the city a second deputation met him, whose language was very different from that of the earlier message. Nothing was now said of conditions ; nothing was refused ; all was abject submission to William's will. The men of Exeter craved for peace ; their gates were open to receive the King ; they would obey all his orders. In pledge of their good faith, hostages, as many as William demanded, were at once given up.⁴ And it would seem that William now made some special promises of favour which he afterwards failed to carry out.⁵

¹ See Domesday, 100.

² See vol. iii. p. 203.

³ Ib. pp. 532, 542.

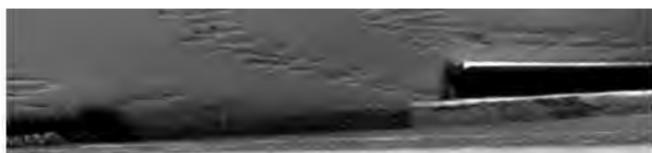
⁴ Ord. Vit. 510 B. " *Majores mox, ut Regem cum exercitu appropinquare cognoscunt, obviam advenienti procedunt, pacem poscunt, portas ei patere dicunt, imperata quelibet se facturos promittunt, et obsides illoco, quantos Rex jubet, adducuntur.*" This of course cannot mean that they went back to the city for hostages.

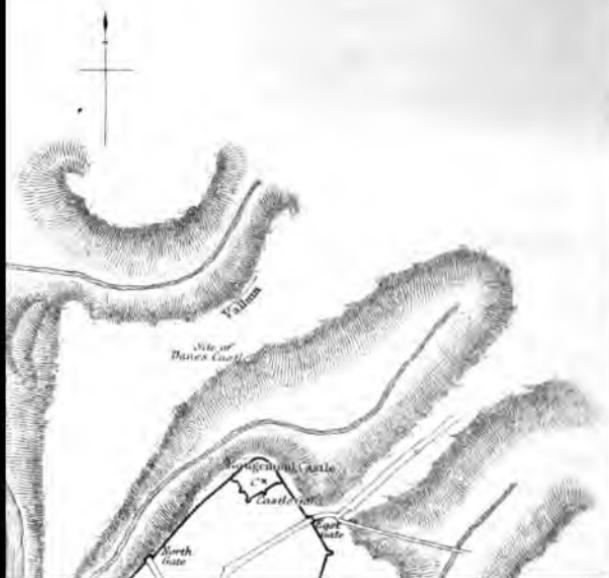
⁵ So it would seem from the short but weighty account in the Worcester

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

cannot wonder that it was so, for, as soon as the messengers returned to the town, it speedily appeared that the of the ruling body was not confirmed by the general of the citizens. The capitulation was disowned ; in regard for the safety of the hostages did not move in who had made up their minds not to yield.¹ After deputation had withdrawn, and had left the hostages the King's hands, no further marks of submission followed. The road was not thronged, as William perhaps looked to see it, by his new subjects pouring forth to welcome their sovereign. One might almost be led to think that acts of direct hostility followed on the part of the vassals. At all events, William saw that he was deceived, and we can hardly blame him for being filled with wonder and wrath.² With five hundred horsemen he rode forth to the city, to judge of its site and its fortifications, and to find out what the enemy were doing.³

enicle, which gives hints which we should be well pleased to see drawn





The city to which William now drew near did not indeed rival the natural strength of Le Mans or Domfront,^{CHAP.XVIII.} but it came nearer than most English towns to recalling somewhat of the character of those memorable scenes of his earlier exploits. Exeter is described by the most detailed historian of this campaign as standing in a plain,¹ and to one who looks down upon the city from the higher ground which surrounds it on nearly every side the description might not seem untrue. But the city really stands on a hill, and a hill, in some parts, of no slight steepness. The Exe flows to the south-west; at the north-east a kind of narrow isthmus connects the hill with a large extent of ground at nearly its own level. On either side of the isthmus a sort of ravine, stretching towards the river on each side, forms a natural moat round the greater part of the city. On the isthmus, the most important point in the line of defence, stood the East Gate of the city, one of the four which guarded the ends of the four main streets which still keep up the memory of the ground-plan of Roman Isca.² The wall which, with a little care, may be traced through nearly the whole of its extent,³ fol-

Descrip-
tion of
Exeter.

The walls
and gates.

¹ Orderic (510 A) calls the city "in *plano sita*," and adds "a litora marino, quod ex Hibernia vel Britannia minore brevissimo aditum spatio, distans milliaria circiter duo." "*Litus marinum*" may, by a favourable construction, be taken to mean the shore of the estuary of the Exe, but the whole geography is confused.

² The direction of the western limb was changed between the coming of William of Normandy and William of Orange, and it now no longer leads directly to the West Gate. For this fact I have to thank Mr. Keralake of Bristol.

³ The walls of Exeter are well shown in the plans in Izacke's "Remarkable Antiquities of the City of Exeter" (London, 1724), and Jenkins's "History and Description of the City of Exeter" (Exeter, 1806). In April, 1870, I made the whole circuit of the defences in company with Mr. W. A. Sanford, and we were able to trace the wall nearly everywhere. Like the walls of Rome, it has been greatly patched at various times, and shows a most remarkable variety in its masonry. I feel little doubt that some parts of the wall of Æthelstan are still standing both on the north and on the south side, where there is a clear imitation of Roman work. All the gates have been destroyed.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

the crest of the hill, which is divided from the river by alluvial pastures, which in those days were most likely wamps. The defences were therefore not carried down to water, except at the extreme southern part of the town where a fifth gate, the *Quay Gate*, came between the North and Southern Gates of the four main arms. Here were the two main approaches for either friends or foes. The Exe, not yet, as at a later time, bridled by the town, afforded free access from the friendly districts, and nothing of any fleet being employed by William. At the opposite end of the city, William's line of approach lay by the isthmus leading to the East Gate which opened into the High-street. The ground is such that the horsemen would see but little of the town till they entered its near neighbourhood. To the left of the East Gate, just within the wall, stood the cathedral church of the newly translated bishoprick, which has since given way to a building whose combined uncouthness of outline

Section of old town wall, showing its various parts. Exeter.

and towers was thick with defenders.¹ According to one CHAP.XVIII. version, one of the besieged went so far as to offer to William and his followers an insult as unseemly as it was senseless.² The wrath of William was now kindled to the uttermost. God, he said, would never help men who dared to treat him with such scorn.³ The whole army now drew near; the siege was formed, and William began by striving to strike awe alike into his followers and into his enemies by an act in which the laws of war were strained to the uttermost. One of the hostages was brought close to the East Gate, and his eyes were put out in the sight of both armies.⁴ We shudder at the cruelty; to the avenger of Alençon⁵ the act most likely seemed at once politic and merciful. In the eyes of William it was a means by which Exeter might be won, as he loved to win his conquests, without further shedding of blood.⁶ But the sight

Insult said
to have
been
offered to
William.

He blinds
one of the
hostages.

¹ Ord. Vit. 510 B. "Portae affirmatae erant, densaque turbæ in pugnaculis et per totum muri ambitum prostabant."

² Will. Malms. iii. 248. "Unus eorum, supra murum stans, nudato inguine aurae somiti inferioris partis turbaverat, pro contemptu videlicet Normannorum." So Rog. Wend. ii. 4; Matt. Paris, 6, ed. Wats.

³ Will. Malms. u. s. "Ipse audacius eam assilierat; protestans homines irreverentes Dei destituendos suffragio." Cf. vol. ii. pp. 284, 285.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 510 B. "Denique regio jussu exercitus ad urbem admotus est, et unus ex obediibus prope portam oculis privatus est."

⁵ See vol. ii. p. 285.

⁶ On the rights of hostages and the unlawfulness of putting them to death, see Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, iii. 11. 18; Vattel, *Droits de Gens*, ii. 16 (vol. i. p. 190, ed. Leyden, 1758). This doctrine William would no doubt have readily accepted, even while reserving to himself the right of blinding or other mutilation short of death. See vol. ii. p. 263. Grotius refers to the conduct of Narsés as described by Agathias. The reference is to the siege of Lucca in 553 (see Gibbon, vii. 395, ed. Milman). The defenders of the city failed to surrender at the time agreed on, so he pretended (if the story is to be believed) to put their hostages to death. His words are remarkable; *ἴνιος δὲ τῶν ἀνρ' αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα ἕδοκει τοὺς δύμηρους διαφθαρῆναι, ἀν δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ δοτεῖ δυσθάνειν καὶ ταῦτα πονεῖν τῆς διωσίτιας. ὁ δὲ στρατηγός, γνώμη γὰρ διατατα ἔπεισε, καὶ οὐ λίαν τὴ δργὴν ἐπενέχεται, οὐκ εἰς τόδε ἀμέτητος εἶη ἀν διοκτεῖναι τοὺς μηδὲν δ, τι καὶ διδικτεῖται δισθ ἀν ἔτερος ἐπλημμέλουν.* Agath. p. 23, ed. Paris. Yet, if

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

way bent the hearts of the men of Exeter; they were stirred up to a yet more valiant defence of their cities and homes.¹ The siege began, and was carried on with vigour on both sides for eighteen days. The besiegers made a constant attack on the walls; the defenders however held their ground, and many of the assailants lost their lives.² William might have been beaten back from Exeter as Swegen had been, if the military art of Norway in William's days had not been many steps inferior to that of the military art of Denmark in the days of Knut. It was by undermining the walls that William gained possession of the city.³ This was a mode of warfare for which the men of Exeter were most likely not prepared. They could hurl their javelins from the battlements; they could cleave the skull of any daring assailant who mounted a scaling-ladder; but a countermine was beyond their skill. William's mine advanced so far that part of the wall crumbled to the ground,

But there were still those in Exeter who scorned or feared to throw themselves upon the mercy of William. The mother of Harold was within the walls, and, as I have already conjectured, she was probably accompanied by all those members of the House of Godwine who were still free and still on English ground. Gytha left the city, evidently before the gates were thrown open;¹ with her went the wives of many good men,² and probably others of both sexes, for the presence of Blæcman the priest is distinctly recorded.³ If her grandsons were with her, they no doubt accompanied her in her flight, though they did not share her final place of refuge. The means of escape were easy. William, superior to Swegen in his other resources, had brought no ships to share in the attack on Exeter. The besieged must have had the river and the sea open to them during the whole length of the siege. There was therefore nothing to hinder any who were minded to escape by water from so doing. When the breach in the wall showed that resistance was now hopeless, perhaps even while William was marching in triumph through the East Gate, it was still easy for Gytha, and those who chose to share her fortunes, to make their way by the Quay Gate to the still friendly stream. The widow of Godwine, the mother of Harold, was able to sail away with her companions before the last stronghold of her children had bowed to the Norman as its lord. She and her immediate company either doubled the Land's End, or

consilium coacti capiunt, ad deprecationem descendunt." Here I seem to see a vote passed by a general Assembly of the citizens (*municipes*) as distinguished from the earlier action of the "primores" only. Cf. on the constitution of London, vol. iii. pp. 545-547.

¹ Flor. Wig. 1067. "Gytha vero comitissa, scilicet mater Haroldi Regis Anglorum, et soror [it should be "amita"] Suani Regis Danorum, cum multis *de civitate fugiens* evasit."

² Chron. Wig. 1067. "And her ferde Gytha 6t, Haroldes modor, and manegra godra manna wif mid hyre."

³ See above, p. 143.

CHAP.XVIII.
Gytha
and her
company
escape
before the
surrender.

Easy
escape by
means of
the river.

Escape of
Gytha and
her follow-
ing.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

erhaps able to find their way across a friendly country coast of Somerset. There they sought shelter on one of two islands in the Bristol Channel, the Steep and at Holm, which form such marked objects in the from either coast, and which can be seen even from tant hills of Gloucestershire. To one of them Gildas, the British chronicler of the English Conquest, had for solitude and meditation, till pirates from the seas, forerunners of the Vikings of a later day, drove seek for refuge in the inland isle of Ynysvitrin.¹ In days of the Danish invasions, a band of ravagers, flying the arms of the men of Hereford and Gloucester, had the lonely island till food failed them, when they away to Dyfed and to Ireland.² And now Gytha her companions, her daughter Gunhild and her grander the younger Gytha, sought the same dreary perhaps only till one more chance of restoration be tried. For the sons of Harold sought the same

It was perhaps not till this last hope proved as vain as all others that the sister of Ulf and widow of Godwine bade her last farewell to the land of her adoption.¹ She made her way to the old shelter in Flanders, and found a home at Saint Omer in very different case from the days when, in her former exile, she had come with her husband and her sons.² This is the last stage that we are allowed to see of her long and chequered life. Of her descendants we get a few more glimpses. Gunhild, the daughter of Godwine, already vowed to a virgin life, spent nineteen years of pious mortification in the land of banishment. From Saint Omer she passed to Bruges; from Bruges, according to all precedent, she went on to Denmark, where she was sure of an honourable welcome at the hands of her royal cousin. She afterwards returned to Bruges, and there died a few weeks before the death of the Conqueror at Rouen.³ Her niece Gytha also found her way to the court of Swegen. By his means she is said to have been given in marriage to the Russian prince Vladimir of Novgorod. To him she bore a son who was honoured with the name of his English grandfather, and daughters too, through whose marriages the blood of Harold found its way into the veins of many of the princely houses of Northern Europe.⁴

But we must hasten back to the gates of Exeter. Gytha and her companions were gone, and those who had less

Surrender
of Exeter.

¹ Florence cuts the story short; "De civitate fugiens evasit et Flandriam petit." But her stay on the Flat Holm was not very short, as the Chronicle adds, "And þer wunode sume hwile and swa for þanon ofer see to Sce Audomare." This "some while" may possibly cover the space till the final discomfiture of her grandsons in June, 1069.

² See vol. ii. p. 149.

³ The bones of Gunhild, and her sepulchral inscription written on lead, were first found in the church of Saint Donatus at Bruges in 1786. The church was destroyed in 1804, but the inscription and a single bone—like the one bone of William which escaped the Huguenot destroyers of Saint Stephen's—were preserved. I have given the inscription in Appendix L.

⁴ See Appendix M.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

al reason to dread the wrath of William went forth
ve his mercy. The pageant which had greeted his
s he entered Le Mans¹ greeted them again as he
d the capital of western England. The whole popu-
poured forth to meet the Conqueror whom they were
orced to acknowledge as their sovereign. Along with
lers in age or rank came forth the goodly youth of
shire,² and the clergy of the city, bearing their sacred
and other holy things, to appeal to the religious
nt which was ever strong in the mind of William.
ppeal was hardly needed; William's heart was not
hardened as to inflict the horrors of slaughter and
er in mere wantonness. The prayer of the suppliants
eard, and they were assured of the safe possession of
ives and goods. Remembering perhaps the accident
had led to the destruction of Dover,³ William secured
ates with a strong guard of men whom he could
in order to preserve the goods of the citizens from

William was thus master of Exeter. His first step, ^{CHAP.XVIII.} as ever, was to secure his conquest by the building of ^{Foundation of the Castle of Exeter.} a castle. In the north-east corner of the city, immediately within the walls, a site stood ready, such as the Normans loved for the building of their fortresses, a site admirably suited to keep the half-subdued citizens under the yoke. The great mound, defended by its mighty fosse, the mound which, from its Norman occupiers, received the name of *Rougemont*,¹ overlooked both the city and the surrounding country, and on this William laid the foundations of the famous Castle of Exeter.² The present remains, as seen from without, are not imposing. The greater part of the buildings, including the collegiate church which arose within the walls,³ have vanished, and unsightly modern buildings have intruded within the precinct. Still the gate which leads from the town, though a good deal disfigured, may well be of the time of William or of a time but little later. A better site for commanding the city, the opposite heights, and the valley which lies between, could not have been wished for. The command of the rising fortress was given to Baldwin of Moeles, a son of William's kinsman and early guardian Count Gilbert, and married, according to same accounts, to a kinswoman of his sovereign.⁴ Baldwin was left, with other men of

The castle
entrusted
to Baldwin
of Moeles.

¹ *Rougemont, Rubens mons.* See Oliver, 181.

² Ord. Vit. 510 C. "Locum intra moenia ad exstruendum castellum delegit." *Gesta Steph.* 21. "Castellum in ea situm, editissimo aggere sublatum, muro inexpugnabili obseptum, turribus Cæsarianis [see above, p. 139] incisili calce confectis firmatum."

³ See its history in Oliver, 193.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 510 C. "Ibi Balduinum de Molis, filium Gisleberti Comitis, aliosque milites præcipuos reliquit, qui necessarium opus conficerent presidio manerent." On Baldwin, see Will. Gem. viii. 37; Ord. Vit. 687 C, 694 D, which latter passage gives some details of his actions after death. The genealogy in Du Cange, 1085, gives him as his wife a daughter of an aunt of Duke William, whom Dr. Oliver (181) calls "Albreda the Conqueror's niece;" but Orderic (687 C) seems to speak of her only as "bona uxor."

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

and rank, to keep strict watch over the city whose uest had cost William so dear. He was to hasten on the building of the castle, a process which, together with the other effects of the siege and the surrender, and the destruction of forty-eight of the houses of the

isides the building of the castle and the destruction which it involved, another penalty was inflicted upon the

The patricians of the half-born commonwealth had been compelled to pay to William the tribute which had been paid by earlier Kings.² The money payment was now raised from an occasional half-mark of silver to eighteen pounds yearly. The rights of the Old Lady were not forgotten, Eadgyth received two-thirds of the increased burthen upon her morning-gift.³

The amount of resistance which William met with in the West after the fall of Exeter is not clearly marked. There were movements which he had to put down, and the heavy

to show that those two boroughs were special scenes of CHAP.XVIII.
resistance. Lidford lay on the road towards Cornwall, into
which peninsula William now marched. Whatever may
have been the zeal of their English landlords, the *Bretwealas*
themselves had no special motive to struggle against one
master on behalf of another, and whatever resistance
William met with in that quarter was easily overcome.¹

The conquest of western England was thus complete, Confisca-
and the usual work of confiscation and division of lands tion and
now began. I say began, for of course, neither here nor division of
in any other part of the country, need we suppose that it lands.
took place altogether at once. In some cases it is plain
that it did not. And here, as elsewhere, a few Englishmen English-
of rank contrived to win William's favour and to keep their men who
lands and offices. One of these perhaps was Aiulf, a man obtained
who appears as Sheriff of Dorset, and who may be the same favour.
as a landowner of the same name in the reign of Eadward.² Aiulf?

more populous than Barnstaple, is now a very inconsiderable place. No destruction of houses is spoken of in the other Devonshire towns.

¹ Ord. Vit. 510 C. "Ipse postea in Cornu Britanniae ulterius contendebat. Composito ubique motu quem deprehendit, exercitum dimisit."

² The entries about Aiulf may lead to the belief that there were two persons of the name. We have in Berkshire (63), Wiltshire (73), and Dorset (82 b, 83), an Aiulf, described as "vicecomes" and "camerarius," holding lands all of which had belonged to English owners T. R. E. In Devonshire (116) there is an Aiulf in the same case without any official description. In Devonshire (109) there is an Aiulf who holds of Judhael of Totnes lands which he had himself held T. R. E. Again, in Somerset (94) and in Devonshire (115 and 116) we find an Aiulf holding T. R. E. whose lands had passed to Norman owners. In Wiltshire (74) we find among the King's Thengns an Eadmund son of Aiulf holding lands which his father had held T. R. E. This last person can hardly fail to have been an Englishman, but, as he can hardly fail to have been dead at the time of the Survey, he cannot well have been the Sheriff. It remains a question whether the Sheriff and the holder T. R. E. can be the same person. It should be noted that the Sheriff's largest estate, that in Dorsetshire, was partly an official and not a personal holding. After one of the entries (83) follows the comment, "hanc tenet Aiulf de Rege quamdiu erat vicecomes." The name Aiulf appears in Roger of Howden i. 186, as equivalent to *Æthelwulf*.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

more certain case is that of Colwine, who stands at the head of a long list of English Thegns who appear as landholders at the time of the Survey. Most of them kept the lands which they had themselves held in the time of King Edward. Colwine seems also to have been the representative of the Lady in the city of Exeter.¹ This large number of Devonshire Thegns who kept their lands seems to show that the greater part of the shire submitted easily after the fall of the capital.² But the most remarkable man, and the official of highest rank, among those who won William's favour in the western shires, was Eadnoth, a man who seems to have risen by the favour of Harold, who had held the office of Staller under both Eadward and Harold, and who had large estates in various parts of England, but especially in the West. He became a zealous adherent of William and, as we shall presently see, died in his service. It is therefore almost certain that he must have kept his lands; still no part of them passed to his

Of him we have already heard. I have elsewhere¹ told the legend how, in the days of King Eadward, Brihtric had been sent as an ambassador to the Court of Flanders ; how Matilda offered herself to him in marriage and was refused ; how, when Brihtric was in William's power, she remembered the slight which he had put upon her, and stirred up her husband's wrath against him. Brihtric was seized at his house at Hanley in Worcestershire, on the very day when Saint Wulfstan had hallowed a chapel of his building. He was hurried to Winchester, and died in prison, when his lands were divided between Matilda and Robert Fitz-Hamon. Such is the tale. It has thus much of corroboration from history, that a great part of the lands of Brihtric did pass to Matilda ; but nothing more can be said.²

Among ecclesiastics neither of the two western Bishops was disturbed, and the Abbot of Glastonbury, William's companion in his Norman voyage, was allowed to keep his place for several years. Both Gisa and Leofric held their sees for the rest of their days, and Gisa outlived William himself. The two great assertors of Lotharingian discipline³ were not likely to be foremost in the championship of English freedom. Gisa, a stranger by birth, found favour and help from the stranger King ; he at last obtained a part of the lands which had been disputed between him and Earl Harold. In his gratitude he learned to look on the overthrow of England as a small priece to be paid for the addition of the lordships of Banwell and Winesham to the possessions of the see of Wells.⁴ Leofric,

¹ See vol. iii. p. 86.

² On Brihtric see Appendix O.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 84, 450.

⁴ Historiola, ap. Hunter, 18. "Praeoccupante autem illum [Haroldum] judicio divinæ ultiōnis. . . . Dux victoriā potitus, quum regni gubernacula post eum suscepisset, et a me de injuriā mihi illatā querimoniam audiisset, Wyneham ecclesiae resignavit, privilegio confirmavit," &c. On Banwell, see vol. ii. p. 675. This means that Wineham came into the King's hands by the forfeiture of Aelfsige. I should like to know more of one "Johannes

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

was at least of English or British birth, was less ; he never obtained the restitution of the lands of Ælfgar which Harold was said to have taken from him.¹ In the conquered city itself a small transfer of ecclesiastical property took place, which in William's eyes perhaps seemed specially appropriate. The church of Saint Peter in Exeter, the church of the Scandinavian saint which King Gytha had enriched for the welfare of the soul of Godwine,² was, either now or at a later stage of William's reign, bestowed on the Abbey of the Place of Battle.³ The owner of Gytha's pious gifts, bestowed for the same cause in the Old Minster of Winchester, passed away altogether from the Church, and became part of the spoil of William's able brother of Mortain.⁴ As William could have no reason for despoiling the chief church of his own capital, we can hardly suspect him of going so far as to try to turn Godwine an ill turn in the other world, this last transaction is more likely to be due to some usurpation on

abbey were seized with his other possessions, and it was CHAP. XVIII. only with much difficulty that Abbot Ealdred at last obtained their restitution.¹

The conquest of the West opened a wider field than ever Grants to for the reward of William's followers and allies. The Norman Churches; saints of Normandy and France were not forgotten. The metropolitan church of Rouen, the two abbeys of Caen, and the Abbey of the Battle all came in for their share.² And later in his reign, when the death of the Lady Eadgyth put her lands also at his disposal, William bethought himself of making a more lasting offering than banners to the Church of Rome; and treasures to that one among his allies who ranked highest both in heaven and earth. One lordship in Somerset, alone among all the lands of England, became the freehold of the church of Saint Peter at Rome.³ Among more earthly helpers, the Bishop who had prayed to Odo and at Senlac and the Bishop who had fought, Geoffrey of Coutances; Geoffrey of Coutances; Coutances and Odo of Bayeux, received grants in their personal and temporal character. The estates of the Earl of Kent in the West were not large, but among them was part of the spoil of the House of Godwine.⁴ Geoffrey of

¹ Hist. Ab. i. 484. "Ipso, ut dixi, ab Anglia discedente, quaecumque illius fuerant, in manum Regis ut puta [utpote?] profugi, redacta sunt. Quare abbas magno cum labore praedictarum terrarum apud Regem obtinuit restitucionem."

² The church of Rouen held the two lordships of Ottery and Rovrige in Devonshire, the former the site of the well-known collegiate church. Rovrige (Domesday, 104) was William's own gift out of the estate of a woman named Wulfgifu. Ottery had been held by the church T. R. E., and, according to a document quoted in the Monasticon (vii. 1118), it was a gift of Earl Odda, doubtless during his momentary earldom over Devonshire in 1051-1052 (see vol. ii. p. 158). Both the abbeys of Caen (Domesday, 104) held lands in Devonshire which had belonged to Brihtric, and Saint Stephen's had also lands in Somersetshire (91). For the possessions of Battle in Devonshire besides the church of Saint Olaf, see Domesday, 104.

³ Domesday, 91. "Terra ecclesiae Romanæ. Ecclesia Romana beati Petri Apostoli tenet de Rege Peritone. Eddid Regina tenebat T. R. E."

⁴ Ib. 87 b. "Episcopus Baiocensis tenet Come et Sanson de eo. Leuuinus comes tenuit T. R. E."

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

oray received an endless list of lordships in Somerset, and with smaller possessions in the other western shires.¹ Fresh possessions fell, as we have seen, to the lot of the stace of Boulogne when he recovered the favour of the King,² and few of the leading followers of the Conqueror obtained without their share in the new distribution.³ Baldwin, who had been left in command at Exeter, and who derived his name from the conquered city, received a vast domain lying wholly in the two shires of Devon and Somerset, the former of which he held the office of Sheriff.⁴ There was one beyond all these, whose share of the conquest of England was greater than that of any other one, and whose chiefest and richest rewards lay in the newly-conquered lands. Robert, the son of Herlwin and Maud, in whose favour William of Mortain had been banished,⁵ who had received the very first fruits of the conquest on the shore of Pevensey,⁶ and whose lands spread over nearly every shire from Sussex to Yorkshire, now

or two other parallels can be found in the roll-call of the conquerors. Well nigh the whole shire was granted to him. especially in Cornwall. The list of his possessions, lands of Earl Harold, of the Sheriff Mærleswegen, and of a crowd of smaller victims, is simply endless. Hardly any other landowners appear in Cornwall, except the Crown and ecclesiastical bodies. And the lands kept by the Crown are small compared with those in the hands of the Count of Mortain, and in his favour the Church itself was not spared. The two great His robberies of the churches of Cornish foundations, the two churches which laid claim to be looked on as the episcopal sees of the West-Welsh diocese, were both shorn of their wealth to glut the insatiable appetite of the Conqueror's brother. These were the church of Saint German, which bore the name of the missionary who had won back Britain from the Pelagian heresy,¹ and the more renowned house of Saint Petroc at Bodmin, a church which had won the favour of the West-Saxon conquerors,² and which had but lately yielded its episcopal rights to the capital of the West. Both alike were despoiled of many of their lordships to swell the vast possessions of Count Robert.³ Out of those possessions arose that great Earldom, and afterwards Duchy, of Cornwall, which was deemed too powerful to be trusted in the hands of any but men closely akin to the royal house, and the remains of which have for ages formed the appanage of the heir-apparent to the Crown. But the lands of Robert in the West were not confined to the shire which was almost wholly his own. The lord of the waterfalls heaped together manor upon manor among the dashing streams of Devonshire and among the hills and islands of Somerset. And one spot came to him by an exchange with an eccle-

¹ See Beeda, Hist. Eccl. i. 17 et seqq.; Bede Chronicon, 189, ed. Stevenson.

² See Mon. Angl. ii. 459.

³ On the aggressions of Robert of Mortain on Church lands, see Domesday, 121, and Appendix P.

Robert's estates in Devonshire and Somerset.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

cal body, the possession of which, like the possession
vensey, seemed to mark him out as the very embodiment
of the overthrow of England. The hill of Lutgares-
, whence came the holy relic which had given England
war-ery and which had been the object of the life's
tion of her King,¹ now passed into the hands of one
was to wipe out its name and memory. The height,
f the peaked hills which form so marked a feature in
scenery of Somerset, was now crowned by a castle of
t Robert, which, under the French name of Montacute,
ne at once a badge of the presence of the stranger
an object of the bitterest hatred to the men of the
ern lands.²

tracing out the distribution of lands in the shires
h fell into William's power after the surrender of
er, we are struck at every step by the all but utter
ce, among the dispossessed landowners, of names
estive of British origin. In Somerset, and even in

nomenclature is mainly Celtic, and the local families profess CHAP.XVIII. to show in their surnames the evidence of their British origin. It is therefore remarkable that, even in Cornwall, the landowners in the days of King Eadward seem by their names to have been almost wholly English. In an age when surnames were still unknown in Britain, we are of course not to look for "Tre, Pol, and Pen" among the owners of Cornish soil.¹ But we might have looked for even in Cornish. distinctively Welsh Christian names, and of them we find a few, but very few.² This is the more striking, as in other Cornish documents which survive, the number of Welsh names, though not overwhelming, is much larger than it is in Domesday.³ The natural inference seems to be that Cornwall before the Norman Conquest was in much the same state as England after it. The land must have been mainly in the hands either of Englishmen or of Anglicized Britons. The Norman Conquest may very well have given the native element a fresh start. Nowhere was the dispossessing of former landowners more complete. In Cornwall we find none of those King's Thegns, Englishmen who kept small estates or fragments of large ones, of whom there are so many in other districts. On Count Robert's estates the names of the tenants are mostly French, but

The British
element in
Cornwall
probably
revived by
the Nor-
man Con-
quest.

¹ Every one knows the saying about "Tre, Pol, and Pen;" but it is a saying which carries its own refutation with it. Tre, Pol, and Pen are now surnames; that is, they are the names of places adopted as surnames by their possessors or inhabitants. But the man who first took such a local name as a surname was just as likely to be of English or Norman as of Cornish descent.

² We find a genuine Welshman in 120 b, Cadualant by name, who held Lancheroc in Cornwall T. R. E. of Saint Petroc. In 123 b we find Griffin holding lands T. R. E. which at the time of the Survey were held of Count Robert by Jovinus; and of the men in Domesday, 124-125, who bear the nondescript names of Briend, Offers, Hueche, Rabel, and Blohin, some may have been true Britons.

³ See the manumissions at the altar of Saint Petroc, Cod. Dipl. iv. 308. We there find plenty of Gruffydds and other genuine Welshmen in the time of Edgar and earlier.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

are English, and a still smaller number are British.¹ how Briton and Englishman were at least brought to the same level under their common master. The numerical strength of the Britons would give them advantage over the strangers of either speech, just as English in England proper had the same advantage over the Norman settlers. And it would be singular indeed if this result was in any way strengthened by what may be another, and the last, of the many migrations and counter-migrations which have gone on in various ages between Armorica and West-Wales. The followers of one of Britanny had once pressed into the greater Britain for shelter from Glorious *Æthelstan* against the attacks of the Saxon invaders.² The followers of another Alan now came to receive their share of the spoils of the land which sheltered their forefathers from the hands of the descendants of their old enemy. A few Breton settlers in the wall and the other shires of the West may be discerned

its lands among the conquerors had at least begun. It was most likely in this campaign also that Gloucestershire was fully subdued, though the accounts to which we have to trust are very imperfect. A castle was built at Gloucester, and its building of course involved a certain amount of destruction of houses, but the date of its foundation is not given, and the destruction is much smaller than in many other towns.¹ This looks as if the capital of the shire was at least not taken by storm. With regard to Worcestershire our knowledge is in one way still scantier, while in another it is much fuller. There is no shire of whose state during the Conqueror's reign we are able to put together a more living picture from the combined evidence of the Survey and of local records,² but we have no record of the date of its conquest. We find that the two shires were put under the care of a single Sheriff, Urse of Abetot, who stands forth among the most oppressive of his class, and whose hand seems to have fallen heavily on clerks and laymen alike. Odo also, the insatiable Bishop of Bayeux, appears at a later time among the spoilers of the Church in this district, and as he did not spare men of his own calling, neither did he spare men of his own nation. Among Englishmen we come across the well-known names of Saint Wulfstan the Bishop of the diocese, of the prudent Æthelwig of Evesham, and of Ealdred, who, though long since removed to a higher see, seems to stand towards the Worcester name of a slave in Cornwall in Cod. Dipl. iv. 313. The son of Judhael appears in the *Gesta Stephani* (24) as "Aluredus filius Joelis cuiusdam illustrissimi viri."

It should not be forgotten that Totnes was a foundation of Brute the Trojan, whose footstep, like that of Buddha, is still there to be seen.

¹ Domesday, 162. "Sedecim domus erant ubi sedet castellum quae modo desunt, et in burgo civitatis sunt wastate xiii. domus."

² Our accounts of the condition of the Worcestershire monasteries are so full, that I have kept them for a general account in an Appendix to the next volume.

Conquest
of Glouce-
stershire.

Gloucester
Castle.

State of
Worcester-
shire.

Oppress-
ions of the
Sheriff
Urse of
Abetot.

Spoiliations
of Odo.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

rick in a character strangely made up of guardian poiler.¹ In behalf of the rights of the church of Worcester he braved the terrible Sheriff himself. Urset was only the chief of a whole band of Nor-poilers, who seem to have fallen with special eagerness on the lands of the church in this particular shire. The Sheriff was the greatest and most daring offender.

He built his castle in the very jaws of the monks of Worcester, so that the fosse of the fortress encroached on the monastic burying-ground.² Church and castle must have stood side by side overlooking the Severn. Complaint was made to the Archbishop,³ who came to the spot, cleared the ground, and rebuked the King's officer to his face. To a Latin or French speaker the name of Urset may have suggested an easy play upon words. To the English prelate, who appears as addressing the Norman Sheriff in English verse, it seems rather to have suggested *ov rime*.

truth that thine offspring shall not long hold the land CHAP.XVIII.
of Saint Mary to their heritage."¹ We hear of no re- Fate of his
penitance on the part of Urse; yet, as in the case of the son.
penitent Ahab, the evil that was to come on his house was
kept back till the days of his son. In the days of King
Henry, the Lion of Justice, Roger the son of Urse drew on
himself heavy punishment at the hands of the King in
whose days no man dared to hurt another.² A servant of
the King was slain by Roger's order, and the lands of Saint
Mary, along with his other possessions, passed away from
the son of the first spoiler.³

This famous tale of course implies the complete submission of Worcestershire, but the tale is unluckily without an exact date. The mention of Ealdred however enables us to fix it to a time not later than the year following the taking of Exeter.⁴ Nor can we give a date to the secular commission which, if we may trust the local history of Evesham, Æthelwig received at some time or other from William's hands. This commission clothed him with large authority in several shires, in some of which it is plain that, at the time of the fall of Exeter, William had no

Temporal jurisdiction conferred by William on Abbot Æthelwig.

¹ The way in which William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* 253) tries to explain the nature of a rime is curious; "Libertas animi ejus [Aldredi] in uno verbo enituit præclare, quod Anglice apponam, quia Latina verba non sicut Anglica concinnitati respondent. . . . Ursus his verbis adorsus est, *Hattest þu Urs, hare þu Godes kurs,* eleganter in his verbis sed dure nominum euphonie alludens; '*Vocaris, inquit, Ursus; habeas Dei maledictionem,*' et (quod Anglice non apposui) meam et omnium consecratorum capitum, nisi castellum hinc amoveris; et scias profecto quod progenies tua non diu de terrâ Sanctæ Marie hereditabitur."

The apologetic way in which William quotes a few words of English reminds one of his difficulty about the names of the English shires; see vol. i. p. 347.

² See vol. iii. p. 112.

³ Will. Malms. 253. "Dixit ille implenda que nos videmus impleta. Siquidem non multis annis filius ejus Rogerius paternarum possessionum compos, gravi Henrici Regis indignatione pulsus est, quod quendam ex ministris regiis precipiti furore jussit interimi."

⁴ Ealdred died in September, 1069.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ity save such as belonged to him through the nomination of Eadwine. Æthelwig is described as chief or at any rate as chief judge, in no less than seven Worcester, Gloucester, Oxford, Warwick, Hereford, d, and Shropshire.¹ We naturally suspect exaggeration there is no reason to doubt either Æthelwig's submission to William or his lasting favour with

He appears as already trusted by the Conqueror in which may not unlikely belong to the time which we now reached, and which seems to preserve a of the struggle which led to the Norman occupation two Hwicceian shires.² We get glimmerings of

Eves. 89. "Et quoniam Rex sapiens cognoverat eum virum m, pene omnes hujus gentis homines seculari sapientia praece- ommisit ei curam istarum partium terre, videlicet, Wirccestrescire, trescire, Oxenefordscire, et Wareuuiccescire, Herefordscire, Staford- robeschire, ita ut omnium hujus patris consilia atque judicia fere in rent. Et non solum in istis partibus, sed etiam per totam Angliam

fighting on the borders of those shires, which ended in a CHAP.XVIII.
 Gloucestershire Abbot being entrusted to the safe keeping Warfare
 of his brother in Worcestershire. Godric, Abbot of Winch- on the
 combe, whose appointment to that monastery was recorded Hwiccan border.
 in an earlier Chapter,¹ is set before us as the leader of Resistance
 patriotic movements in that quarter. His opposition was and im-
 thought of importance enough to call, not merely for de- prisement
 privation or outlawry, but for personal restraint. The of Abbot
 monastery was despoiled of many of its possessions; Godric Godric of
 himself was at first put in ward at Gloucester, and was Winch-
 afterwards entrusted to the milder keeping of Aethelwig. combe.
 To him also the care of the abbey itself was entrusted for
 three years, till a successor for Godric was found in a
 Norman named Galand or Waland.² The exact date of
 these events is not to be fixed, and it must remain uncer-
 tain whether they were connected with the movement in
 the West which I have just recorded or with the movement
 in the North which I shall presently have to record. But
 it seems plain that Gloucestershire was fully subdued at
 some stage of the year which we have now reached, and I
 have connected it with the Western movement because the
 subjugation of Gloucestershire is at least connected with it
 in idea. The conquest of Gloucestershire made William All
 master of the whole of the former earldom of Harold, Harold's
 except the corner of Herefordshire which was still defended old earl-
 by Eadric the Wild. One thing is certain, that the great dom in
 merchant borough on the borders of Mercia and Wessex, William's hands.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 361.

² The account of Godric in the Evesham History (90) runs thus; "Rex Willielmus tollens abbatem Wincelcumbensem, Godrioum nomine, fecit constitui in captivitate apud Glocestre, moxque huic abbat, Ageluio suam abbatiam commisit, quam fere per tree annos quasi propriam in cunctis gubernando servavit. Deinde Rex donavit illam cuidam abbati Galando nomine, et eo post modicum tempus ex quo eam accepit defuncto, iterum isti abbat Ageluio committitur." In the next Chapter we shall come across a record of Godric's sojourn at Evesham.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ity so strong in its peninsular site,¹ was in William's power, and was not disposed to revolt against him. The castle of Bristol must have been built at some stage of William's reign, but there is no record of its building in the Domesday Survey.²

William, now conqueror of all southern and western England, returned to his southern capital and kept the winter feast, according to the custom of his predecessors, in the royal city of Winchester.³ There might Eadgyth, the mother, sister, and niece were seeking shelter in the lonely island, receive all the honours due to the widow Queen. Her lands in the West had been spared, and her home in her dower city was still hers. But she was destined to enjoy her position as the highest of her sex in England. William now deemed that his kingdom was large enough for him to call on his wife to come and receive his honours. An honourable embassy was sent to

perhaps as a laureate's offering at the great solemnity CHAP.XVIII. which was presently to take place. For at Pentecost William King William, again walking in the steps of his pre-decessor, wore his Crown at Westminster. And there, in the church which had beheld his own anointing, though doubtless in far other guise than the wild tumult of the great Midwinter-day, the Lady Matilda was hallowed to Queen by Archbishop Ealdred. The law which had marked the crime of Eadburh by lessening the dignity of the wife of the West-Saxon King was now repealed or forgotten, and the consorts of English Kings have ever since shared equally with their husbands in all the honorary dignities and privileges of royalty.¹

keeps
Pentecost
at West-
minster.
Matilda is
crowned by
Ealdred.
May 11
1068.

§ 3. *The First Conquest of the North.*

Summer and Autumn, 1068.

For the moment all now seemed quiet. William had assured his dominion over the West, and the chiefs of the North were still at his court in a character which did not greatly differ from that of hostages. Eadwine and Morkere were William's Earls over Mercia and Deira, as William Fitz-Osbern was his Earl over Herefordshire and Bishop Odo over Kent.² But it was his policy to keep them away

Position of
Eadwine
and
Morkere.

frequentiā virorum ac nobilium feminarum transfretavit. In clero qui ad divina ei ministrabat, celebris Guido Ambianorum Præsul eminebat, qui jam certamen Heraldi et Guillelmi versifice descriperat." See vol. iii. pp. 136, 378.

¹ Chron. Wig. 1067. "And sona æfter þam com Mathild seo *hlaſdie* hider to lande, and Ealdred arcebiscep hig gehal gode to *cweñe* on Westmynstre on Hwitan Sunnar dæg." Ord. Vit. 510 D. "Adelredus Eboracorum metropolitanus, qui maritum inunxerat, Matildem ad consortium regii honoris die Pentecostes anno ii. regni prefati Regis inunxit." On the use of the words "Queen" and "Lady," see Appendix Q.

² There is an English writ of William (Mon. Ang. i. 301) on behalf of Westminster addressed to "Leofwine b [isceop] and Edwine eorl and alle tha thegnas in Staffordescire." This may be a nominal exercise of authority now, or it may belong to the short time in 1070-1071, between the real

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

their earldoms, and to hold them immediately under his eye. Eadwine seems to have really won his regard, and he had tried to win him over by a promise, whether sincere or otherwise, of the hand of one of his daughters. Her name, whether Matilda or Agatha, I do not pretend to determine, but there seems every reason to believe that, whatever may have been the objects of his attachment, a real attachment had sprung up between the young maiden and the young and handsome English knight. But, whenever Eadwine asked for his bride, some cause was always found to delay the accomplishment of his wishes. It is to be noticed that this breach of faith was distinctly attributed, not to William's own designs, but to the bad counsel of some of his Norman advisers.¹ There was something grotesque in the notion of William the Conqueror being led astray, like Æthelred or Eadward, by the advice of any man. But it is quite possible that he had a feeling of contempt towards the conquered nation,

of a daughter of the conquering King of the English. And CHAP.XVIII. to a prejudice of this kind William may have found it needful to show some deference. But it is quite as likely that it was William's own policy which led him to try to keep Eadwine still more dependent upon himself by constantly promising and never fulfilling. However this may be, the marriage was delayed, and the anger of Eadwine Indignation of Eadwine. was further kindled against William. The position of the two brothers must have been irksome and degrading enough in any case, and the further wrong done to Eadwine brought matters to a head. The sons of *Ælfgar*, the Normans say, openly rebelled.¹ In the eyes of the men of their earldoms Revolt of the two brothers. they at last came back to head them against the foreign invader to whom they had submitted, but to whom their people had not.

At this moment then, when the West had just submitted, Rising in the North. As yet no step had been taken for its practical subjugation, and the men of Mercia and North-^{1068.} humberland had now their natural chiefs to head them. There was little in the past career of Eadwine and Morkere Position and character of Eadwine. to give any good ground of hope for any undertakings begun under their lead. But in Northumbrian eyes the acts by which they had undone England, their successive betrayals of Harold and Eadgar, and, still more, their earlier share in the revolt against Tostig, might seem praiseworthy assertions of the independence of northern England. Absence too and distance would work their usual work. The forced presence of the Earls in William's court would look like imprisonment; their visit to Normandy would look like banishment. They might thus seem entitled to claim

¹ Ord. Vit. 511 A. "Eodem anno egregii juvenes Eduinus et Morcarus, filii Elfgari comitis, rebellaverunt, et cum eis multi alii ferociter insurrexerunt, quorum motus Albionis regnum vehementer turbaverunt. . . . Eduinus . . . iratus cum fratre suond rebellionem incitatus est."

On the different accounts of these events, in no way contradictory to each other, but every one strangely imperfect, see Appendix R.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

hat of the honours of confessors in the national

Add to this that, politically worthless as Eadwine was, he plainly possessed many of those superficial qualities which often have a stronger influence on men than the highest wisdom and virtue. His high birth and his handsome person and winning address, joined, it is told, to a large share of the piety of the age, won him a wide-spread popularity among the English people.¹ Monks, the clergy, and the poor joined in daily prayers for the welfare of the two Earls,² and, when they made their way from William's court to their own earldoms, a movement broke out in the whole northern region of the

movement headed by the Mercian Earls is specially known of as a common movement of English and Welsh.³ The league between *Ælfgar* and Gruffydd the son of *Llywelyn*⁴ seems never to have been forgotten. Welsh

English make brothers of Gruffydd,¹ appear in the Welsh CHAP.XVIII. Chronicles as sons of Cenwyn,² and we find them about this time engaged in a war with two of their countrymen, described as Meredydd and Idwal, sons of Gruffydd.³ A battle took place at Mechain in Powys, in which the brother princes were victorious. Idwal fell in battle, and Meredydd, flying from the field, died of the cold,⁴ a description which seems to fix this campaign to the same winter which beheld William's return from Normandy. But the victory was purchased by the death of Rhiwallon, and the struggle seems in some way to have led to a division of the great dominion of Gruffydd the son of Llywelyn. Bleddyⁿ reigned alone in Gwynedd and Powys, but Deheubarth or South Wales is spoken of as being under the rule of another Meredydd, the son of Owen the son of Etwin, one of a house of which we heard in the days of Æthelred.⁵

The language of the one writer who tells these events in Holding of any detail seems to describe the holding of an assembly which must have been designed as a general Gemót of the Empire, at which the chief men of Wales as well as of

a Gemót;
presence of
the Welsh.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 472. Orderic, it may be remembered (see vol. ii. p. 659), makes Bleddyⁿ a son of Gruffydd and Ealdgyth; he now remembers the supposed kindred, and speaks of Eadwine and Morkere as Bleddyⁿ's uncles (511 B); "Blidenus Rex Gallorum ad avunculos suos suspetias venit."

² They are so called under 1068 both in the Annales Cambriæ and in the Brut y Tywysogion, but the Brut under 1073 seems to speak of Bleddyⁿ as Gruffydd's brother.

³ Idwal in the Annales, Ithel in the Brut. Here are further forms of the name spoken of in p. 172.

⁴ Ann. Camb. 1068. "Bellum Methelin inter filios Kenwin, scilicet Bledin et Ruallo et filios Grifini, scilicet Maredu^t et Idwal, in quo filii Grifini ceciderunt, Idwal bello, Maredu^t frigore, Ruallo etiam filius Kenwin, occisus est." So Brut y Tywysogion in anno.

⁵ The Brut says, "Bleddyⁿ, son of Cynvyn, held Gwynedd and Powys, and Maredu^d, son of Owain, son of Edwin, held South Wales" [Deheubarth]. (On Etwin see vol. i. p. 282.) The Annals say simply, "Bledin in regnum successit." It should be remembered that the Welsh writers do not mention the investiture of Bleddyⁿ and Rhiwallon by Harold.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ad appeared.¹ The grievances of the whole country strongly set forth, and it was determined to seek for every quarter. Messengers were sent to every part gland to stir up the people. They of course went to the parts which were still independent, and they secretly to the shires which were already under the

The resolution to defend or to recover their ancient n was widely spread and firmly fixed in the hearts of hmen.² Nor was the chance of foreign aid neglected. ot clear whether it was in concert with this Northern ient that the sons of Harold presently tried to return help of their Irish allies. The only difficulty in the such a supposition is the rivalry which had so long i between the House of Leofric and the House of ne. But however strong this motive might be in arts of Eadwine and Morkere, there is no need to that it would be shared by their followers in general. em also to get glimpses of further applications to

share in them to each of the actors. It is not, for instance, CHAP.XVIII. perfectly clear what was at this moment the position of Position of Eadgar; probably the nominal head of the movement. Eadgar, the *Ætheling*, the momentary King. But on the whole it seems most likely that he was the nominal head of the movement, and that whatever was done was done in his name as the King already lawfully chosen.¹ Such a doctrine might not be acceptable to the sons of Harold; it might not be acceptable to Swegen of Denmark; it might not be acceptable in their heart of hearts to the two Earls by whom the *Ætheling* had already been once betrayed. But there was no one round whom so many varying interests and associations could gather as round the last representative of the House of Cerdic. And Eadgar himself seems to have had some of the qualities which may attract men for a moment. Handsome in person and free of hand, he had not yet shown how little of real constancy there was in him.² Whatever the brother Earls may have Action of the North- done, the Northumbrians in general seem to have accepted Eadgar in good faith. They were perhaps not without a remembrance of that earlier Eadgar, who had found his way to the West-Saxon throne by Northumbrian help, and whose name abode on Northumbrian tongues as the embodiment of just and good government, till his memory was overshadowed by the more recent memory of the Danish Cnut.³ At the head of the Northern movement Gospatric. stood Gospatric, who had, not many months before, been invested by William with the Bernician earldom.⁴ William's jealousy seems up to this time to have kept him idle in his court along with his fellow-Earls of the house of Leofric, while the province which he nominally held under the Norman King still kept its perfect independence. Next

¹ On the order of events, see Appendix R.

² Orderic (778 B) describes him as "corpo speciosus, lingua disertus, liberalis et generosus . . . sed dextera segnis erat."

³ See vol. i. pp. 64, 417.

⁴ See above, p. 134.

WEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

to Gospatric was the Sheriff Mærleswegen, whom had left to command the North after the great day nfordbridge,¹ and who now jeopardized the distant ions which he held in William's latest conquest of ill.² Hardly lower in local esteem than these great was Archill, who is described as one of the most il Thegns of Northumberland,³ and whose vast stretched, if not, like those of Mærleswegen, from ire into Cornwall, yet from Yorkshire into the Southn shire of Warwick.⁴ King Malcolm too accepted iance of the insurgents, and a powerful Scottish was summoned for an English expedition.⁵ But Malcolm lingered in his preparations, or else the whole ent had fallen through before his troops could be ether. For we have again to tell the same tale which e ever to tell in the English history of these years, hen a born King of Men, an Eadmund or a Harold, forth as the leader of a people worthy of him. As

mild piety of Ealdred strove in vain to keep down the CHAP.XVIII. burning zeal of its eager citizens.¹ But it was not the Vain efforts of towns only ; every defensible spot, woods, marshes, mouths Ealdred of rivers, were all seized upon and strengthened in readiness of William. for an attack.² Men thought it shame to dwell at such a time under the shadow of a house. The wild men, the *Savages*. savages, as the mocking tongues of the Normans called them, dwelled at their own choice in tents and lurking-places, lest their strength should grow rusty among the comforts of their own roof-trees.³ All this may well be believed ; but it is hard to fix the chronology, and it is almost harder to believe the tale of a general conspiracy throughout England to massacre all the Normans during the penitential solemnities of Ash Wednesday. The plot, Legend of we are told, failed through the sudden return of the great a general warrior, who is thus conceived as being absent from conspiracy. England at the time when he was winning his great successes in the West. The malecontents, it is added, withdrew into the inaccessible North, and there for a while withstood the royal power.⁴ That such a tale as this is wholly legendary it is hardly needful to prove.

duces illius [Willelmi] trucidabant." Mark the use of *tyrannis*. See above, p. 7.

¹ Ord. Vit. 511 B. "Eboracensis civitas ardentissime fuit, quam sanctitas pontificis sui sedare nequit."

² Ib. "Seditiosi silvas, paludes, aestuaria, et urbes aliquot in munimentis habent." The "urbes aliquot" would doubtless take in all the walled towns of the independent shires.

³ Ib. C. "Plures in tabernaculis morabantur; in domibus, ne mollescentur, requiescere designabantur, unde quidam eorum a Normannis *sylvatici* cognominabantur." See above, p. 111, of Eadric of Herefordshire. Cf. Ammianus, xxii. 4. "Quum scriptum sit in antiquitatibus Spartanum militem coercitum scriter quod proiectus tempore susus sit videri sub tecto."

⁴ Will. Gem. vii. 40. "Ipse vero in regnum remeans Anglicum, iterato plurimos ejusdem gentis repperit, quorum levia corda ab ejus fidelitate prævaricatrix conspiratio averterat. Conjuraverant enim latrunculi per totam patriam, quatinus milites, quo ad tuendum regnum reliquerat, in capite jejuni nudis vestigis, quo solet usu penitens Christianorum religio, ad ecclesiam festinantes incautos ubique perimerent, et sic ipsum a Normannis

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

As matters stood in northern and central England not long after William had brought over his Queen to the honours of royalty in the conquered land. News presently brought to the King that the folk in the were gathered together, and that they would stand him if he came.¹ Perhaps the presence of Ealdred, so soon after the great ceremony at Westminster, attempts to check the patriotic movement by exhortations, may have been the firstfruits of the. But at any rate William was not slow to with other weapons. His course was his usual seize the towns and other important points and to hem them with castles.² One tale would lead us to that at this time Oxford still held out, that the town taken by storm, and that the fearful devastation re-in the Survey was the result.³ If such was the ing of William's first northern campaign, we can understand the terror-striking effect of such a blow

from the obedient districts, and it is even possible that it CHAP.XVIII. may have already been in William's power. The property and influence of his friend Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham stretched into the shire, and William found in Warwickshire at least one Englishman of rank and wealth ready to play the part of Wiggod in Berkshire. Thurkill of Warwick appears in the Survey as one of the very few Englishmen who kept or received estates which put them at all on a level with William's great Norman grantees. He was the son of Ælfwine, who seems to have been Sheriff at the time of William's entry, and who evidently made his peace with the Conqueror.¹ Thurkill kept his lands, which were largely increased by royal grants out of the confiscated estates of less lucky Englishmen. For among his possessions a small part only had been held by his father in King Eadward's days; the greater part had been the property of various English owners, among whom we see Earl Eadwine, another Eadwine described as the Sheriff, and the greater name of Hereward. It is painful, on looking through the Warwickshire Survey, to compare the vast estates of Thurkill with the two or three other Thengns of the shire who retained some small fragments of their property.² It is plain that here, as elsewhere, the men of the shire at large were patriotic, and paid the penalty in the confiscation of their lands. The one loyal man, the one prudent man, the one traitor, as he would be called in the mouths of his more stout-hearted countrymen,

¹ On Ælfwine and Thurkill, see Appendix T.

² See Domesday, 244, 244 b. Two women hold lands in "alms," Eadgyth who kept her own estate, and Leofigifu the nun, whose lands had been held T. R. E. by Godgifu, widow of Leofric. Ælfsige, Ordric, and Godwine had kept their lands, though those of Ordric were waste. Ælfric had lands which had been held by Wichig. The only one remaining holder is Leofwine, who holds two very small estates. Of one we read, "Hic Leuuinus emit ab Aluuino fratre suo." He may have been the Sheriff's brother. These men are not given the title of Thengn. They are the only English tenants in capite, though of course there are English under-tenants.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ed his reward in keeping his wealth and honours, and handing to them alike at the cost of a less successful *v*-traitor and at the cost of men better than himself. William thus held Warwick, and we can hardly doubt he held it through the help, either now or at some earlier time, of the Sheriff *Ælfwine* and his son. He now passed out of those lands, West-Saxon, East-Saxon, and Mercian, which had been for a longer or shorter time under the rule of the House of Godwine. He entered those strictly Mercian lands over which the *se* of Leofric had, since their great rise under Cnut, always kept at least a superiority. Warwickshire had always been held as a subordinate government by Ralph Odda, but the Hwicceian lands had again passed under rule of Leofric or his son,¹ and William was now setting forth to establish his real authority over the earldom of Eadwine, the old realm of Offa and Cenwulf. He in truth setting forth to conquer a new kingdom.

fortification. Whatever works, whether of stone or of timber, crowned or surrounded it in its first estate have utterly passed away, and the crest of the artificial hill is crowned by defences of a far later date than the days of either *Æthelflæd* or William. But the mound itself still remains, a monument of the wisdom and energy of the mighty daughter of *Ælfred*, while the keep of William has so utterly perished that its very site can only now be guessed at. Most likely it stood in the void space between the mound, the gateway, and the later castle, whose picturesque turrets and battlements hang so proudly over the river at its feet. At all events, it was now that that famous fortress took its beginning. Either because the town passed peaceably into the hands of the Conqueror, or because the site of the fortress stood more than usually apart from the town, the building of the castle seems to have involved a far smaller destruction of houses than was commonly the case elsewhere.¹ Thus arose the renowned castle of Warwick, famous alike in legend and in history, the seat of the mythical Guy and of the historical King-maker.² And, though the actual work of William himself has vanished, yet his foundation abides, one of the few fortresses of his day which have lived on through all changes and all rebuildings, and which still remain the dwelling-places of noble owners. With the guardianship of the new fortress no man of English birth, not even the loyal *Ælfwine*, might be trusted. He might still keep the civil administration of the shire, but the military command of

¹ The only destruction in the town of Warwick recorded in Domesday is that of four houses belonging to the abbey of Coventry, which are entered in p. 238 as "vaste propter situm castelli."

² The legend of Guy, which may be found at large in Knighton (X Scriptt. 2324), is placed in the days of *Æthelstan*. There is in the popular mind an invincible tendency to identify this mythical hero with Earl Richard Neville. The confusion is possibly helped by the existence of a real Guy Earl of Warwick in the days of Edward the Second. See the so-called Walsingham, i. 130, ed. Riley.

Its later history.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

stle could be safely entrusted only to Norman hands. New castle was placed in the keeping of Henry, the elder son of Roger of Beaumont.¹ A great estate in ire also fell to Henry's elder brother, Robert, Count ulan, lord of lands both in France and in Normandy, 10, at the head of the French auxiliaries, had been first to break down the English palisade at Senlac.² on, Robert Earl of Leicester, became in the female ie forefather of the great Simon;³ and from Henry's older Earl of Warwick, came, through various interiges, the long line of inheritors of his earldom. The st of the house of Beaumont passed on to Beau-
s, Nevilles, Plantagenets, till the last of the old the last direct descendant of the Angevin Kings, it off to appease the jealousy of the first Tudor and ly the fears of a King of distant Aragon.⁴ s vigorous beginning of the campaign did its work. ~~accounts are strangely imperfect but such as there~~

submitted and craved his pardon.¹ They were again received to favour, and it may be that the hopes of a royal bride were again dangled before the eyes of Eadwine. But we are told, and we can well believe it, that the favour at William's hands to which the sons of Ælfgar were now received was a favour only in name.² But the policy of receiving them even to seeming favour did its work. In the next struggle for Northumbrian independence Eadwine and Morkere had no share. They fell back into their former position of hangers-on at the court of the Norman King.³ They doubtless kept the rank and title of their earldoms; but William disposed of the shires and fortresses of Mercia and Northumberland according to his will, and Englishmen of stouter hearts disputed his possession of them, without the will of the sons of Ælfgar being taken into account on either side.

Thus, for the second time within a few months, chances of deliverance brighter than any that had offered themselves since William's coronation were utterly thrown away. During the course of the spring and summer of this year, far more than the half of England must have been in arms against William. But there was no one moment when all his enemies were in arms against him at once. The West rose and the North rose, but the North did not rise till the West was overcome. The West was betrayed by the Exeter patricians; the North was betrayed by the Mercian Earls. When they submitted, their army no doubt once fell in pieces. Any army of those days which found itself cheated of all chance of either fighting or plunder was pretty sure to disperse, even if its leaders did not forsake it. The mass of the followers of Eadwine and

¹ Ord. Vit. 511 C. "Tunc Eduinus et Morcarus cum suis, anceps prelii discrimen pependentes, gratiam Regis petierunt."

² Ib. "Specie tenuis obtinuerunt."

³ This will appear from the way in which their final revolt in 1071 is spoken of in all our accounts.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

here went, each man to his own home, to see their lands conquered bit by bit. The more resolute spirits made up their minds to withdraw to the extreme North, and to run the risk of a separate resistance. They left Cumbria and southern Northumberland to their fate, and occupied the stronghold of the Bernician bishopric.¹ No place could be better chosen for such a purpose than the insular height on which the happy choice of Ealdhun had placed the minster of Saint Cuthberht² and the humbler cell of episcopal rule which preceded the mighty castle of Durham of Saint Carilef and Hugh of Puiset. The mound upon which the later keep of the episcopal fortress still stands may well have been called into play at this time, as it doubtless had been in times earlier still. Commanding the neck of the peninsula, guarded on three other sides by the river which flows by the foot of the well-nigh perpendicular hill, a fort on this point would make the ecclesiastical place safe against all attack. Durham was thus put

his good will to the cause in another way. Two of the chief men of the North had chosen a different course from that followed by the sons of Leofric. One of them was a man of birth even more lofty than their own and of equal nominal rank. When Eadwine and Morkere bowed to the Conqueror and turned back to their luxurious ignominy in his court, Gospatric, with a nobler spirit, set forth to seek a shelter in Scotland till the day might come when he could again serve his country. With him went the Sheriff Mærleswegen and many others of the best men of the North. They took with them the nominal leader of the enterprise, Eadgar the *Aetheling*, with his mother Agatha and his sisters Margaret and Christina.¹ They set sail, at what haven we are not told, and reached the court of Dunfermline in safety.² Malcolm received the exiles as favourably as he had, two years before, received Tostig.³ The whole party tarried under his protection through the whole winter,⁴ planning no doubt new schemes for the deliverance of the land which the sons of *Ælfgar* had forsaken. The shelter given by Malcolm was useful in itself, and in the end the sojourn of the English exiles at the Scottish court led to memorable events in the history of both countries. Not only did Scotland stand ready as a land where English exiles were ever welcome, but greater results still came when, at a time a little later, one of the company was prevailed on to accept the land of refuge as a dwelling-place for life.⁵

They pass
the winter
with
Malcolm.
1068-1069.

We go back to the progress of the Conqueror. The next

¹ On the movements of Gospatric and Mærleswegen, see Appendix R.

² The Chronicles simply say "comon [foran, Petrib.] to Scottiā." But Florence adds "navigio Scottiam adierunt." If they could once reach a port, they were doubtless safer from William by sea than by land.

³ See vol. iii. p. 328.

⁴ "On Malcholomes cyninges gryð," says the Worcester Chronicler. See vol. ii. pp. 149, 152.

⁵ On the date of the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret, see Appendix U.

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND

at which we hear of him is Nottingham. But Nottingham is a long way from Warwick; and, if no blow struck in all the region between those two towns, many must have peacefully submitted. Coventry, with Earl Eric's minster, and Leicester, the capital of the shire which lies between Nottingham and Warwick, are not mentioned; but the submission of those towns and of the neighbouring country must have happened on this march. That we hear nothing of Coventry is perhaps not wonderful. The town does not appear in the Survey as a borough; its name has not yet been heard of in English history, except as the site of the great monastery which was soon to grow into an episcopal church. But the omission of Leicester raises questions of quite another kind. Unlike Coventry, the town had played a considerable part in early history; it was one of the famous Five Boroughs, and it had been fortified, no less than Warwick, by the Lady of Mercians.¹ It was now a town of at least equal impor-

way, that a doom fell upon Leicester which might, doubtless with some exaggeration, be spoken of as utter destruction.¹ And this incidental hint may perhaps draw some indirect confirmation from the highest evidence of all. The Survey contains no account of a castle at Leicester, though one undoubtedly arose there before long, nor does it contain any account of destroyed or wasted houses. But then it contains no mention at all of English burghers or English freeholders within the borough.² The whole town had passed into the possession of strangers. The shire too is one of the districts on which the hand of confiscation fell heaviest. Only two or three English landowners of the Extensive confiscations in Leicester-shire. smallest class kept their lands. In Nottinghamshire, on the other hand, the number of King's Thengns, keeping lands which they had held in the days of King Eadward, is Great number of King's Thengns in Nottinghamshire. remarkably large,³ though there are also many entries of lands as waste. This difference plainly points to some unrecorded difference in the circumstances of the conquest of the two shires, and it may be that Leicester earned its overthrow by a defence worthy of a borough which was to give its name to the greatest of England's later worthies. Of the chief town of the next shire our notices are clearer. The main importance of Nottingham was drawn from its Import-ance and early his-

¹ In the History of the Foundation of Leicester Abbey in the Monasticon, vi. 466, the narrative begins, "Robertus comes Mellenti, veniens in Angliam cum Willielmo Duce Normanniae, adeptus consulatum Leycostriae, ex dono dicti Ducis et Conquestoris Anglie, *destructa prius civitate Leicestriae* cum castello et ecclesiâ infra castellum, tempore predicti Conquestoris, reædificavit ipsam ecclesiam Sanctæ Marie infra castellum."

² There are many English under-tenants, but of tenants *in capite* there seem to be only three, Aschil, Raven, and Turchil—all seemingly of Danish descent—among the “servientes Regis” in p. 236 b.

³ See Domesday, 292 b, 293. On 294 the list goes on with the Thengns of Rutland, so strangely treated as an appendage to Nottinghamshire. One entry (293) shows William in a somewhat amiable light; “In Warehope tenet quidam cecus i. bovatam in eleemosynâ de Rege.” But he might have been blinded by the royal order. Cf. vol. iii. p. 107.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

hber. The town stood on the great highway to the
th, both by land and by water, and to keep open and
d the communications both ways was the great public
laid upon its burghers.¹ The river flows at some
nce from the elder town, which stands on a hill divided
slight depression from a steep rocky height to the
, at the foot of which runs the smaller stream of the
. Nottingham, like Leicester, was a member of the
ish Confederacy, and its defence had been a special
et of the care of Eadward the Elder. Its acquisition
ed seems to have been the crown of his conquests in
ral England. He visited Nottingham twice, and at
visit he secured his conquest by a fortress. His first
pation of Nottingham was followed by the final sub-
ion of all Mercia, English and Danish, and its incor-
tion with the West-Saxon kingdom. His second
was followed within the same year by that great
mendation of the states north of the Humber which

he added another fortress on the opposite bank, and joined CHAP.XVIII.
the two by a bridge.¹ All traces of Eadward's works have
vanished. But their site is doubtless marked by the
picturesque mediæval bridge which is now giving way to a
modern successor. This important post the men of Not-
tingham had to hold; no further military service is spoken
of; yet, besides merchants, we hear of horsemen or knights
as forming a chief element in the population of Nottingham.²
Two churches are recorded in the Survey, but Nottingham
never became the seat of any great ecclesiastical foundation.
Of the submission of this important post we get no details; Notting-
but it was at the head of his army that William appeared ham sub-
before the town,³ and its possession was at once secured by mits to
the foundation of a castle.⁴ The site which William chose William.
for the fortress which was to overawe the borough was one Foundation-
which would have been less eligible for Eadward's objects of the
castle.

¹ Chron. Wint. 924. "Her on þisum gere foran to middum sumera; fôr Eadweard cyning mid fierde to Snotingham; and het gewyrcan þa burg on suð healfe þere eas; ongean þa oþre and þa brycge ofer Treontan, betwix þam twam burgum." Then follows the entry of the fortification of Bakewell and the Peakland, and then that of the commendation of Northumberland, Scotland, and Strathclyde.

² In Domesday we read of "domus mercatorum" and of "domus equitum," the latter being seemingly a numerous class. Were they the remains of an old Danish patriciate? See vol. i. p. 61. "Eques," whatever its meaning, is a most unusual word. Du Cange (in voc.) quotes a charter of Philip of France in 1050 (I do not understand the date), in which "duo equites" are granted along with "duo rustici." But these Nottingham "equites" rather suggest the *cnihtenagild* of London.

³ Flor. Wig. 1068. "Rex Willemus cum exercitu suo Snotingham venit."

⁴ Chron. Wig. 1067. "He for þa to Snotingham and worhte þet castel." So Florence, "Ubi castello firmato Eboracum perrexit." Ord. Vit. 511 C. "Deinde Rex Snotinghem castrum construxit et Guillelmo Peverello commendavit." Of the castle William of Newburgh (i. 29) speaks as "munitio que natura loci inexpugnabilis videbatur." The building of the castle is not distinctly mentioned in Domesday, but we read (280), "Willemo Pevvel concessit Rex x. acres terras ad faciendum pomarium." This would seem to be the town wall, as the "fossatum burgi" is mentioned just above.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

tection. The castle of Nottingham was now reared on the highest point of the great rock which overhangs the river. The rock pierced with those many caves which are said to have given its name to the place.¹ A new town had itself over the lower ground between the castle and the older borough.² In such a case the building of the castle did not involve any destruction of houses; but the town suffered under the foreign government. The number of its burghers dwindled, while the amount of revenue drawn from the town was increased.³ The command of the new fortress was placed in the safe hands of William Peverel, a Norman adventurer of unknown origin, who became one of the greatest landowners in this and the adjoining shire.⁴ From Nottingham his name has died away; a modern house, now itself a ruin, marks the site of the Conqueror's fortress. But the name of Peverel is inseparably bound to another of his possessions. In the

wild Peakland of Derbyshire, where the huge mass of Mam CHAP.XVIII.
Tor rises over the valley of the southern Derwent, a height His castle
of less elevation than some of its fellows, but of singular of the
steepness of ascent, overhangs the huge cavern which bears Peak.
the name of the Devil's Hole. On its highest point, standing on the very edge of a perpendicular cliff, where the fosses of Arques and Old Sarum were needless and impossible, William Peverel reared his castle of Peak Forest,¹ the true vulture's nest of a robber-knight. It is the worthy fellow of those other fortresses which freedom has left as forsaken ruins on so many of the heights where the young Rhine runs through the land of the Three Leagues. The still existing keep most likely belongs to a slightly later age, but, as in so many other cases, it fairly represents the position and general style of the first building. Romance unites with history to make the name of Peverel of the Peak cleave to a spot where the frowning fortress of the invader seems almost a natural finish for the wild height on which it is reared.

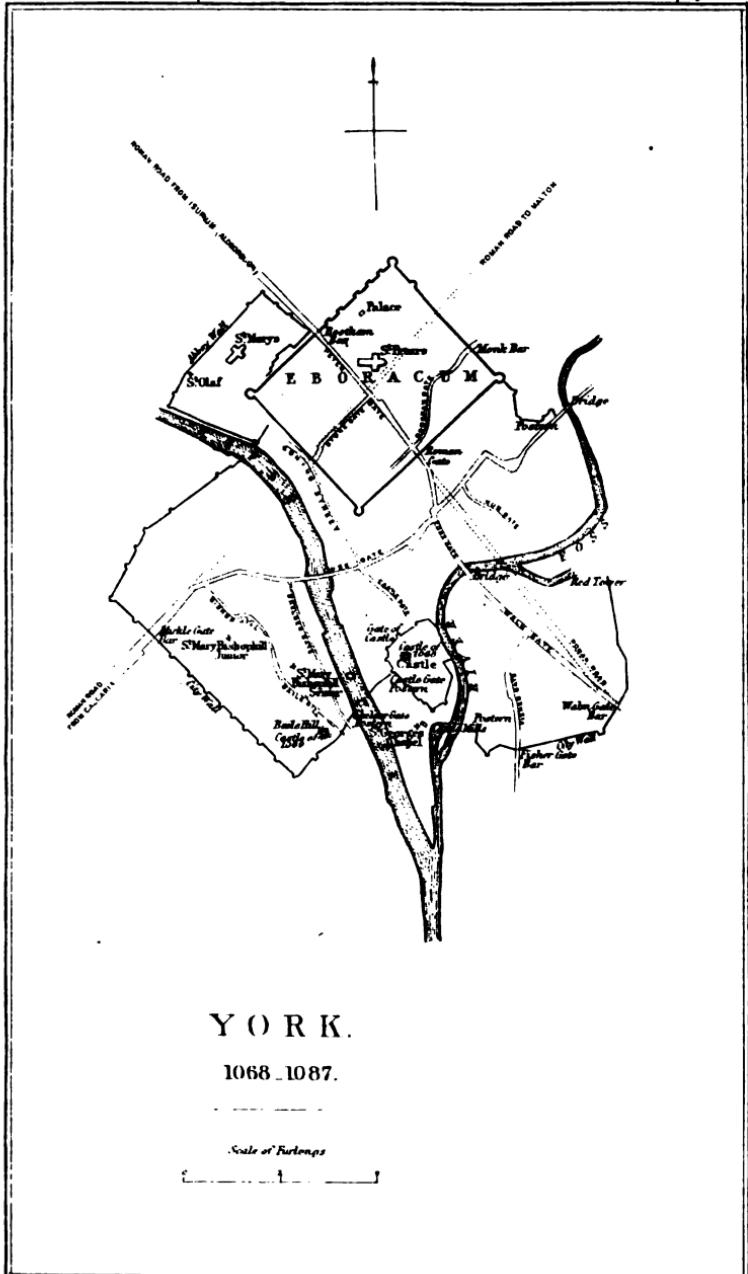
William had thus passed, seemingly without a blow Effects of
being struck, certainly without anything to be called a William's
battle, through the heart of Mercia. He was now so far on uninter-
ruptedly march.
Northumbrian ground that he was within the province and diocese of the Northumbrian Primate, perhaps even within the jurisdiction of the Northumbrian Earl.² His last conquest commanded the approach by land and by water to the still independent North. The defection of the Earls, the actual approach of the Conqueror in person, did what all the preaching of Ealdred had failed to do. The Northumbrian metropolis trembled, as the Kentish metropolis had

¹ Domesday, 276. "Terram castelli in Pechefers Willelmi Pevrel tenuerunt Gernebern et Hundinc." On the date of the present castle, see Mr. Hartshorne's paper in the Archaeological Journal, v. 214, where also may be seen some account of the doings which went on in it even as late as the reign of Henry the Fourth.

² See vol. ii. p. 557.

VQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

uled two years before.¹ At what stage of the march
en Nottingham and York we know not, but seemingly
William appeared beneath the walls, certainly before
hostile steps had been taken, an embassy from York
near with the keys of the city, and with hostages for
ood faith of the citizens.² The submission was accepted;
William put little trust in the promises which were
to him, and he determined to take every means to
the city which was his greatest conquest since the
ission of London. The old Eboracum lay on the left
of the Ouse, at a point where the course of the river is
ds the south-east. At a short distance below the
in city it receives the waters of the Foss, a stream
ng from the north-east, and which therefore forms a
of peninsula with the greater river. But even in
times a suburb had arisen on the right bank of the
and the Anglian and Danish city, a city which in the
century is said to have numbered more than thirty





the ancient circuit, but the new foundation of Saint Olaf,¹ CHAP.XVIII. the burying-place of Siward,² lay beyond the walls, not far from their south-west corner, where a Roman polygonal tower still remains. And in the newer parts of the city other churches had sprung up,³ witnessing to the growth of population beyond the ancient precinct, a growth which may well have been one of the causes of that neglect of the older fortifications which is said to have happened at a somewhat earlier time.³ The wealth and importance of the city largely depended on its trade. This was chiefly carried on with the kindred people of Denmark, to whom the broad stream of the Ouse offered an easy access. To control this great city William took the usual means of founding a castle. As at Nottingham, so at York, the chief object of earlier defenders had been to guard the river, and a mound on each side had been thrown up by some of the earlier masters of the city, English or Danish. The greater of these mounds William chose for the site of his new fortress, as it had most likely been the site of the old Danish tower of York, famous in the wars of Æthelstan.⁴ It was on the peninsular ground between the Ouse and the Foss, on the mound which is now crowned by the later fortress known as Clifford's Tower, that William planted his new castle. The position commands one main passage of the Ouse, and the waters of the Foss may, then as now, have washed the outworks of the castle. Thus the first castle of York arose, the castle on the left bank of the river, but which, distant

¹ See vol. ii. p. 374.

² The church of Saint Mary Bishophill Junior, on the right bank of the river, has a tower which may possibly have been rebuilt in later times. But, if so, it must have been rebuilt out of materials not later than the time of William. Parts indeed of it seem to be fragments of Roman work, with which the neighbourhood—the Roman suburb—abounds.

³ See note 3 on last page.

⁴ Will. Malm. ii. 134. “Ethelstanus castrum quod olim Dani in Eboraco obfirmaverunt ad solum diruit, ne esset quo se tutari perfidia posset.”

William builds his
first castle
on the left
bank of the
Ouse.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

was from the elder walls of Eboracum, was, then as held to be within the bounds of the city.¹ Five picked knights were set to guard the fortress, the command of at least three trusty captains. One of them, Robert Fitz-Richard, we know only from his fate in the next year.² Of the others one was the Flemish master-murderer, Gilbert of Ghent;³ the other was a man whose name must always awaken a certain sympathy in English readers, William Malet, who had borne the body of Harold at his first hasty burial on the rocks of Hastings.⁴ He received the office of Sheriff,⁵ and he was at once rewarded with large grants of lands in the shire. This is shown by several passages in the Survey, which speak of lands as having been held by William Malet before the revolt of the year 1069. This of course implies confiscations at this particular time. But among the names of those English nobles whom we can certainly say were dispossessed at this time, there are none to which we attach any idea.⁶ It

The confiscations which are implied in the grants to ^{CHAP.XVIII.} William Malet are not likely to have stood alone, but in other cases there is not the same means of distinguishing between forfeitures made now and forfeitures made at a later time. We must however suppose that, as Eadwine and Morkere were now again in the King's nominal favour, ^{Position of Eadwine and Morkere.} their lands were spared for the present. And it is certain that, while William was at York, he received the submission of some other men of importance, whose lands would, according to his usual policy, be restored to them either wholly or in part. Thus Archill, the great Northumbrian ^{Submission of Archill,} Thegen,¹ deemed it hopeless to resist, now that the Earls had forsaken the cause and the capital of the earldom was in the hands of the Conqueror. He came to York; he was received into the King's peace, and gave his son as a hostage.² And he was followed by another homager of ^{of Bishop} higher rank, who appeared on the errand of one higher ^{Æthel-} still. Durham still held out; but, as Ealdred had hallowed ^{wine.} William and his Queen long before York had submitted, so Æthelwine, the Bishop of Durham,³ came to William's court at York, and was received into his favour.⁴ But he

confirmationem." This however might be at any time in his reign, but in two other cases the date of the grant seems to be distinctly fixed to William's first appearance at York. Thus we read in 373 b, "in Rishi habuit Gamel iiiii. carucatas terre, quas vendidit Ældredo archiepiscopo T. R. W. De hac terrâ jacuit olim soca in Welleton, sed Thomas archiepiscopus habet brevem Regis W., per quem concessit ipsam socam quietam Sancto Johanni de Beureli. Similiter de iiiii. carucatis terre in Walchinton pertinebat soca ad Welleton, sed Rex W. donavit eam quietam Eldredo archiepiscopo, testante wapentaco, qui brevem Regis inde vidit et audivit." So again in 374 lands are witnessed to belong to Saint John "per hominem de Treding [the Riding] et per donum Regis W. quod dedit Sancto Johanni tempore Ældredi archiepiscopi." It is added, "de hoc habent canonici sigillum Regis Edwardi et Regis Wilhelmi."

¹ See above, p. 186.

² Ord. Vit. 511 C. "Archillus . . . cum Rege concordiam fecit, eique filium suum obsidem tradidit."

³ On Æthelwine, see vol. ii. p. 408.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 511 D. "Præsul quoque Dunelmi Regis in gratiam accessit."

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

not come only in his own name. He bore a commission from King Malcolm, whose earldom of Lothian had part of his diocese, and he arranged terms of peace between the Conqueror and the Scottish prince.¹ We know their exact nature; but it is plain that they implied an acknowledgement of William's supremacy, and that they did not involve the surrender or driving out of the English.² The Bishop went back to Scotland, and thence again to York with ambassadors from the King of Scotland. They brought Malcolm's acceptance of the proposed terms, and swore fealty to William in their master's name.

Thus step by step the power of William advanced. His position was now widely different from what it had been at the time of his coronation less than two years before. His dominion was far wider than it had been then. But,

York had come into his actual possession ; but there were still lands and cities which stood to him now as Exeter and York had stood to him in those days. Bernicia was now what all Northumberland had been then ; Durham was as independent now as York had been ; the homage of Æthelwine had brought with it as little practical submission on the part of his flock as the earlier homage of Ealdred. So too he had now received the nominal homage of Malcolm of Scotland ; but as yet it was purely nominal, and the two Kings had not even seen one another face to face. Now as before, William was satisfied for a while with taking *seizin* as it were by these nominal submissions, of which he would know how to make use when the time came. York was the most northern point at which he thought it needful for the present to show himself in person, and to confirm his dominion by fortresses and garrisons. Scotland, Bernicia, and the north-western shires of Mercia, were still left in their precarious independence. A large district, still unsubdued, lay between the line of his late march northwards and the East-Anglian shires which he had won by the great wager of battle on Senlac. On that district he deemed it prudent firmly to fix his yoke before he risked any more enterprises in the further North. He therefore went back by a road lying to the east of that which had taken him by Warwick and Nottingham. And on his southward, no less than on his northward, march, each important point on his progress was secured as it submitted by the building of a castle.¹

The first recorded point of his homeward march was Lincoln. That borough, soon to become a city, was then

William leaves the
North and
North-west,

A and
returns
through
eastern
Mercia.

¹ The Worcester Chronicler, after mentioning the castles at Nottingham and York, adds vaguely, "and on Lincoln and gehwar on þan ende." So Florence, "in civitate Lindicolinâ aliisque locis castella firmari præcepit." Orderic (511 D) is more definite ; "Rex posthæc in reversione suâ Lincolinæ, Huntendonæ, et Gruntebrugæ castra locavit, et tutelam eorum fortissimis viris commendavit."

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

of the greatest in England.¹ It boasted eleven hundred fifty inhabited houses.² A member, doubtless the fore-member, of the Danish civic Confederation, it still kept nish patriciate of twelve hereditary Lawmen. Had royal power ever fallen as low in England as it fell in many and Italy, the ruling burghers of Lincoln might stood forth as an oligarchy not less proud, and even narrow, than their brethren of Bern and Venice. It y the peculiar character of English history, the steady ace of the whole realm, as opposed to the more brilliant opement of particular cities, which hindered the ndants of Swarting the son of Grimbald and Ulf the f Swartbrand from handing on names as memorable story as the names of Erlach and of Foscari. The men of Lincoln enjoyed the rights of territorial lords. twelve were clothed with the judicial powers of *sac* and one among them, whether by seniority or by here-right, further enjoyed the profitable privileges of *toll*.

was simply incidental and personal. It is certain that one ^{CHAP.XVIII.} left a widow and that another was succeeded by his son.¹ Besides its Lawmen, Lincoln also boasted of citizens who, in the country at large, were of yet higher dignity. Mærleswegen the Sheriff, Earl Morkere, Earl Harold himself, owned houses in the borough, and within their precincts they held the same rights of jurisdiction as the civic aristocracy.² Private burghers also had their halls, and many houses were held of them by their fellow-citizens of lower degree.³ The rights both of burghership and of clanship were strictly enforced, and grants, even to religious houses, of property within the borough were denounced as illegal.⁴ The community, like that of Exeter, had its lands lying without the city walls, lands which seem to have been parted out among the magistrates and chief burghers.⁵ The King

Possessions
of Earls
and others
in the city.

¹ Domesday, 336. "Ulnodus presbyter loco Siuard presbyteri, Buruolt loco patris sui Leuuine, qui modo est monachus, Leduinus filius Revenue loco Aldene presbyteri." Of "Ulnodus" we shall hear in a later note. It would seem that the son succeeded the father quite irrespective of his character, lay or clerical. Mark also that the priest who became a monk was civilly dead.

² The "mansio[n]es" of Mærleswegen, Morkere, and Harold all appear in Domesday, 336. The two Earls had *sac* and *soc*; Mærleswegen, it would seem, had not. We then read; "Rogerus de Buali habet i. mansionem Suen filii Suave cum sacâ et socâ; Judita comitissa habet i. mansionem Stori sine sacâ et socâ."

³ Domesday, 336. "Tochi filius Outi habuit in civitate xxx. mansiones præter suam hallam, et ii. ecclesiæ et dimidiæ, et suam hallam habuit quietam ab omni consuetudine; et super alias xxx. mansiones habuit locationem, et præter hoc de unsquaque unum denarium, id est landgable." Tokig's thirty houses had at the time of the Survey passed to Bishop Remigius "in ecclesiâ Sanctæ Mariz." They therefore probably stood on the site of the present prebendal houses.

⁴ Certain lands belonged to the church of All Saints. Of these the Survey (336) goes on to say, "Hanc ecclesiæ et terram ecclesiæ et quidquid ad eam pertinet habuit Godricus filius Gareuine, sed, eo facto monacho, abbas de Burg obtinet. Burgenses vero omnes Lincolne dicunt quod injuste habet, quia nec Gereuine nec Godricus filius ejus, nec ullus alius, dare potuerunt extra civitatem nec extra parentes eorum nisi concessu Regis. Hanc ecclesiæ et quæ ibi pertinent clamat Ernuin presbyter hereditate Godrici consanguinei sui."

⁵ Domesday, 336. "In campis Lincolne extra civitatem sunt xii. caru-

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

a mint in the borough, which brought him in seventy-pounds yearly.¹ But whether he was entitled to any seitures or other profits within the walls seems to have been matter of controversy.² We hear nothing of military rice; it would almost seem as if a yearly tribute of forty pounds, twenty as usual to the King and ten to the Sheriff of the shire, redeemed the borough from all claims on the part of any external authority.³

Such a community as this, strengthened further by the alliance of the other members of the Danish Confederation, made claims even higher than those of Exeter to rank as an independent commonwealth. And no town in England occupied a prouder site, or might deem itself more safe against all assaults. Yet no town in England has more大大ly changed its outward garb than the Colony of Exeter. It has changed in every leading feature since the time when William came to demand its submission. Now, throughout a vast district around the city, the one great

which, marred as it is by modern changes, still crowns the ^{CHAP. XVIII.} height as no unworthy yokefellow of its ecclesiastical neighbour. The proud polygonal keep of the fortress still groups well with the soaring towers, the sharp pointed gables, the long unbroken line of roof, of the church of Remigius and Saint Hugh.¹ The slope of the hill and the long line of road at its foot are covered by the buildings of the city, its houses, many of them presenting forms dear to the antiquary,² the Guildhall over its southern gate, the dark arch which spans the polluted river, the tall square towers of those churches of the lower town, whose tale, we shall soon find, comes more deeply home to us than anything else in the local history. When William drew near, ^{Effects of} minister, castle, houses, churches, had not yet come into being; all ^{William's} ^{reign on} Lincoln. alike are direct memorials of his coming. One alone among the many antiquities of the city was already there to meet the eye of the Conqueror, to remind him of conquerors as far removed from his age as he is himself now removed from ours. The Danish borough had more than one predecessor. The height on which it stands, the promontory of Lincoln,³ is part of that long line of low hills, stretching through a large part of central and eastern England, which seems like a feeble rival of the loftier ranges of the West. At this point the range is broken by a depression which,

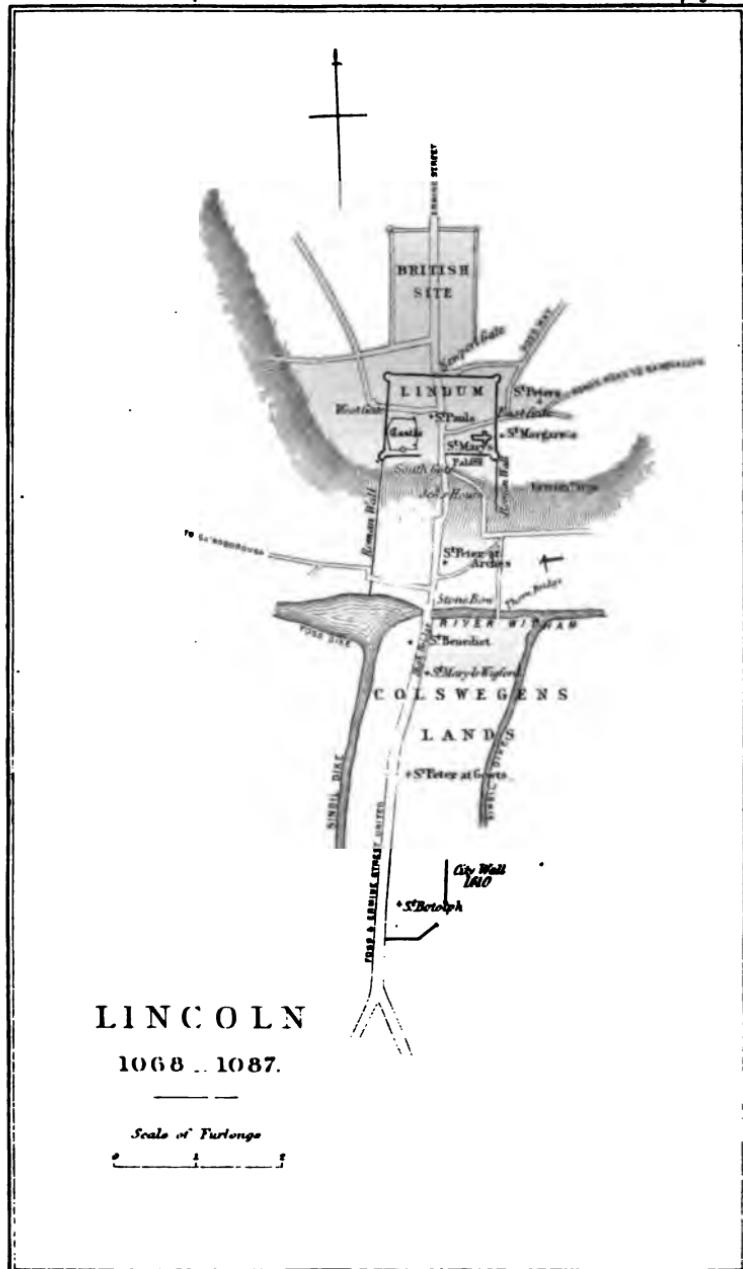
¹ Henry of Huntingdon (Script. p. Bed. 113), in recording the foundation of the new church by Remigius, well describes the site; "Mercatis igitur praediis, in ipso vertice urbis juxta castellum turribus fortissimis eminens in loco forti fortem, pulcro pulcram, virginis virginum construxit ecclesiam; quae et grata esset Deo servientibus, et ut pro tempore oportebat invincibilis hostibus."

² Especially the Jews' House, and one or two other twelfth-century houses on the slope, and the building called John of Gaunt's Stables, more properly called Saint Mary's Guild, near the church of Saint Peter-at-Gowts. John of Gaunt (see Mr. Nichols in the Lincoln Volume of the Archaeological Institute, p. 277) held the earldom of Lincoln, and had a house in this part of the city.

³ "Sub promontorio Lincolnis" is Henry of Huntingdon's (M. H. B. 760 D) description of the site of Stow-in-Lindesey.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

were worthy of the name, might pass as the valley of Witham. Thus is formed the promontory of Lincoln, lying down upon the river to the south of it. Vale and alike are traversed by those great roads which abide the noblest relics of the days of Roman dominion. steep was climbed by the united line of the Ermine Street and the Foss Way, which last again branched off the eastern gate of the Roman city. But the Roman was not the first to occupy the spot. His road, after climbing the hill, cuts through an earlier town to the north of the present city, of which the dyke and foss are still easy to discern. The road itself, the Ermine Street, notwithstanding all the ages which have passed since it was first traced and paved, is still distinguished from a yet older track by the name of the New Street. And the New Street leads to the New Port, the Roman arch of massive stones which still remains the entrance to the city from the north. Roman town, the Colony of Lindum, across to the south.





its hill-top, with the Witham, then an important highway CHAP.XVIII. of merchandize, at its feet, dwelled the rich and proud commonwealth, which, holding such a position, might have been expected to withstand the invader as manfully as Dom-front, Le Mans, or Mayenne. But not one word has been preserved to us either of the negotiations or of the warlike operations by one or other of which Lincoln must have been won. We have no such records of the fall of the Danish commonwealth as we have of the fall of the great city of the West. All that we can say is that William, advancing from the North, was able to attack the town from the point where it gained little advantage from its site, and that the still abiding Roman gate must have been the scene of the Conqueror's triumphal entry, whether that entry was the result of a successful attack or of a peaceful submission.

Lincoln thus came into William's hands, and we may be led to believe that it came into his hands without any very serious resistance. We may infer this from the fact that the treatment which it received from him was on the whole favourable. The amount of tribute was largely raised,¹ but the civic constitution remained untouched. The numbers and powers of the magistrates, and even their hereditary succession, remained under King William as they had stood under King Eadward. The son succeeded to his father's office, and one Norman only, Peter of Valognes, had at the time of the Survey found his way into the ranks of the Lincoln Lawmen.² One of the priestly members of the magistracy must in some way have given offence, as a payment of forty shillings had been laid upon him as a fine, probably for the redemption of his land or office. But even he had a successor of his

No details
of the
taking of
Lincoln.

¹ See p. 210, note 3.

² Domesday, 336. "Petrus de Valognes loco Godric filii Eddevæ." His name is found in other parts of Domesday, and we hear of him in the Evesham History, p. 58. The other Lawmen are Danish or English, several sons having succeeded their fathers between 1068 and 1086.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

nation and calling, who however stands charged with
g-doing towards the widow of his predecessor.¹ That
ouses and jurisdictions of Harold, Morkere, and Mærle-
en passed to Norman owners is in no way wunderful.²
more remarkable to trace how many Englishmen, both
~~ie city and in the shire, retained their lands, how~~
were even further enriched by grants from the Con-
ir, too often, it is to be feared, at the expense of less
nate or more patriotic countrymen. Besides a good
er of Thegns of less degree,³ several Englishmen, as
rim,⁴ Ælfred of Lincoln,⁵ Coleswegen, who was perhaps
ed's son,⁶ and two men of the name of Northman,⁷ appear

omesday, 336. "Aliam carucatam T. R. E. habuerunt Siuward pres-
et Outi, et vi. acras terre quas tenet Ulviet presbyter; nunc habet
medietatem hujus carucate et Norman filius Siuward presbyter
medietatem. Hanc vero predictam medietatem istius terre et uxorem
di presbyteri invasit Unlof presbyter, dum erat in saeptione Regis,
xl. solidos quos ipsemet Rex imposuerat super Siuwardum presby-
" To the former volume in the end of the T. — End of Volume.

as holders of large estates alongside of the great Norman ^{CHAP.XVIII.} grantees. Among these more fortunate Englishmen, there is little doubt that *Ælfred* was connected with some of the most famous names both of England and of Normandy. Among the Norman successors of their less lucky countrymen, we have the usual difficulty in finding out whether the confiscations which provided for them were made now or at a later time. But, sooner or later, Earl Hugh,¹ Ralph of Norman Mortemer,² William of Percy,³ Walter of Eynecourt,⁴ Ilbert of Lacy,⁵ Henry of Ferrers,⁶ Ivo Taillebois, famous in local history or legend,⁷ and a crowd of other foreign adventurers, were established at the expense of the Danish thegnhood of Lindesey, Kesteven, and Holland, as their own forefathers had, in the days of Ingwar and Hubba, been established at the expense of earlier Anglian owners. A few names awaken curiosity without satisfying it. The element of foreign adventure in William's host was largely represented in Lincolnshire. Besides the well-known names of Count Alan⁸ and Gilbert of Ghent,⁹ we find Baldwin of Flanders,¹⁰ Ralph of Saint Valery,¹¹ two Bretons, Oger¹² and Waldin,¹³ and three other men of uncertain race described as Waldin

¹ Domesday, 349. He comes next after Alan, and several of his lordships had belonged to Earl Harold. Coleswegen appears as his tenant.

² Ib. 363. He holds five lordships, two of which had belonged to Copsige, and three to Eddeva, whether "Eddeva pulcra" or not there is no sign.

³ Ib. 353 b.

⁴ Ib. 361. Under one of his lordships is the entry, "Hoc manerium tenuit Tori T. R. E. et Norman post eum eodem tempore, sed homines patræ et de wapentac nesciunt quo pacto habuit, quia nullum servitum inde viderunt illum facere." ⁸ Ib. 353 b.

⁵ Ib. The estates of Ilbert and Henry are but small.

⁷ Ib. 350-351 b. I shall have more to say of him when I come to the story of Hereward.

⁸ Ib. 347. He stands first of the lay landowners; and Colegrim appears more than once as his tenant. One entry in 347 b is curious; "Terram Eculf habebat Willelmus Blundus eo die quo Ernuinus presbyter captus fuit et ante." I can give no account of this arrest of Earnwine.

⁹ For his lands in Lincolnshire see Domesday, 354 b-356, and on his successors see Mr. Nichols' paper already referred to.

¹⁰ Domesday, 370. Compare 337. ¹¹ Ib. 364 b. ¹² Ib. 364 b. ¹³ Ib. 365.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

engineer,¹ Heppo the *balistarius*,² and Odo the crossbowman.³ Of these last, men who had clearly raised themselves by skill in the more intellectual branches of warfare, it would be better pleased to learn something more than of their fellow-adventurers of higher rank and fame. The whole then the amount of land and of authority which was left in English or Danish hands in Lincolnshire and the Lincolnshire boroughs is very remarkable. It is plain that Lincolnshire submitted more peaceably, and was dealt with more tenderly, than most parts of the kingdom. Stamford, the town next in account after the capital, fared only less well than Lincoln itself. Of twelve Lawmen, nine were undisturbed,⁴ and Lawmen and burgesses kept a large portion of their common land within the town walls.⁵ Stamford, like Lincoln, had been a member of the Danish Confederacy, and, like its allies, held a prominent place in the wars of Eadward the Elder and his son Eadmund. In William's days, as now, the

now the town was overawed by a Norman castle on the CHAP.XVIII.
Lincolnshire side, which however involved the destruction
of five houses only.¹ Torkesey, a place now utterly insignificant,<sup>of Tor-
kesey.</sup> but which then seems to have ranked next after Lincoln and Stamford, suffered far more severely than either, so as to suggest the idea that William met with some serious resistance at this point. The position of the town on the Trent, where it still commands a ferry, made it a place of importance on the great Northern road, and its two hundred and thirteen burgesses had the honourable duty of conducting the King's commissioners down the river on their way to York.² But at the time of the Survey the burgesses had sunk to one hundred and two, and a hundred and eleven houses stood waste.³ To return to Lincoln itself, the Survey contains several entries which have a special interest. One burgher of Lincoln, Ulfkill or Ulfcytel by name, received a grant of land without the city as the price, or part of the price, of a ship which he sold to the King.⁴ Another grant of the same kind has had a higher and more lasting importance. A castle was of course raised at Lincoln as well as elsewhere, and at Lincoln, unlike Nottingham, the strongest site, the site which had been already crowned by the defences of earlier days, was to be found within the city itself. The mound which now supports the polygonal keep of the next age doubtless supported some earlier fortress, as it now doubtless

¹ Domesday, 336 b. Of a hundred and forty-one houses in the five Lincolnshire wards we read, "Modo totidem sunt, præter v. quæ propter opus castri sunt waste."

² Ib. 337. "Hoc autem eorum erat ut, si legati Regis illuc venirent, homines ejusdem vidi cum navibus suis et aliis instrumentis navigationis usque Eboracum eos conducerent."

³ Ib. "Modo habet Rex in dominio, et sunt ibi ci. burgenses manentes. Waste sunt vero cxi. mansiones."

⁴ Ib. 336. "Ex his [of the carucates spoken of in p. 209, note 5] dedit unam Rex Willelmus cuidam Vlchel pro una navi quam ab eo emit. Ille vero qui navim vendidit mortuus est, et hanc carucatam terræ nullus habet nisi Rege concedente."

CHAP. XVIII. supported the fortress which was reared by William. The building of the castle and its outworks involved the destruction of a large number of houses. One hundred and sixty-six dwellings perished to make room for it,¹ and we can hardly doubt that the building of the minster a few years later must have involved further destruction.² Of seventy-four other waste houses we find a most remarkable entry, assuring us that their forsaken state was not owing to any oppression on the part of the King's officers, but to fires and other ordinary accidents of human life.³ By these various means no small portion of the burghers of Lincoln, who had once held houses on the height, were driven from their former homes and had to seek dwellings where they could. For a small part of them a dwelling-place was found in a manner which forms one of the most interesting pieces of local history in England. Without the city, at the foot of the hill, beyond the stream of the Witham, lay a waste piece of land which had never been dwelled upon by man. This the King granted to his English favourite Coleswegen. A new town began to arise. At the time of the Survey thirty-six inhabited

William's
grant to
Coles-
wegen.

Migration
to the
lower
town.

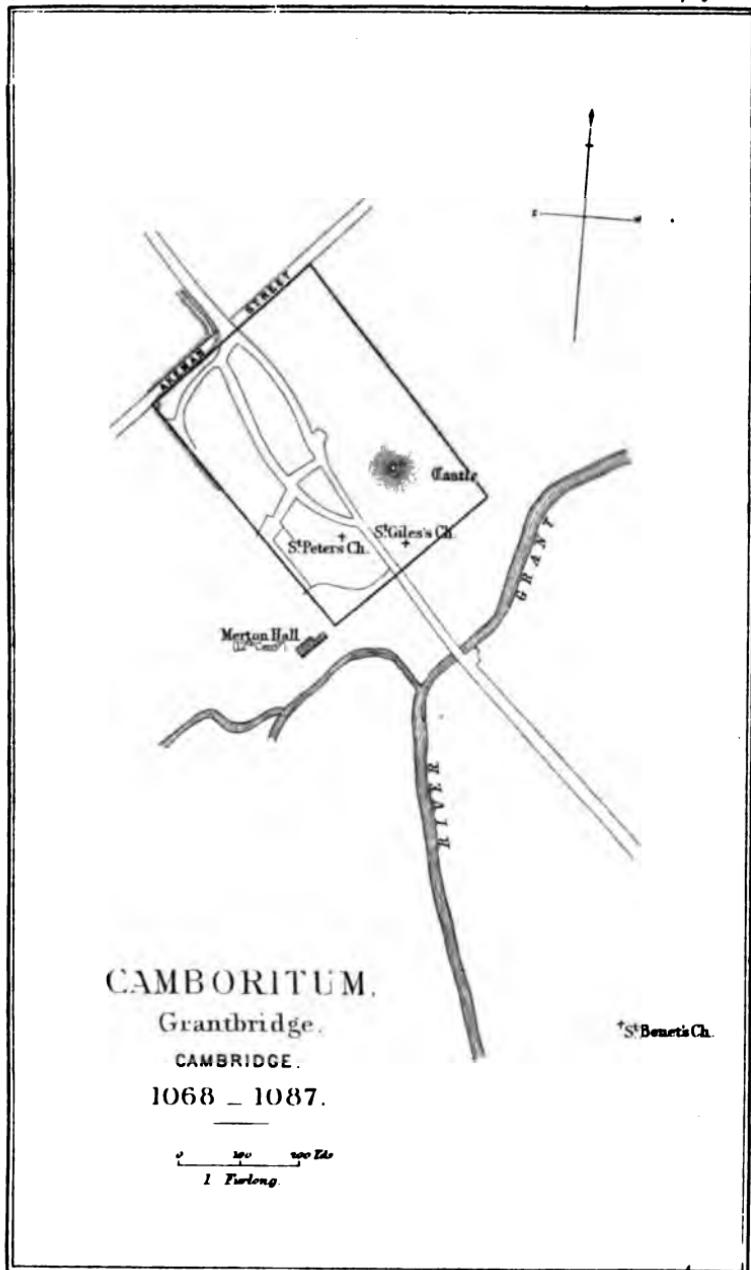
national forms of art. Reared as they were after King CHAP.XVIII. William came into England, the works of Coleswegen, the towers of Saint Peter-at-Gowts and Saint Mary-le-Wigford, still reproduce that style of building which Wilfrith and his contemporaries had brought from Rome, and which so long remained the common heritage of Western Christendom. I hardly know of any works of man which speak more strongly to the heart than these two stern and unadorned, yet stately, towers, reared, in the days of bondage, by an Englishman who, by whatever means, knew how to hold up his head among the conquerors of England, and to win no small share of the honours which belong to the founders of new temples of God and of new dwelling-places of man.¹

Of the places through which William passed on his march southward from Lincoln two only are mentioned, Huntingdon and Cambridge. Cambridge, not yet famous William at Cambridge. as the seat of a great University, was a borough of considerable importance, though not reaching to the measure of Exeter, Lincoln, or Norwich. The town of Cambridge, or, Origin of Camboritum, in the language of those days, Granbridge—the Roman Grantbridge, Camboritum—then stood wholly on the left bank of the

¹ Domesday, 336 b. "Coluen habet in Lincolia civitate iv. toftes de terra Cole nepotis sui, et extra civitatem habet xxxvi. domos et ii. ecclesias, in quibus nihil adjacet, quas hospitavit in wastâ terrâ quam Rex sibi dedit et quae numquam ante hospitata fuit." This entry makes it absolutely certain that the towers of Saint Mary-le-Wigford and Saint Peter-at-Gowts were built by Coleswegen between the years 1068 and 1086. Of the importance of this fact in the history of architecture I shall speak in my fifth volume. When I first saw Lincoln in 1847, traces could still be seen of the Romanesque north aisle of Saint Peter-at-Gowts; before 1866 they had vanished. Hard by is a house which must be late in the twelfth century, but whose windows bear the impress of the earlier work of Coleswegen. The name "Wigford" is worth notice. The church stands near the present bridge, which may have taken the place of a ford, and *wig* may well point to some battle in the Anglian conquest of the district, perhaps to that which made Lindum an English possession.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

Cam or Grant. The alternative name of the river is not wholly forgotten. The extent of the Roman town may easily be traced.¹ It is something like that of Lincoln on a smaller scale. The original town occupied the end of a long ridge, positively low, but in that flat region, rather lofty, than of higher ground overlooking the river at its feet. Like so many other Roman sites, Camboritum seems to have been utterly overthrown and forsaken in the havoc of the English Conquest. In the seventh century the town is spoken of as lying desolate; it was there, among the shattered remains of Roman skill, that a marble sarcophagus was sought to receive the remains of the virgin saint and Abbess Æthelthryth. Sexburgh, her sister and successor in the rule of the holy house of Ely, thought it fitting to translate her body to a place of higher honour in the church which she had founded.² No stone fit for such a purpose could be found in the land of flats and fens, but the ruins of the Roman town still remained as a quarry.





Swegen the town, like other towns, was burned.¹ But to CHAP.XVIII. a wooden town—and in that part of England towns must have been even more completely wooden than elsewhere—a destruction of this sort was a mere passing misfortune. In Its con- William's day Grantbridge was again a town of four hundred houses, divided into twelve wards, and ruled by Lawmen after the manner of Lincoln and Stamford.² No details of its siege or submission are given. A castle was Building of course built;³ it arose, as usual, on a mound, partly natural, partly artificial, which still marks the site of the Norman fortress, as it doubtless marked that of some earlier English predecessor. But all actual traces of either have utterly passed away. The building of the castle immediately involved the destruction of twenty-seven houses, and, either now or in the wars which followed in the neighbourhood, a large number of other dwellings became waste.⁴ But this havoc seems to have led to even more important consequences at Cambridge than it led to at Lincoln. At Lincoln the driving out of the former inhabitants led only to the extension of the city by the formation of a suburb at the foot of the hill. At Cambridge the river and the marshy ground beyond it had to be passed. On this new site a new town arose, the town first of monasteries and then of colleges, adorned by

in the hands of the Danes. The first mention of the shire is in 1010. See vol. i. p. 344.

¹ Chron. 1010. See vol. i. p. 345.

² Domesday, 189. "In hoc burgo fuerunt et sunt decem custodie." We presently hear of the "harieta lagemanorum."

³ Ord. Vit. 511 D. "Rex post haec in reversione sua Lincolise, Huntendonse, et Gruntebruge castra locavit, et tutelam eorum fortissimis viris commendavit." The Worcester Chronicle (1067) simply says, after mentioning the castles at York and Lincoln, "And gehwar on han ende." So Florence, "In civitate Lindicolinâ aliisque locis castella firmari præcepit."

⁴ Domesday, 189. "Pro castro sunt destructae xxvii. domus." The number of waste houses in each of the ten wards is entered separately, amounting in the whole to fifty-three out of four hundred, besides those destroyed for the castle.

CONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

minster of Saint Radegund and the minster of Barnwell, and far more famous as the dwelling-place of that owned University which has so deeply stamped its mark on the intellect of England and the world. But, like the case of Lincoln, it would seem that the exiles were driven from the higher ground of Cambridge rather to enlarge an earlier settlement beyond the river than absolutely to found a new one. The ancient tower of Saint Bene't, the most venerable monument in Cambridge, clearly points to an age earlier than that of the churches of Coleswegen at Lincoln, and shows that a place which was destined to become so famous had already become the dwelling-place of man.

The town of Huntingdon was, then as now, one of much less account than Cambridge, and one that would seem to be of purely English origin. As at Cambridge, no trace remains of the fortress reared by William beyond the mounds which no doubt mark the old *Huntersdown*.

us. One part at least of Cambridgeshire played a most important part in later struggles against William, and it is impossible to say to which date the main spoliation is to be referred. One thing is plain, that, either now or at a later time, both shires were put into the hands of most unscrupulous Sheriffs. Picot bore rule in Cambridgeshire and Eustace in Huntingdonshire, and the amount of wrong wrought at their hands seems to have far surpassed the ordinary measure of havoc.¹ Among the other sins of Picot, the Survey charges him with depriving the burgesses of Cambridge of their common land.² Yet he too appears as an ecclesiastical benefactor.

¹ The Sheriff Picot appears in Domesday, 189, 190 b, 193 b, 197, 200, 201 b. In one of these places (190) he is charged with an "invasio super Regem," in 193 b he seems engaged in a very doubtful transaction with Earl Roger, and in the entries of his own lands (201 b) we find a whole string of parcels of land held by him which belonged to various churches. Picot also appears in the Historia Eliensis (249, 251, Stewart), and in pp. 266, 267 we get the characters of the Sheriff himself and of one of his agents. Picot was "genere Normannus, animo Gaetus," and a vast number of hard names follow. In the next page the like measure is dealt to Gervase, "cui dominus ejus jam dictus Picotus, tamquam ceteris fideliori, pro sua pravitate totius vicecomitatus negotia commiserat." We shall also hear of him in Chapter xix. Eustace is charged in p. 202 with an "occupatio" in Cambridgeshire, in 228 with another in Northamptonshire on the church of Ramsey, and the entries in his own town and shire are full of complaints against him. In the town of Huntingdon in 203 there are several, both from churches and from private English owners. The complaint from the representatives of a former English Sheriff is quite pathetic; "Habuit Aluricus vicecomes T. R. E. unam mansionem quam W. Rex postea concessit uxori ejus et filii. Eustachius modo habet, quam pauper cum matre reclamat." In the entries of Eustace's own lands (206 b) we find English owners, and also the Countess Judith, complaining of his seizures. Other cases occur in 208, to one of which we get a date. A small piece of land, "tertia pars dimidie hide," belonging to the Abbey of Ely was seized by Eustace in 1071-1072, doubtless while the exploits of Hereward were going on; "Sic abbas habuit T. R. E. et post adventum W. Regis v. annis; hanc Eustachius vi de ecclesia rapuit et retenuit."

² Domesday, 189. "Burgenses . . . reclamant . . . super Picotum vicecomitem communem pasturam sibi ab eo ablatam." A complaint about Picot's mills follows.

Heavy con-
fiscations
in Cam-
bridgeshire
and Hun-
tingdon-
shire.

Oppres-
sions of
the She-
riffs Picot
and
Eustace.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

church and monastery of regular canons in honour of St Giles arose at his bidding within the bounds of old Camboritum,¹ and, strangely as the building has a disfigured in later times, some small relics of the k of the rapacious Sheriff still survive.² The evil Is of Eustace of Huntingdon stand out still more rly in the Survey. But of the town with which his ie is connected we should specially like to hear more. lay within the earldom of Waltheof, and its history shrouded in the darkness which surrounds all the ings of its Earl till he breaks forth into full light in course of the next year. As to the other shire which ned Waltheof's earldom, Northamptonshire, and as to capital, history is equally silent. But the Survey ws that here also, whether now or at a later time, yoke was pressed very heavily both on borough and e.³

shelter with the same prince who had once sheltered their father, King Diarmid of Dublin.¹ It was not hard to find the means of raising and manning a fleet in the Danish towns on the east coast of Ireland. So, before the first year of their banishment was out, three sons of the fallen King, Godwine, Eadmund, and Magnus,² came, just as their father had done sixteen years before,³ to try to win their way back into their native land by force. How far this was done in concert with the leaders of the Northumbrian movement we can only guess. But things look as if all the enemies of William had agreed to do their best to shake his power, each in that part of the island where his influence was strongest. Harold's sons, just as their father had done, chose for their field of operations those shires of the West where the cause of their house had been defended longer than anywhere else. Their fleet, which is said to have numbered fifty-two ships,⁴ was manned no doubt partly by Danes from Ireland, partly by English exiles. At the head of this force they sailed up the Bristol Channel. But either they had not taken warning by the error of their father, or they looked on a land under Norman rule as an enemy's country, or else the natural love of plunder in the breasts of the Vikings from Ireland could not be overcome. The usual, but invariably fatal, mistake was made; the deliverers began by ravaging the land far and wide.⁵ After thus harrying the coast as they went, they sailed up the Avon to Bristol, the port whence their father had sailed

They sail
up the
Bristol
Channel,

and attack
Bristol,

¹ See above, p. 158, and vol. ii. p. 151.

² On the sons of Harold engaged in this attempt, and on the authorities for the story, see Appendix V.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 313-316, 623.

⁴ So at least say the Winchester Annals, Ann. Mon. ii. 28. The Chronicler and Florence do not mention the number.

⁵ Chron. Wig. 1067. "Com an Haroldes suna . . . mid scyphere into Afensaa muðan unwar, and hergode sona ofer call þone ende." Florence does not mention these earlier harryings, nor the attack on Bristol.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

he land whence they now came back.¹ They at once
ulted the city. Whatever were the feelings of the
ghers of Bristol towards the House of Godwine, they
unreasonably thought that to have their town sacked
Irish Danes would be worse than to live under the
re of King William. They fought manfully against
besiegers, and drove them off without their being able
arry away anything as a memorial of their attack on
tol.² But, loaded with the spoil which they had
hered in the neighbourhood, they returned to their ships
sailed to some point of the coast of Somerset which
ot more fully described.³ There they landed, and
story of their father's landing at Porlock was acted
again. When they began after such a fashion as
it is not wonderful that they found the shire un-
dly, or that Eadnoth, once their father's Staller,
erred his lately sworn allegiance to the Norman King
ny feelings of regard for the sons of his old master.

rank of the persons spoken of,¹ and it would seem to imply CHAP.XVIII. that such English Thegns as were left in the shire did not scruple to obey the summons of Eadnoth. The result seems to have been a drawn battle. Eadnoth fell in the who is killed in fight, and his son, as we have seen, failed to keep the battle. inheritance which might have seemed the due reward of his father's services.² Godwine and his brothers sailed away, and, after further harryings in Devonshire and Corn- They wall, made their way back to Ireland.³ All that King ravage Harold's sons had done towards the recovery of their Devonshire and Corn- wall, and sail back to Ireland.

At some stage of this year, and seemingly not later than the month of September, an event took place which may have had the effect of making the foreign dynasty seem one degree less foreign in the eyes of Englishmen. At some time after her coronation Queen Matilda gave birth to the fourth and youngest son of the Conqueror, most

Birth of
Henry the
First.
September
(?) 1068.

¹ Cf. Mr. Grote's remarks on the analogous use of δύοθές and ἀσθλός. ii. 88; iii. 62.

² Florence says of the sons of Harold, "illi potiti victoria," but William of Malmesbury puts the victory on the other side; "Nec eum cogitatio lusit; nam utrique Angli, aliquamdiu digladiati inter se, palmarum otiosam Regi refudere; advenae Hiberniam fugati; regii, maximā sui clade, nomen inane victoriae, amissō duce, mercati. Vocabatur is Ednodus," &c. It is now that William goes on to speak of Harding. See above, p. 45, and Appendix N.

³ Chron. Wig. 1067. "And þanon aweig foron þe þær to lāfe wæron." Compare the use of the same formula with regard to William's army after Senlac, vol. iii. p. 532.

⁴ Here may come in the curious comments of the Winchester Annalist (Ann. Mon. ii. 28); "Godwinus, Haroldi Regis filius, patrem vindicare cupiens, cum lii. navibus Angliam venit, et multa mala Regi et regno intulit; de regno tamen postremo expulsus est. In hoc autem maxime ibi profecit, quod interemptis sodalibus de eorum victu et pollicito præmio minus reddebat sollicitus." Compare the story of Antigonus and Démétrios in Plutarch, Dem. 40.

SQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

the youngest of all his children. Born on English soil, the son of a crowned King and Queen, the babe born *Ætheling*, and was marked out from his birth future King of the English.¹ There can be little doubt as the chances of deliverance from the foreign yoke grew weaker and weaker, English feeling began to gather round that one among the Conqueror's children who alone might be looked on as in any sense an Englishman. William doubtless meant from the beginning that it should so be. His policy with regard to his English-born son was probably much the same as that of Edward the First with regard to his British-born son.² The very name of young *Ætheling* is worth notice. He was called *Ætheling*, a name strange to England, almost equally strange to Normandy, but a name of genuine Teutonic ring.³ If to Norman ears it might suggest the French King who had been William's ally at Val-ès-dunes and his enemy at Hastings, to English ears it might rather suggest the

Henry then, the one royal-born son of his parents, the one ^{CHAP.XVIII.} who, by English law, would have a claim to a distinct preference at the next vacancy of the throne, was brought up with special care. He was taught all the learning of the age; his proficiency became wonderful among contemporary princes, and Henry the Clerk, as men called him, ^{Careful education of Henry.} kept his taste for letters through the whole course of a long life and an eventful reign.¹ And there is little doubt that one among the branches of learning which were instilled into the young Aetheling was a knowledge of the speech and the literature of the land in which he was born. The youngest son of the Conqueror must have shown a knowledge of two tongues, one of which must have been as unusual as the other, if we can believe that, most probably as a youthful exercise, he translated the fables which bore the name of Aesop from the Greek tongue into the English.² And, in his later life, though at some periods of his reign ^{Henry's policy largely English.} his policy became mainly foreign, yet he never wholly threw aside the character of an Englishman. In his first marriage with Eadgyth of Scotland the green tree first began to return to its place.³ The son of that marriage was freely spoken of as an English Aetheling,⁴ and the first marriage of his sister Matilda with the Emperor Henry the Fifth was a continuation of the policy which had given the daughter of Eadward the Elder to Otto the Great and the daughter of Cnut to the Emperor Conrad.⁵ And the King who, with his English Queen, had been mocked by Norman courtiers as Godric and Godgifu, filled her place with a second bride, in the person of Adeliza of Löwen, sprung from those lands kindred in blood and speech with England, a close connexion with which, if it was part of the policy of William, had been no less a part of the policy of Godwine.

¹ See Appendix Z.

² See Appendix Z.

³ See vol. iii. pp. 11, 38.

⁴ See Appendix Z.

⁵ See vol. i. pp. 60, 183, 451, 745.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

place of birth of a prince who was to be so renowned
to be fixed with certainty. A local tradition, for
I can find no confirmation among contemporary
writers, places it at Selby in Yorkshire.¹ No place would
at sight seem more unlikely; it is the very unlikeness
of the tale which suggests that it must have some ground
of truth. The tradition at once connects itself with
the fact that it was just about this time that the great
monastery to which Selby owes its fame made its first feeble
beginnings.² The most perfect of the monastic churches of
the time, still, with some mutilations, kept in use as a
church, is older than the more famous Cistercian
monasteries which it has outlived, and which now remain only
as ruins. The foundation legend is full of marvels and
fables, but we may trust it so far as to believe that the
monastery of Saint German at Selby was a colony from his
famous house at Auxerre.³ According to the legend,
the monastery began in a way more characteristic of earlier

looked-for *Aetheling* might be not only an Englishman, but CHAP.XVIII. a native of that part of England which had cost his father most pains to win. But in that case we should have looked for his birth, not in some hut or cell in the wilderness, but in the renowned capital of the province. If Henry really was born at Selby, his birth there could only have been the accidental result of some visit of curiosity or devotion to the spot where the newly-founded monastery was just beginning to rise.

William was thus comforted amidst his toils by the presence of his wife, whose almsdeeds, we are told, ever wrought mightily for him in the day of battle.¹ All his The
Norman
women
complain
of the
absence
of their
husbands;
their
alleged
messages
and
threats.

comrades however were not so well off. While they were fighting and receiving the reward of their fightings, their wives still tarried in Normandy. Fearful, so we are told, of the dangers of the sea, fearful of the dangers of a land which seemed to be wholly given up to war and tumults, the Norman ladies feared to trust themselves in England. But the long absence of their husbands soon became more than they could bear; they sent, so the story runs, messengers saying that, if their lords did not speedily come back, they would be driven to seek out other consorts for themselves.² The Norman warriors were torn asunder by the force of two contending ties. Could they forsake their King in his hour of need? But could they tamely abide in a strange land while their wives were throwing themselves into the arms of other men? The domestic duty or interest Some of
the Nor-
mans
return
home.

proved the stronger; the offers made by the King of lands and honours, of greater lands and honours still when the

¹ Ord. Vit. 513 A. "Eleemosyna, cui quotidie hsec hera insistebat, marito agonizanti in procinctu bellico plus quam fari nōrim succurrebat."

² Ib. 512 A. "His temporibus quedam Normannis mulieres sevā libidinis face ubeabantur, crebrisque nuntiis a viris suis flagitabant ut cito reverterentur, addentes quod, nisi redditum maturarent, ipse sibi alios coniuges procurarent." Orderic tells the tale at length, not without some touches of humour.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

le kingdom should be subdued, had no effect on men
se hearths were thus threatened.¹ Hugh of Grant-
nil left his command in Hampshire,² Humfrey of Tilleul
his guardianship of the fortress of Hastings,³ to revisit
wives whose importunate clamours thus called for them.
y and many others crossed over into Normandy, leaving
King and their comrades to their fate, and leaving
English lands and honours to the King's mercy.

hat this story is not true in all its details is shown by
fact that our informant, the monk of Saint Evroul, goes
o say that those who now returned to Normandy
ited for ever the lands and honours which they left
nd in England.⁴ Now in the case of Hugh of Grant-
nil this is notoriously false. He appears, not only in
nesday, but in the historian's own pages, as retaining
English possessions, including his sheriffdom of Leices-
hire, and as dying in England long after the death of
Conqueror.⁵ And it is specially strange that the his-

legends of this kind commonly grow round a certain kernel CHAP.XVIII. of truth. And such a kernel there most likely is in this Probable tale also. Some of William's followers, perhaps Hugh of the story. Grantmesnil himself, may have forsaken him for a while at this stage of his enterprise. That their return to Normandy was owing to the importunities of their wives would be an obvious jest at the time, and would be easily mistaken for a piece of true history.

Nor is it unlikely that desertions of this kind were in William some way connected with the fact which the historian goes on to record, that William at this time dismissed the mercenary part of his army, loading them with rewards and allowing them to go where they would.¹ Such an act, at such a time, when William's power was still so insecure, seems to point to mutinies and discontents of some kind or other. And nothing would be more likely to awaken the jealousy of the mercenaries than if the native Normans either received or took to themselves the privilege of returning to their own land.

§ 4. *The Revolt and Final Conquest of the North.*

1069-1070.

We have now reached one of the most eventful years of Import-
William's reign, the year which may be said to have finally ance of the
made him master of all England. His power was already year 1069.
spread over the greater part of the kingdom. The extreme

Polish women do the same during the absence of Boleslaus the Second and his army at Kief in 1076. See Dlugos, i. 280 (ed. Leipzig, 1711); Chron. Polono-Silesiacum, Pertz, xviii. 559. In these cases the husbands return and take vengeance. But the story of the origin of the Parthemelai, the founders of Tarentum, in Strabo, vi. 3 (vol. ii. p. 45), and Justin, iii. 4, is essentially the same, and a tale of the like sort seems implied in the legend of the foundation of the Italian Lokroi. See Polybios, xii. 5 et seqq.

¹ Ord. Vit. 512 C. "Rex, perspectis importunitatibus terre, solidarios milites convocavit, omnesque regali munificentia pro militari servitute muneratos domum abire benigne permisit."

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

th of Northumberland and some districts in the north-
t of Mercia alone remained unsubdued. But William's
l was as yet far from firm over a large part even of those
es where he had personally appeared to receive submis-
sion, and where he had planted castles to secure his con-
sts. And the state of the country everywhere was
tched. The old powers had been broken down by Wil-
liam's conquest, and William's own power was not yet so
firmly established as to give his subjects of either race that
protection which it certainly was his wish to give to both
races. Englishmen and Normans were preying on one
ther, and, as so constantly happens, natural powers of
destruction followed in the wake of the havoc which was
brought by man. Whatever escaped the sword fell into
the jaws of hunger and pestilence.¹ Such is the picture
seen in our most detailed narrative of these times. The
prophecy of the dying Eadward had been fulfilled; fiends
indeed stalked through his land.²

Flanders. This was Robert of Comines, on whom all our authorities bestow the title of Earl,¹ and who now, in the course of January, set forth on the perilous task of taking possession of a district where William's own presence and William's armies had not yet been seen. He commanded a body of troops which is variously reckoned at five, seven, and nine hundred. We have, as in some other cases, the further difficulty that it is not clear whether the numbers take in his whole force or only those among them who were of knightly rank.² His course lay through Durham, a city which had not as yet submitted, and which we have seen was a stronghold of the independent English.³ We are told that the general feeling in the country was in favour of flight, but that the severity of the winter, heightened by a deep fall of snow, made flight hopeless. The men of the district therefore determined to meet the invader, and either to slay him or to perish themselves.⁴ The new Earl drew

The Earl-
dom of
Northum-
berland
beyond the
Tyne
granted to
Robert of
Comines.

Durham
still unsub-
dued.

¹ Orderic (512 C) says, "Guillelmus Rex Dunelmensem comitatum Rodberto de Cumini tradidit;" but Simeon (1069) says distinctly, "misit Rex Willielmus Northymbris ad Aquilonalem plagam Tine comitem Rodbertum cognomento Cumin." The Chronicles (1068) simply say, "Willilmus cyng geaf Rodberde eorle bone eorldom on Norðymbrialand." On the new use of "Northumberland" in the narrower sense, see vol. i. p. 646; vol. ii. pp. 479, 482. At any rate the expression of Orderic need not imply that Robert was invested with a special earldom of Durham, of the land between the Tees and the Tyne.

² "Rodbertus de Cumini" I take to have drawn his name from the same place as the historian Philip. It has become Comyn, Cumin, Cumming, and is one of the names which has come to be looked on as "Scotch."

³ "Militia quingenti," says Orderic; "septingenti homines," according to Simeon; "ix. hund manna" in the Chronicles. Are these different reckonings, or the same?

⁴ See above, p. 188.

⁵ Sim. Dun. Hist. Dun. iii. 15. "Quem illi ubi advenientem audierant, omnes relictis domibus fugere parabant. Sed subito nivis tanta nimetas, tantaque hiemis obvenit asperitas, ut omnem eis fugiendi possibilitatem adimeret. Quapropter omnibus idem fuit consilium ut aut comitem extinguerent aut simul ipsi caderent." Id. Hist. Regg. 1069 (84 Hinde). "At illi omnes in unam coacti sententiam, ne alienigenae domini subderentur, statuerunt aut illum interficere aut ipsi simul omnes in ore gladii cadere."

CONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ear to Durham, where he had one friend in the city, in the person of the Bishop *Æthelwine*. That prelate, as we have seen, had made his peace with William at York,¹ and he now came, with more reason, to act towards Robert of Normandy the part which Robert the son of Wymarc had acted towards William himself.² He met the Earl on his way, and warned him not to think of entering the city. Robert made light of the warning; he marched on, dealing with the land through which he marched as an enemy's country, and even slaying some of the tenants or bondmen of the church of Saint Cuthberht. He entered Durham with his force, and we read of no opposition to his entrance. The Bishop perhaps prevailed thus far with his fellow-citizens, or perhaps the site of the episcopal dwelling made him practically master of the military position. Certain it is that Robert was admitted into the city, and that he and his immediate followers were lodged in the Bishop's own house the doubtless far lowlier forerunner of the fortress

the night, and towards morning the gates of Durham were CHAP. XVIII.
 burst open by the assembled forces of Northumberland. A general massacre followed. In the houses, in the streets, ^{Massacre of the Normans.} the Normans were everywhere slaughtered.¹ No serious resistance seems to have been offered except in defence of the Bishop's house, where the Earl and his immediate companions ^{Resistance at the Bishop's house.} withheld their assailants so manfully that they were driven to have recourse to fire. The palace was burned; the Earl and his comrades all died, either by the flames or by the sword. One man alone contrived to escape ^{The house is burned and Robert and his party slain.} with his life, and he was wounded.² But, even amid the slaughter of their enemies, the men of Durham found time to think of their patron saint and of his minster. The flames which destroyed the Bishop's palace all but seized on the neighbouring western tower of the church, the last ^{Escape of the church.} finish of the building, which Eadmund had added to the work of the founder Ealdhun. But, owing, we are told, to the prayers of the people, the wind changed, the flames turned away from the tower, and the church of Ealdhun and Eadmund was spared to give way to the grander conceptions of Norman architects.³

¹ Sim. Dun. Hist. Regg. 94. "At Northymbri totâ nocte festinantes Dunelnum summâ vi diluculo per portas irrumpunt et socios comitis imparatos ubique locorum interficiunt. Atrociter nimis res geritur, prostratis per domos et plateas militibus." So in the Durham History; "Tanta denique fuit interfectorum multitudo ut omnes plateas cruento atque caderentibus replerentur." Compare Orderic, 512 C; "Primâ vero nocte cives collecti sunt et ipsum cunctosque milites, præter duos fugâ illapsos, macraverunt. Fortissimi viri nequiverunt defendere se, oppressi tempore, dolo, multitudine."

² Sim. Dun. Hist. Regg. 1069. "Domum episcopi, in quâ comes fuerat susceptus, aggrediuntur pugnantes, sed quum non ferrent jacula defendantium, domum cum inhabitantibus concremaverunt." The account in the Durham History is to the same effect, except that it is not said to be the Bishop's house. One escaped, according to Simeon; two, according to Orderic.

³ The escape of the tower, "turris occidentalis quæ juxta stabat," appears in the Durham History only. It was seemingly a single western tower. See vol. i. pp. 445, 503.



CONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

The blow struck at Durham was at once followed by a blow struck at York.¹ As Durham, which had never submitted, refused to give up its freedom, York, which had submitted, was aroused to make an effort to win its freedom back again. The citizens rose, and slew one of the Norman commanders, Robert the son of Richard, with many of his companions.² That this was done with the distinct intention of throwing off all allegiance to the Norman King is shown by their immediately welcoming, most likely in ing, his English rival. The descendant of the West-saxon Kings had small chance of winning back the kingdom and the royal city of his fathers, but he was to have other momentary reign in the kingdom and city which had cost his fathers so much pains to win and to keep in hand. The *Ætheling* Eadgar ventured to leave his shelter in Scotland, and the whole force of Northumberland—the word here no doubt again used in the wider sense—was gathered round him. For with him came the local chiefs, Mærleswegen

restoration of the West-Saxon *Ætheling* by the might of CHAP.XVIII.

Northumberland and the kindred help of Denmark. The policy of the scheme is obvious. *Mærleswegen*, *Gospatrik*, *Archill*, and the rest would never agree to submit to any one of their own number; they might all agree to yield a nominal submission to a prince who was indifferent to their local feuds, and in whose name each of them might hope to govern. But the choice of Eadgar as chief clearly points to at least a hope of driving William wholly out of the island. The heir of Cerdic could never be satisfied with a Northumbrian kingdom; he could never sit down quietly to reign at York while Winchester was in the hands of the Norman Bastard. If left to themselves, Eadgar and his advisers would probably have waited for the Danish succours which did come in the course of the year. But the present moment could not be lost; the advantage of the movements at Durham and York was not to be thrown away. The spirit and confidence of the people was high, and the oppressions which everywhere went on kindled the national indignation more and more. Men who had sworn oaths and given hostages to the foreign King recked little both of their oaths and of the safety of their surviving friends, as they thought of the lands from which they had been driven and of the kinsmen and countrymen who had fallen by the hands of the strangers.¹

In such a frame of mind the assembled forces of North-humberland, with the young Eadgar at their head, drew near to the walls of York. The citizens at once welcomed the English King, joined his forces, and began a general attack on the newly-built castle.² The command was now

The General
spirit of the
Northum-
brian
people.

¹ Ord. Vit. 512 C. "Fiducia deinceps Anglis crevit contra Normannos, a quibus videbant nimum vexari suos collegas et amicos. Fides, sacramentum, et salus obsidium vilia fuerunt iratis pro amissis patrum suorum prædiis et occisis parentibus et compatriotis."

² Ib. "Consociatæ manu civium ac finitimorum, munitionem Regis in Eboraco impugnare ausi sunt."

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

by William Malet, who at once sent to King William, saying that, unless help came with all speed, he would be driven to surrender.¹ William was not likely to risk the loss of his northern capital; the need called for his full force and his own presence. He came with all speed at the head of an overwhelming power;² his march had, as a military exploit, never been the fellow of the other marches which carried Harold from London to Stamfordbridge. He came, and his vengeance was fearful. He burst upon the besiegers of the castle, slew, captured, put to flight the whole party, harried the town, and in some way or other did dishonour to the metropolitan church of Saint Peter, most likely by showing small heed to its rights of sanctuary.³ York was a second time subdued, this time a second yoke was added. One castle already commanded the left bank of the Ouse; but one castle was not proved enough to keep down the turbulent city. Another now rose on its right bank, on the lesser mound

that it was built during the King's sojourn of eight days. *CHAP.XVIII.*
 It was however thought needful to entrust it, for a time at least, to a leader of the highest rank. No less a person than the Earl of Hereford, the famous William Fitz-Osbern, was left in command of the new tower.¹ York was thus secured for a while; but the power of Saint Cuthberht, so local legends told, rescued the more guilty city of Durham from William's wrath. The King sent troops, under a commander whose name is not mentioned, to avenge the death of Earl Robert.² They went as far as Northallerton, and, in the common course of things, they would have reached Durham the next morning. But a great darkness came upon them, so that they could not see the way before them.³ Presently one came among them who told them that the city against which they were marching had a saint who dwelled in it, who was ever its defender, and who suffered no man to harm it.⁴ When the invaders heard this, they turned back again, and the men of Durham, who had been marked out for the slaughter, heard at the same time that a host had been sent against them, and that, by the help of Saint Cuthberht, the host had been turned away.⁵

*Legend of
the miracu-
lous de-
fence of
Durham.*

¹ Ord. Vit. 512 D. "Rex autem dies octo in urbe morans alterum praesidium condidit, et Guillelmum comitem Osberni filium ad custodiendum reliquit."

² Sim. Dun. Hist. Ecol. Dun. iii. 15. "Rex Willielmus graviter offensus, ducem quendam cum exercitu ut ejus mortem ulcisceretur, direxit."

³ Ib. "Quum autem ad Alvertonium venissent, et jam mane facto Dunelium profecturi essent, tanta nebularum densitas orta est ut vix adstantes sese alterutrum videre, viam vero nullo modo valerent inventire." A story of the same kind is told of certain Northmen who sought to plunder the abbey of Saint Remigius at Rheims. The origin of all tales of the kind is doubtless to be found in the blindness of the Syrians in 2 Kings vi. 18.

⁴ Sim. Dun. Hist. Ecol. Dun. iii. 15. "Homines illos quendam in sua urbe sanctum habere qui eis semper in adversis protector adesset, quos nemo impune, illo vindicante, ledere umquam valeret."

⁵ Ib. "Hi vero ad quos interficiendos missi fuerant nihil ex hostibus, antequam reversi fuissent, agnoverunt."

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

The truth probably is that William was satisfied for the moment with the recovery of York, and thought it wiser to leave Durham for a while untouched. He went away triumphantly to keep the feast of Easter, according to custom, at Winchester.¹ His back was no sooner turned than the English again rose, and attacked both the new and the old. Something followed which seems to have deserved the name of a battle, or at least of a skirmish. Earl William, we are told, fought against the rebels in a certain dale, of the whereabouts of which we should like to know more. The English were again defeated; some were killed; others taken, and the rest put to flight.² The state of affairs however still seemed so dangerous in William's eyes that he thought it safer to send his wife out of the dangerous island, again to act as his representative in his more peaceful continental duchy.³

Thus it was that the strength of England was frittered

Western peninsula, at the head of sixty-four or sixty-six ships.¹ They sailed up the mouth of the Taw, and their followers seem, in the true Wiking spirit, but with less than the old Wiking caution, to have spread themselves over well nigh the whole of Devonshire, plundering as they went. According to one account, they attacked Exeter itself; but, if so, the defences of Rougemont were too strong for them, or the zeal of the citizens in their cause was quenched. They might not unnaturally be less eager on the behalf of the exiles, now that they came at the head of foreign pirates, than they had been when Harold's sons were defending the last stronghold of English freedom in the West. The extent of their harryings may be partly traced by an entry in the local Domesday, which shows that they reached points in the central and southern parts of the shire, far away from their first landing-place.² They were met in arms, most likely on their return towards their ships, by Brian, son of Count Odo of Britanny, who himself bears the title of Earl or Count, and by another leader described as William Waldi, whom I cannot further identify.³ The force under these captains was not small;⁴ they came on the plunderers unawares, and fought with them two battles in one day.⁵ This is a comment on the disorderly way in which the irregular

¹ Sixty-four in the Worcester Chronicle and Florence; sixty-six in Orderic (513 A) and William of Jumièges (vii. 41).

² On the geography of this expedition, see Appendix V.

³ Ord. Vit. 513 A. "Protinus illis Brienus, Eudonis comitis Britanniae minoris filius, et Guillelmus Gualdi cum armis obvii fuerunt." "Breon eorl," as the Worcester Chronicle calls him, was the son of Odo the brother of Howel and of the Alan who fought at Senlac, and cousin of the late Count Conan. See vol. iii. pp. 230, 231, 315. He appears in the Suffolk Domesday (ii. 291) as "Comes Brienus," but he must have been dead before the Survey, as his lands are held by Count Robert of Mortain.

⁴ Chron. Wig. 1068. "Breon eorl com on fñwser heom togeines mid unlytan weorode and wið gefeahf."

⁵ Will. Gem. vii. 41. "Brienus . . . cum eis sub die una duobus proeliis manum conseruit." So Orderic, "duobus uno die conflictibus."

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGL

which followed the sons of Harold had spread
es over the country. The Breton Count most
in with two detachments at different points,
h separately he found it easy to overcome
ghter was fearful; seventeen hundred men are
been killed, and, as usual, the loss fell heav
“best men,” whether by that name we are to
d English exiles of rank or chief men amo
es of Ireland.¹ Nightfall alone, we are told, h
plunderers from being utterly cut off. As it v
sons of Harold, with a small remnant of th
ers, escaped in two ships to the friendly court e
rnish.²

This crushing overthrow quenched for ever the
the House of Godwine. Of the sons of Har
no more. The family which in two gene
risen from obscurity to the highest pitch of gl
in the third generation so far as history is con

male descendants of Tostig,¹ that female descendants of CHAP.XVIII. Harold,² lived on in Northern Europe. But in English No further history they have no longer a place. The Earl who delivered England from the stranger, the King who died as her champion against the stranger, have left behind them a name better than that of sons and daughters, but of their sons and daughters themselves no trace abides in the land which they loved and guarded. Godwine, Eadmund, and Magnus now vanish from our story. A time of confusion followed in Ireland, and their protector King Diarmid lost his life in the very year of their second enterprise.³ Possibly they were cut off in these foreign broils while men were still fighting for England at York and Ely. At all events their career on English soil was over.

It was most likely after this final overthrow of her grandsons that Gytha at last left the shelter of her rock in the Bristol Channel, and betook herself to a surer refuge beyond sea.⁴ Of those many wives of good men⁵ who shared her banishment we seem to get a glimpse in a story preserved by a German historian.⁶ An English matron and her three daughters, sailing away from what was now the land of bondage, had the ill-luck to suffer shipwreck in the county of Stade near the mouth of the Elbe. That county was then held by the Margrave Udo as a fief of the church of Bremen.⁷ The laws of his

¹ See vol. iii. p. 375.

² See above, p. 159.

³ See Chronicon Scotorum, 1069; Ann. Camb. 1070; Brut y Tywysogion, 1070, where he is described as "terrible to his foes, friendly to his countrymen, and gentle towards pilgrims [pererinyan] and strangers."

⁴ See above, p. 159.

⁵ See above, p. 157.

⁶ The story is found in the Annales Stadenses, Pertz, xvi. 320; which I should not have been likely to explore save for the reference in Lappenberg, Norman Kings, 114.

⁷ Pertz, u. s. "Prædictus Udo tenuit Stadensem comitatum ab ecclesia Bremensi in beneficio."

traces of
the House
of Godwine
in English
history.

Death of
Diarmid.
1069.

Gytha
leaves the
Flat
Holm for
Flanders.

One of
her com-
panions
probably
wrecked in
North
Germany.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

st were as inhuman towards shipwrecked persons as laws of the coast of Ponthieu.¹ The helpless beings who escaped the waves were doomed to become the bondmen of the lords of the soil.² This custom was enforced against the English lady, and her daughters became the maidwomen of the Margrave's wife. The harshness of their lot was however greatly lessened in practice. The daughters found husbands, and their sons were carefully brought up and promoted to offices of trust.³ One of the grandsons of the banished Englishwoman, Frederick the First of Reinhold, after a strange and discreditable career, died as the reigning Count of the land into which his grandfather had found her way in so strange a sort.⁴

We again flit from the West to the North. Ever since the accession of William, England, Northern England at least, had been looking for help from the once hostile land Denmark. All this while King Swegen had been

And now at last, in the autumn of this present year, three CHAP.XVIII.
years after England had been for the last time invaded by Swegen at
a Scandinavian enemy, her shores were neared by a Scan- last sends
dinavian fleet bearing men who at least gave themselves help.
out as her friends. In August, less than two months
after the final overthrow of the sons of Harold in the
West, two hundred and forty ships, commanded by men
of their own blood, nephews and grand-nephews of Gytha,
drew near to the eastern havens of England. The numbers Descrip-
in all these statements are utterly uncertain; we therefore tion of his
have no trustworthy means of judging whether the efforts force.
of Swegen to deliver England were or were not greater
than the efforts of Harold Hardrada to subdue her. Writers
on the Norman side strain all their powers of language to
set forth how Swegen drained the whole strength of his
realm and of many surrounding realms. The whole might
of Denmark was gathered together; helpers in the cause His alleged
of England came from the kindred lands of Friesland and foreign
Saxony. All this may be believed; but we begin to have
our doubts when we hear of warriors coming from the
Slavonic lands beyond the Elbe, and even from yet more
distant Poland.¹ The fleet was commanded by Osbeorn,

precibus fuerat sollicitatus, et ruinâ suorum qui nuper in Heraldi confictu occisi fuerant motus: quinetiam proximâ cognominations [cognitione!] ad regni cupiditatem incitatus, utpote nepos Eduardi Regis, Hardeounuti filius." A pedigree was seldom more utterly mistaken; Swegen, son of Ulf the son of Thorgils and of Estrith the daughter of the elder Swegen, was sister's son to Cnut, brother's son to Gytha, cousin alike to Harthacnut and to the sons of Godwine, but he had not a drop of blood in common with Eadward.

¹ Ord. Vit. 513 B, C. "Hic [Suenus] ingenti potentia pollebat, universas regni sui vires contrahebat, quibus a viciniis regionibus et amicis auxilia magna coacervabat. Adjuvabant eum Polenia, Frisia, necne Saxonia. Leutecia quoque pro Anglicis opibus auxiliares turmas mittebat. In ea populoissima natio consistebat que, gentilitatis adhuc errore detenta, verum Deum nesciebat, sed ignorantia muscipulis illaqueata, Guodeven et Thurum, Freamque, aliasque falsos Deos, immo dæmones, colebat. Hæc gens terrâ marique præliari perita erat, quam Suenus cum rege suo sepe vicerat suseque ditioni subegerat."

Leutecia is the country of the Welatabi or Welsi (Eginhard, Annals, 789),

CHAP.XVIII. the son of Ulf and Estrith, the brother of King Swegen
Com-
manders of and of the murdered Beorn, who had himself once been an
the fleet,
Osbeorn,
Harold,
Cnut, and
Thurkill.
[Harold
King 1074
-1081.
Cnut 1081
-1086.] Earl in England, but who had been banished six and
twenty years before at the election of Eadward.¹ With
him came his nephews, Harold and Cnut, the sons of
King Swegen, both of whom in turn came to wear the
Danish Crown, while Cnut won also the crown of martyrdom on those easy terms on which it was often adjudged to royal candidates.² We hear also of an Earl Thurkill and of two Danish Bishops as having a share, therefore doubtless a command, in the expedition.³ One would be well pleased to know what instructions the leaders of the fleet received from the wary prince who sent them. They undoubtedly came to deliver England, to help those who were striving to free her from the yoke of her foreign King. But what form was the deliverance

¹ Slavonic people beyond the Elbe. See Adam of Bremen, ii. 19. "Ultra Leuticos, qui alio nomine Wilzi dicuntur, Oddera flumen occurrit." So in a letter of Wibald of Corbey in Jaffé (*Mon. Corbiensis*, 244) we read, "Intraveramus . . . terram Leuticiorum, transmiso Albi flumine." They appear also in the Saxon Annalist, 1067 (Pertz, vi. 692).

to take? Was the attempt to be made on behalf of Eadgar, CHAP. XVIII. once the King-elect, on behalf of Swegen's kinsmen the sons of Harold, or on behalf of Swegen himself? In Eadgar Swegen could take no interest; in his eyes he would be simply the representative of a family which had displaced his own. In young Godwine, or in any other of Harold's sons, he might well take a kinsman's interest, and it is quite possible that the two expeditions, from Ireland and from Denmark, were planned in concert. But, if so, they had failed to act in concert, and the last hopes of the House of Godwine had been smitten to the ground in western England before the Danish deliverer had appeared in the East. The discomfiture of the sons of Harold may well have been felt as a serious check to Swegen's plan of operations; it may even have brought about a change in his main objects. All hopes of joint action were at an end; Swegen could no longer be looked on as bound to support men who had so utterly failed to support themselves. His object, now at least, cannot fail to have been to restore the monarchy of Cnut in one form or another. As far as we can dive into Swegen's mind, one may be inclined to think that his caution and experience must have taught him that it was hopeless to try to place the two crowns of England and Denmark upon the same brow. But one of Swegen's many sons might well become the stock of a new dynasty, a dynasty which to northern England would be in every way welcome, while in southern England it would be at least preferred to the rule of the Norman. We can however well believe that the schemes of Swegen, whatever they were, were not so distinctly chalked out but that they were open to change, according to the chances of war, and according to the reception which they might meet with in England. We may perhaps also infer that, whatever Swegen's objects were, they were not very clearly made known, and that, at

Possible
scheme of
Swegen.

Probable
concert
with
Harold's
sons.

Swegen's
probable
personal
objects.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

rate, no purposes irreconcileably hostile to the claims Eadgar were publicly announced. For we shall before g find the *Ætheling* acting in concert with the Danish aders. And Eadgar at least must have hoped for the own for himself. If he had only to choose between two sters, he could have no motive for preferring Swegen to lliam.

But, in any case, it is plain that Swegen's objects, whatr they were, took in the whole of England, and were not eley confined to its northern portion. And we may sure that it was generally known throughout England t a Danish invasion was making ready. The movements ch took place in various parts of the country before the r was out, if not actually planned in concert with the nish King, were doubtless at least undertaken in the e of being supported by Danish help. William had to iggle against enemies in the West as well as in the sth and this danger from various points may account for

course if the deliverers had steered straight to the mouth CHAP.XVIII. of the Humber. Instead of so doing, whether by the orders of King Swegen or by the discretion of their immediate commanders, they began their work by a series of attacks on various points in the south-east of England. In these, as it turned out, they simply lost time, strength, and credit.¹ Their first attack was on Dover, where Harold's castle on the rock had been so vainly assaulted by Count Eustace.² We have not the same detailed account of this enterprise as we have of the former one, and we hear nothing of the feelings either of the men of Dover or of the men of Kent in general, but it seems that Odo, or Hugh of Montfort, or whoever was in immediate command, was able to drive back the invaders with the troops which he found at his disposal.³ A like repulse followed on an attempt which was next made on Sandwich.⁴ The Danes now sailed northward for the once Danish land of East-Anglia. As the fleet of the earlier Thirkill had done fifty-nine years before, they entered the estuary of the Stour and Gippen, and landed near Ipswich, not far from the scene of Ulfcytel's battle of Ringmere.⁵ This time we are distinctly told that they betook themselves to plunder, and that they were driven back with the loss of thirty men, not by a Norman garrison, but by the people of the country.⁶

¹ From the *Chronicles* and *Florence* we learn nothing of the course of the Danish fleet till its appearance in the Humber; the accounts of these unsuccessful attempts in other parts of England come from Orderic, who is probably following William of Poitiers.

² See above, p. 114.

³ Ord. Vit. 513 C. "Appulsois Doveram regiorum militum occursus reppulit."

⁴ Ib. "Itidem apud Sandgnicum abacti sunt, sed a Normanniis repulsi sunt."

⁵ See vol. i. p. 344.

⁶ Ord. Vit. u. s. "Nacti opportunitatem egrediendi apud Geposuicum in prædam diffusi sunt, sed provinciales congregati trigesita necaverunt et reliquos in effugium coegerunt." The "provinciales" seems here to stand in contrast to the "Normanni" and "regii milites" of the other entries.

Attack on Norwich repulsed by Ralph of Wader. It is plain that we are here reading, not of any serious attempt on the part of the whole fleet, but of an isolated repulse which fell on some isolated, perhaps unauthorized, band of plunderers. An attempt on Norwich which followed was a much more important enterprise, and one much more likely to have been deliberately planned. One of the reasons which led William to place that great city for a time under the command of his trustiest friend was the ease with which succours from Denmark might be received there.¹ But William Fitz-Osbern was no longer in command in the East; his services had been called for in the West and in the North, wherever in short the power of his friend was most in danger. The man who now commanded at Norwich was the renegade native of the shire, Ralph of Wader. His father, the elder Ralph, the Staller, held the rank of Earl under William, and his son undoubtedly afterwards held the East-Anglian earldom.² But whether the elder Ralph was still living, or whether the father or the son was at this moment in actual possession of the office, it was in either case the younger Ralph

only Norman accounts. As the fleet drew near to what CHAP.XVIII.
 must have been all along the main object of the enterprise,
 we again get the help of our own writers.¹ Early in The fleet
 September the fleet entered the Humber.² The day of its enters the
 appearance was exactly the third anniversary of the day Humber.
 when King Harold of England had been driven to disband September
 the troops with which he was guarding the southern coast ; 8, 1069.
 it must have been very nearly the third anniversary of the day when the Landwaster of Harold of Norway was first seen in the same waters.³ But now the Raven of Denmark came on an errand of deliverance, and men flocked from every side to welcome English exiles and Danish allies. All Northumberland rose to meet them, and men came even from distant shires to join the muster. As in so many other cases, the Norman Survey preserves to us the name of a single man, who was doubtless only one man among many. A former Housecarl of King Harold, attached to him doubtless in the early days of his East-Anglian government, whose name in French ears sounded as Scalpin, left the lands in Essex which William had allowed him to keep and died at York as an outlaw.⁴ Men too of higher rank

The Eng-
lish join
the Danes.

Scalpin of
Essex.

¹ The accounts in the Chronicles and in Florence give the same general facts, but Florence attends much more strictly to chronological order. That his account is copied by Simeon with only a few additions is the best proof of its trustworthiness.

² "Betwyx þam twam Sca Marian mæssan," says the Peterborough Chronicle (1069). "Ante Nativitatem S. Marie" in Florence.

³ See vol. iii. pp. 338, 351.

⁴ In Domesday, ii. 59, among the lands of Geoffrey of Mandeville in Essex, we find the following entry ; "Istud quoque manerium T. R. E. dedit Egarius Haraldo, et Heroldus iterum dedit cuidam suo huscarlo nomine Scalpino, et iste Scalpinus dedit uxori sive in dote, videntibus iibis hominibus, scilicet Rogero Marescalco et quodam Anglo. Et hoc testatur hundreds, quod audierunt recognoscere Scalpino, et postquam Rex venit in hanc terram tenuit ipse, donec ivit ubi mortuus fuit in Ebroicæ in utlagaria."

"Ebroicæ" ought to mean Evreux, but the name is often confounded with "Eboracum," and Evreux would be a strange place of shelter for an English exile. One can hardly doubt that Scalpin, or whatever his real name was, fought and died in this Yorkshire campaign. But the entry has

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

me pressed to join the host of the deliverers. While
unish fleet was still in the estuary, it was joined by a
cement of ships, sailing no doubt mainly from the
s of Scotland, which carried the exiles who had taken
at the court of Malcolm.¹ They had been already
by many of the chief men of the land, who eagerly
off their allegiance to William. A band of men of
blest blood of England, the descendants of ancient
and ancient earls, were gathered together on board
fleet of confederated Denmark and Northumberland.
er came the *Aetheling* Eadgar, once more to try the
es of the last representative of the House of Cerdic.²
er came Gospatrix, with the forces of his northern
m, the men of the still independent England beyond
es, proud no doubt of the slaughter of their would be
an Earl, prouder probably that the arm of Saint
erht had been stretched forth to save them from
rath of William himself.³ Thither came the exiled

Mærleswegen to win back his own, and Archill, who thus CHAP.XVIII.
 jeopardised all that he had gained by his former submission
 to the stranger.¹ Thither came Siward the son of Æthelgar,
 repenting of the homage which he had done to the newly
 crowned Conqueror in his court at Barking.² Thither came
 the four sons of Carl, the treacherous slayer of Earl
 Ealdred in the lawless days of the sons of Cnut.³ And
 thither came the representative of the house most hostile to
 theirs, the grandson of the murdered Earl, cloaking his
 deadly feud while they marched together on their common
 enterprise. Waltheof the son of Siward, the Earl of
 Northampton and Huntingdon, came now to join the
 forces which were leagued to deliver the land of his
 fathers.⁴

I have more than once incidentally noticed that a certain Previous
 obscurity hangs over the actions of Waltheof up to this career and
 moment. An obscurity of the like kind hangs over his character
 whole character. As the victim of the Norman King, as of Wal-
 the last Englishman who held a high secular office under
 his government, as the one man whom, in the whole course
 of his reign, William sent to the scaffold on a political
 charge,⁵ he won the abiding love of Englishmen. And
 that love took the usual form; in accordance with the in-
 variable feeling of the age, the patriot was enrolled, by the
 popular voice at least, in the list of saints and martyrs.

[Mærleswegen], Elnocinus [whom I cannot identify], Archillus, et quatuor
 filii Karoli."

¹ See above, p. 205.

² See above, p. 21. I suppose he is the same as the Siward Beorn of whom we shall hear presently.

³ See vol. i. p. 521.

⁴ It is worth notice that the words of the Peterborough Chronicler, "ba ferde se earl Walpeaf ut," are the same as those that are applied in 1067 to the going out of Eadgar and the others. Waltheof "went out;" he left William's court, allegiance and protection, and joined the outlaws and insurgents. It is essentially the same expression as "being out in the '45."

⁵ See vol. ii. p. 264.

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

when we look at the recorded acts of Waltheof, it is very easy to see why he should have drawn to himself high a degree either the love of his own people or the hatred of the Norman. His political conduct was g in steadfastness; his reputation as a soldier rests v on a single display of personal strength and personal g; his government of his earldom was stained by at one frightful crime, and the two or three acts of his e life which ooze out from incidental sources are, if pecially criminal, at least not specially honourable. berality to the Church is undoubted, and the accounts we have of his later days seem to point to a tenderf conscience, to a feeling of more than formal religion, we should hardly have looked for in a man whose were undoubtedly stained with innocent blood. Yet e other hand, even with regard to ecclesiastical rty, we find him engaged in one of those transactions ubtful honesty, which were of no very deep dye

like Eadric or Eadwine. Neither was he a hero like CHAP.XVIII. Harold, whose very greatness leads us, whenever he goes astray, to judge him by a harsher rule than that by which we judge meaner men.¹ We shall perhaps best understand the contradictions in the character of Waltheof, if we look on him as a man governed mainly by impulse, a man in whom noble and generous elements were but little strengthened by real steadiness of purpose. In such a man, in such an age, we need not wonder that particular acts of crime could go along with early good impressions which never wholly forsook him. In such a man we do not wonder at much political wavering and inconsistency; we do not wonder at finding that the daring of the mere soldier did not rise into the higher courage either of the general or of the statesman. But, whatever judgment we pass upon Waltheof, it is at this stage that his historical life begins. His presence or absence at Senlac is, as we have seen, utterly doubtful.² The only fully ascertained act of his former life is that he accompanied William on his first voyage to Normandy.³ It is plain that he had kept his earldom, and the silence of all our authorities seems to show that he had taken no share in any of the earlier movements against William. But now the son of Siward, the heir of Ealdred, brought the strength of his great name and the might of his strong arm, backed doubtless by the force of the two shires over which he ruled, to join the men of his native earldom in welcoming the deliverers of England.

It is not plain at what stage of its voyage the tidings of The news
the approach of the Danish fleet was brought to King ^{of the} _{Danes'} William in the forests of Gloucestershire. The only ^{coming} _{brought to} William.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 317.

² See above, p. 21, and vol. iii. p. 426.

³ See above, p. 76.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ter who tells us anything in detail about his movements makes him hear the news immediately after theucky attack on Norwich. But we can hardly doubt earlier messengers must have told him of the appearance of the Danes off Dover, Sandwich, and Ipswich. t their repulse from Norwich, and no doubt other movements also, now made William see where the real danger n the invaders lay. The revolt of Waltheof, whether set forth from William's own presence or from his own ne at Northampton, was of itself the most marked sign what was coming. It was York and all Northumberd that was threatened. Still William did not leave his arters in the West ; he was doubtless carefully watching movements which were soon to break out on each side him. But he sent a messenger to York, bidding his risons there stand firmly on their defence, and call at e for his own presence if it should be needed. As we r no more of William Fitz-Osbern, he had doubtless

three years before by its chosen Earl against Scandinavian CHAP.XXIV. invaders.

But the news which fell so lightly on the ears of the Norman commanders in York told a very different tale in the ears of the English Archbishop. Ealdred, the Primate who had crowned both Harold and William, has appeared in our history as one who had done his best to keep his province in the obedience of the foreign King.¹ But his Stories of later days are surrounded by a crowd of stories, in some at least of which it is hard not to suspect the presence of a legendary element. One tale has already shown him, in his character of guardian of the church of Worcester, as notwithstanding the terrible Sheriff of that shire, Urse of Abetot.² Another tale more directly concerns his later diocese, and, if it ever happened at all, it must have happened not long before the time which we have now reached. In this story,³ which dates from the twelfth century, Ealdred appears clothed with a higher mission, as daring to rebuke, not a subordinate officer, however high in rank, but the mighty Conqueror himself. Ealdred, we are told, was present in his metropolitan city on one of the feasts of the Church, by which must be meant the Pentecost of the present year.⁴ A large stock of all manner of good things was being brought into the city from the episcopal lands in its neighbourhood. It chanced that the Sheriff—William

¹ See above, p. 187.

³ See above, p. 174.

³ The story is given by T. Stubbs in the *Actus Pontificum Eboracenium* in the *Decem Scriptores*. But I am told by Professor Stubbs that his account is copied from a manuscript bearing date about 1145, and probably the work of Hugh, Precentor of York.

⁴ T. Stubbs, 1703. "Morabatur in una solennitatum Eboraci." The feast intended could only be the Christmas of 1068 or the Pentecost of 1069, as these are the only two of the greatest festivals of the Church which come between William's first occupation of York in 1068 and Ealdred's death in 1069. But the King's presence at Westminster seems to point to Pentecost as the feast intended, and, if so, it must be the Pentecost of 1069.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

et must be meant—was at that moment going out of
with a large company. At a short distance from the
he met the Archbishop's horses and waggons bringing
heat and other meats for the feast. The Sheriff asked
livers who they were, and for whom they were bring-
those good things. They answered that they were the
nts of the Archbishop, and were bringing in the
gs which were needful for his service. The Sheriff,
ing little for the Archbishop or his servants, bade his
followers seize on the whole of the stores and carry
to the King's storehouse in the castle. When the
was brought to Ealdred, he sent messengers, clerks
citizens, to the Sheriff, and bade him restore the
n property and make good the loss to Saint Peter
to himself as his Vicar. Otherwise he would at
go on to wield his spiritual weapons against him.
o satisfaction was to be had, but as the Archbishop's
enors were driven away with threats and insults, the

his hand. William rose to greet him with the kiss of CHAP.XVIII. peace, but the English Primate refused the greeting ; he stood still, and spoke to William in words such as the Conqueror was not wont to hear. “ Hear me, King William. He rebukes
and curses
King Wil-
liam. When thou wast a stranger, and when God in his wrath against the sins of our nation granted to thee to win with much blood the Kingdom of all Britain,¹ I hallowed thee to King, I gave thee my blessing, and set the crown upon thy head. Now, because thy deeds call for it, I give thee my curse instead of my blessing, as to a persecutor of the Church of God, an oppressor of her ministers, as one who hast broken the promises and oaths which thou didst swear to me before the altar of Saint Peter.” William, we are told, trembled, as he had once before trembled in the presence of the man who now stood before him.² He fell—can we believe the tale?—at the feet of Ealdred, and asked what he had done that such a sentence should pass upon him. The great men who stood around began to assail the Primate with threats, and to cry out that the man who offered such an insult to the King should be at once banished from the realm.³ They bade him at once raise

¹ T. Stubbe, 1703. “ Audi, inquit, Willilme Rex, quum essem alienigena, et Deo permittente nostræque gentis superbiam puniente, regnum Britannia, quamvis multo cum sanguine, obtinuisse, ego te in Regem consecravi et coronam capiti tuo cum benedictione imposui.”

² Ib. 1704. “ Ad haec verba Rex tremefactus procidit ad pedes ejus, humiliiter efflagitans ut in quo tam gravem sententiam meruisset aperiret.” Cf. vol. iii. p. 560.

The story of William's humiliation before Ealdred is also found in William of Newburgh, i. 12; “ Cujus motum ille (Willelmus) non sustinens, ad pedes ejus (Aldredi) procidit, veniam petiit, satisfactionem spopondit. Quumque optimates qui aderant suaderent, ut regem prostratum erigeret; ‘ Sinite,’ inquit, ‘ illum jacere ad pedes Petri.’ Plane in hoc et quanta fuerit ferocissimi principis præsulis circa principem auctoritas atque fiducia, satis declaratum est.” This is copied by Walter of Hemingburgh, i. 10.

³ T. Stubbe, 1704. “ Ipsum merito de medio debere tolli, vel in exsilium extra regnum expelli, qui tanto Regi tantam injuriam irrogasset.” “ De medio tolli ” is an idea fitter for the time of Stubbs than for the time of Ealdred. He carries on his history only to 1373. Could he have lived to see the fate of Archbishop Scrope?

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

King from the ground ; but Ealdred answered, " Good let him lie there; he lies not at my feet, but at the of Saint Peter, who has done wrong to Saint Peter's ."¹ He then raised William from the ground, he him his wrongs, and graciously accepted the royaler that his blessing might not be turned into a curse. red went home in safety and honour, and one of the est nobles of William's court was sent with letters by e of which everything, even to the cords which tied acks of corn, was faithfully restored to the Archbishop, rom that day no man dared to wrong him any more.² ch is the tale of Ealdred's daring, as it stands in the records of the church of York. The tale hangs lamely her, but the scene in the King's court is boldly cond^d, and, though no doubt romantic in its details, it at bears witness to the abiding English spirit of those loved to conceive the Norman Conqueror grovelling at feet of a man of English birth. In what can hardly

bearable tax on the people, then Ealdred sent messengers CHAP. XVIII.
In another
version
Ealdred
withstands
the imposi-
tion of a
tax.

to remonstrate. We are not told whether this refers to any of the general exactions of which we have already heard, but which could hardly have touched Ealdred's diocese, or whether we are to suppose some special local burthen levied after the conquest of York.¹ In either case the messengers of the Archbishop were driven away with scorn. Ealdred then put forth a solemn curse against the King and all his offspring. He had once, he said, blessed him wrongfully; he would now curse him rightfully.² The news of the anathema was brought to William; devotion or policy moved him; he sent messengers to Ealdred, craving that the curse might be taken off. But before they could reach the presence of the English Primate, his soul had passed away from this world. There was no voice to speak the words of absolution, and we are left to suppose that the curse of Ealdred took its effect in the misfortunes which clouded the later days of William, and in the mysterious doom by which all the male descendants of his house were swept from the earth within seventy years after Ealdred had placed the Crown of England on his brow.³ Ealdred
pronounces
a curse on
William,
and dies
before it is
taken off.

Anglos quo Francos tractaret," he goes on, "itaque illum quandiu erga suos temperiem habuit, dilexit ut prolem, veneratus est ut Regem." One would like to know the number of months or weeks that this feeling lasted.

¹ Will. Malm. Gest. Pont. x. 252. "Sed quum importabilis tributi pensum a provincialibus exigeret, convenit eum per legatum antistes." On William's early exactions, see above, pp. 22, 60, 128. The word "provinciales" looks as if it referred to Ealdred's own part of England, but it does not amount to absolute proof.

² Ib. "Non moratus ille maledictionis telum in illum in omnem ejus vibravit progeniem, præfatus posse se maledictionem dare merito qui benedictionem dedisset immerito."

³ In this version the death of Ealdred seems to be attributed to grief caused by these dealings with William; "Verumtamen prevenerat nuntios mors antistitis, qui ex segritudine animi, ut plerunque fit, contracto morbo decubuerat et obierat."

On the difficulties arising from a Bishop dying or resigning before he had withdrawn a malediction, see the story of the Emperor Andronikos Palaiologos and the Patriarch Athanasios, Finlay, Byz. Emp. ii. 471.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAN

hatever may be the exact amount of truth and falsehood in these tales, their real value lies in their showing the strength of popular feeling, and not only the strength but the permanence of local popular feeling. All the faults and doubtful actions of Ealdred were forgiven; York and Chester alike were ready, then and ages after, to canonize or relate who had dared to defy the stranger in the cause of church and country. And such tales could hardly have gained popular belief, unless there had been something in Ealdred's real conduct to form a groundwork for the legends. We need not believe that William really crouched at the feet of Ealdred; we need not even believe that Ealdred put forth a formal curse against William. But we hardly doubt that some remonstrance against wrong, some expression of sorrow for his own hasty acknowledgement of the invader, was uttered by the English Primate in his last days. At all events, we know that his heart was smitten with fear and sorrow at the coming woes.

Meanwhile the confederate fleets were in the Humber. CHAP.XVIII.
 The only recorded detail of what befell them there is a single anecdote, telling how the *Ætheling* Eadgar left the main body with a small company, the crew of a single ship, to plunder on the coast of Lindsey. They were attacked by the Norman garrison of Lincoln; the whole party, save the *Ætheling* and two comrades, were taken; the ship, forsaken by those who were left to guard it, was seized and destroyed.¹ Such an adventure was an evil omen; but it was nothing more. The fleet sailed on; we are not told at what point of the Ouse the troops disembarked,² but it is plain that the easiest road to York from any convenient landing-place would lead them along the left bank of the river, over the former battle-ground of Fulford.³ This road would bring them at once upon the elder of the two castles. It was indeed guarded by the stream of the Foss, but, even if the bridge was not yet there, the crossing of so small a stream was a hindrance which might easily be overcome. It is plain that the castles were the first object of attack, and, if the fleet or any part of it did sail up to York, it would be the castles which they would first come upon as barring their course. Before the Danes reached the city, the whole country poured forth to join their banners. Men went on with all joy, walking and riding. A host that could not be numbered, pressing on with one heart and one soul, came within sight of the warders of the Norman castles.⁴ Their captains had boasted

The Danes
and Eng-
lish march
upon York.

General
zeal of the
people.

¹ Ord. Vit. 313 D. "Adelinus ibi [in ostio Humber] seorsum ab sociis turbâ cum quibusdam suorum prædatum ierat. Quos insiliens familia Regis e Lincolnia cepit omnes, exceptis duobus cum Adelino elapsis, et navim confregit quam custodia pavens deseruit."

² I do not know that the words of Florence, "Danica classis supervenit," need imply that they actually sailed up to York, and the description in the Chronicles is that of an army marching by land.

³ See vol. iii. p. 351.

⁴ The description in the Worcester Chronicle (1069) is most graphic. The *Ætheling* and the Earls and Thengns have come, "and calle þa landeoden,

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

they could defend themselves for a whole year without from William; but they soon found that such a boast vain indeed. They looked for a siege, and their first sight was to hinder the besiegers from filling up the bases of the castle and so finding a more ready approach to the walls. Lest the houses near the castle should be set fire to for this purpose, the Normans betook themselves to their favourite element. They set fire to the houses in their own immediate neighbourhood. The flames spread, greater part of the city was destroyed, and the fire seized upon the metropolitan church in the opposite corner.¹ Whether this sacrilege was designed or unerring, it was speedily avenged. Two days later, while it could seem that the flames were still blazing, but while the city was not yet wholly destroyed, the host drew nigh which was to save it from its foreign masters.² The Earls of theof and Gospatrie, and the chief Thegns who had led the army, led the way: the whole force of Denmark

city.¹ And now it was that, for one moment, Waltheof CHAP.XVIII.
the son of Siward and Æthelflæd stood forth as the Personal
exploits of
Waltheof. hero of deeds which handed down his name in the warlike songs of the tongues of both his parents. We hear again the old ring of the lays of Brunanburh, of Maldon, and of Stamfordbridge,² as we listen to the tale which speaks of the giant form of the Northumbrian Earl, his mighty arms, his sinewy breast; how he stood by the gate as the enemy pressed forth, and how, as each Norman drew nigh, a head rolled on the earth beneath the unerring sweep of the Danish battle-axe.³ Three thousand of the strangers died that day.⁴ A hundred of the chiepest in rank were said to have fallen among the flames by the hand of Waltheof himself, and the scalds of the North sang how the son of Siward gave the corpses of the Frenchmen as a choice banquet for the wolves of Northumberland.⁵ The

¹ Ord. Vit. 513 D. "Castellani obviam eis inconsultius exeunt, et intra urbis mœnia infeliciter configuntur. Non valentes resistere multitudini omnes interimuntur aut capiuntur."

² The account in William of Malmesbury, iii. 253, which appears again in the Vita et Passio Waldevi Comitis (Chron. Angl.-Norm. iii. 111), as plainly comes from a ballad as anything in Henry of Huntingdon. We have also the verses of Thorkill Skallason which I shall quote directly.

³ Will. Malms. u. s. "Siquidem Weldeofus in Eboracensi pugna plures Normannorum solus obruncaverat, unos et unos per portas egredientes decapitans, nervosus lacertis, torosus pectore, robustus et procerus toto corpore, filius Siwardi magnificentissimi comitis, quem Divers Danico vocabulo, id est forte, cognominabant."

⁴ Flor. Wig. 1069. "Plus tribus milibus ex Normannis trucidatis." The two Chroniclers say only, "fela hund manna Frendiora þær ofalogon."

⁵ The story in the Saga of Harold Hardrada (Johnstone, 218; Laing, iii. 95) about Waltheof burning a hundred Frenchmen in a wood after the battle of Senlac seems to me to be simply moved to this fight among the burning ruins at York. Anyhow the verses of Thorkill Skallason are spirited;

"Hundrat let i heitom	Frett er at firdar knáutto
Hirdmenn iðfurs brenna.	Flagd viggs und kló liggia
Sóknar yggr enn seggiom	Imleitom fechz áta
Svido kvelld var þat elldi.	Ols black vid hrae Fracka."

This *érautophobia* of Waltheof is more easily to be believed than the two thousand men killed by William; see vol. iii. p. 508.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

stirs the blood like the tale of the last victory of
old by the banks of Derwent. In either case we
see that the strength and valour and victory of Eng-
land brought no lasting safety to their country. But
old did all that mortal man could do, and yielded only
to destiny that was too strong for him. The men who
met the Normans in the gate at York threw away the
victory that they had gained by the inveterate habits of
war and lack of discipline.

But for the moment all seemed triumphant. The Nor-
mans garrison of York was utterly cut off. Of the men
who had held city and shire in dread a few only were
left alive as prisoners. Among these were the two com-
manders, Gilbert of Ghent and William Malet, together
with William's wife and two children.¹ The two castles
were broken down.² An enlightened policy might perhaps
have bidden the victors to spare the fortresses, and to turn
them to their own purposes against the enemy. But every

keeps, wherever they are left to us, as among the most CHAP.XVIII.
venerable and precious of the antiquities of our land.
And venerable and precious they are, now that they stand
in ruins as the memorials of a time which has for ever
passed away. But when those towers were still newly English
built, when their square stones were still in their freshness, feeling to-
wards the castles.
when the arches of their doors and windows were still
sharp and newly cut, they were to our fathers the objects
of a horror deeper even than that with which France in
the moment of her uprising looked on the Bastile of
her ancient Kings. They were the very homes of the
Conquest; within their impregnable walls the foe was
sheltered; from their gates he came forth to spread fear
and havoc through the streets of the city, or through such
surrounding lands as still owned an Englishman for their
master. In the eyes of the men of those days the castle
was an accursed thing, to be swept away from the earth
by the stroke of righteous vengeance, as when liberated
Syracuse swept away the citadel from which her Tyrants
had held her in thraldom.¹ On the very day on which the
army reached York the two castles were broken down.²
We are not to believe that the whole of the massive walls
of two Norman keeps could be razed to the ground in the
afternoon of a day of battle. But they were doubtless dis-
mantled, breached, and left in a ruined state, so that they
could not, for some while at least, be again used as places
of defence.³ Thus, between friends and enemies, York had
become a mass of ruins. Churches and houses had fallen

¹ Plut. Timoleon, 22. Ἐκῆρυξε τὸν Συρακουσῶν τὸν βουλόμενον παρέδως
μετὰ σιδῆρου καὶ συνεφάπτεοθει κατασκαπτομένων τὸν τυραννικῶν ἡρυμάτων.
‘Οὐ δὲ πάντες ἀνέβησαν, ἀρχὴν ἐλευθερίας ποιησάμενοι βεβαιοτάτην τὸ κήρυγμα
καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, οὐ μόνον τὴν δέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ
μνήματα τῶν τυράννων ἀνέτρεψαν καὶ κατέσκαψαν.

² Flor. Wig. 1069. “Castellis eodem die fractis.”

³ Ord. Vit. 513 D. “Castella desolata patent.” I do not know that the
words of the English writers need imply more than this.

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

the flames kindled by the Normans; the Norman forces had fallen before the hammers and crowbars of resolute Englishmen. No attempt seems to have been made to occupy the city, or to defend the Roman walls which had not utterly perished. The work of the moment had been done; the enemy had been swept from the earth; another day of battle should come, there seemed to be no work on hand save to enjoy the plunder which had been

The Danes went back to their ships with their booty; the men of Northumberland, following the common instinct of regular troops after either a victory or a defeat, went home, every man to his own home.¹

The news of the fall of his castles at York, of the destruction of their garrisons, and of the capture of their leaders, was presently brought to King William in the West. He had work on his hands there also. It is evident that the tidings of the coming of the Danish fleet

finding of the Holy Rood of Waltham.¹ From the peak CHAP.XVIII. which had now taken the name of Montacute, the fortress of the stranger Count looked down like a vulture's nest on the surrounding hills and on the rich valleys at its foot. Of the castle itself not a stone is left; the present ornaments of the spot, the graceful tower of the parish church, the rich gateway of the fallen priory, the mansion of the latest days of English art, are all things which as yet had no being. But the wooded height still covers the fosses which marked the spot which the men of Somerset and Dorset in those days looked on as, above all others, the house of bondage. In the further West the fortress which had grown up on the Red Mount of Exeter² held the men of the once proud commonwealth in fetters. The men of all the Western shires rose by a common impulse. Their zeal now, after so many defeats and harryings of their country, shows how deeply the sons of Harold had erred in trusting to the help of foreign plunderers, instead of boldly throwing themselves on the patriotism of the people of the *Wealhcyn*. No names of leaders are given us; the movement seems to have been a thoroughly popular one. We read how the West-Saxons of Somerset, Dorset, and the neighbouring districts besieged the castle of Montacute.³ Meanwhile the men of Devonshire, strengthened by a large force of the Britons of Cornwall, the immediate victims of Robert of Mortain, appeared in arms beneath the walls of Rougemont.⁴ To the north, Staf-

The castle
of Exeter.

General
movement
in the
Western
shires.

The men
of Somer-
set and
Dorset
attack
Mont-
acute.

The men
of Devon-
shire and

¹ See above, p. 170.

² See above, p. 161.

³ Ord. Vit. 514 A. "Eo tempore Saxones Occidentales de Dorsetā et Summersetā cum suis confinibus Montem Acutum assilierunt." It is perhaps worthy of putting on record that, in the version of David Hume, the hill has become a man; "They assaulted Montacute, the Norman governor." In short,

εὗρον, δέοντα τὸν ἄρσην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αἰρόν.

Od. x. 113.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 514 A. "Idem apud Exoniā Exoniensis comitatus habitan-tes fecere, et undique coadunata turbā ex Cornu Britanniae. Nam

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

Ishire was in arms, and, though this is the only movement of which we get no detail, it must have been one specially to be dreaded, as it was the only one which it led the presence of William himself to quell. On the Welsh border again, the men of both races, British and English, had risen with a common zeal against the common enemy. There the Normans had to strive, not against Celts eager to shake off their dominion, but against Celts whose necks had never yet been bent to their yoke. The centre of defence in that region was the town of Ewesbury, once, under the name of Pengwern, the capital of the Welsh kingdom of Powys, but which the victory of Offa had changed from a bulwark of the Briton into the Englishman into a bulwark of the Englishman into the Briton.¹ No site could be more important, a better fitted either for resistance or for dominion. The town stands on the right, the Welsh, bank of the Severn; but a bold bend of the river makes it occupy a

and Belesme. At all events, Shrewsbury was now in William's obedience, and a motley host was brought together to assault this new outpost of the strangers. Besiegers gathered from all parts, and the English inhabitants of the town itself eagerly joined them in their attack on the Norman fortress. Thither came Eadric the Wild, who had never bowed to the Norman King, with the forces of his own still independent corner of Herefordshire. Thither came the men of still unconquered Chester, where the widow of Harold was perhaps still dwelling with her children, after the treason of her brothers and the overthrow of her stepsons. And from within the Cambrian frontier the subjects of Bleddyn, now the sole King of Gwynedd and Powys, flocked to the call of their old ally. The united forces of so many districts and races now laid siege to the fortress which had arisen on the bank of the great border stream.¹ Meanwhile York was falling, or had already fallen, and the Danish fleet was still in the Northumbrian waters. The power of William was threatened on every side, and one might be tempted to think that it needed something like his star to guide him to victory when so many foes were leagued against him.

We should be glad of fuller details than we have of the steps by which all these movements were put down. The account in our single narrative is given with a good deal of confusion.² But we see that all were put down, and that they were put down without any great difficulty. The story of these campaigns is in many respects the story

¹ Ord. Vit. 514 A. "Gualli et Cestrenses praesidium Regis apud Scrobesburiam obederunt, quibus incolae civitatis cum Edrico Guida, potenti et bellicoso viro, aliquaque ferocibus Anglis auxilio fuerunt." Rhiwallon, it will be remembered, had died in the civil war (see above, p. 183), so that Bleddyn was now sole King.

² Our only account of these western campaigns comes from Orderic (514), who doubtless follows William of Poitiers. The English writers mention only the march against York.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

the reign of *Æthelred* over again. There is far from being the same cowardice and treason. We meet with English leaders who are perhaps somewhat hasty in making their peace with the Norman, but we do not read either of allies forsaking their leaders or of leaders forsaking their allies. The rule of Cnut, of Godwine, and of Harold had surely raised the moral and military tone of the nation. But there is the same local isolation, the same incapacity to form any combined plan of operations, the same general helplessness in the absence of any one chief like Edmund or like Harold. Whatever attachment men had to Waltheof, to Eadric, to the sons of Harold, was purely local. Eadgar, the one man who might on sentimental grounds have become the centre of loyalty to the whole nation, was utterly unfit for command. Add to this that, while the patriotic English had to struggle with enemies among whom the military science of the age was tried to its highest pitch, their own military resources

cases. The opposition to the Danes was the work of a regular government, which, weak and vicious as it was, was defending territory which was actually in its own possession. The opposition to the Normans was driven to take the form of isolated revolts against an established government. It was at most the defence of isolated pieces of territory in which it could hardly be said that there was any regular government at all. The men of each district had to rise, how they could, against those who were in the actual possession of power in their own districts, and they had little means of communication with their brethren who were engaged in the same struggle in other parts of the country. They had to strive against the forms of law and against the influence of property—law which was now administered by the officers of a foreign King, property which had passed away into the hands of foreign owners. It was no longer as in the two great campaigns of Harold, when the tried and disciplined soldiers of England were matched against the tried and disciplined soldiers of other lands. It was not even as when the levies of each district were called out at the bidding of a power which could inflict summary penalties on all defaulters. The cowardly, the sluggish, the prudent, could hold aloof, and would be serving those actually in power by holding aloof. None would take part in these desperate enterprises but the brave and zealous, who were ready to risk everything in the cause of freedom. And they had to make the risk, when the odds, if not of actual numbers, at least of discipline and regular command, were all on the other side. An united effort of the whole nation was now impossible; the last chance of such an effort was lost when Eadwine and Morkere drew back and left the faithful men of London to their fate.¹ There was now no room for anything beyond local, desultory, and in truth

Compara-
son be-
tween the
resistance
to the
Danes and
the resist-
ance to the
Normans.

All the in-
fluences of
govern-
ment and
discipline
now on the
Norman
side.

¹ See vol. iii. p. 530.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

eless, efforts. The force of the strangers in each district was commonly strong enough to put down the insurgents in that district. And it was even possible, by means of those powers which every established government has at disposal,¹ to use the native force of the obedient districts against the districts which were at any moment in revolt. So it proved at this moment, when so many distant parts of England were in arms against William at the same time. The forces of the West, of the North, and of the shires on the Welsh border, if they had only been brought together by a common effort under a competent leader, would have formed a host which it would have cost William himself some pains to overthrow. As it was, the scattered attempts of the insurgents were easily put down in detail. We do not even hear that the men of Dorset and Somerset thought of joining their forces with the men of Devonshire and Cornwall. The besiegers of Montacute and the besiegers of Exeter were crushed separately. And

force thus raised was, we are told, especially under the CHAP.XVIII., divine protection,¹ whether because they had a bishop to their captain is not more fully explained. We have no details of the march or of the operations of the warlike prelate. We are only told that the force under Geoffrey attacked the English who were besieging Montacute ; that ^{He dis-} they slew some, took others prisoners, and put the rest to ^{perses the} flight. The prisoners, according to the martial law of the eleventh century, were punished by mutilation ;² in the Punish-^{more polished days of Elizabeth or James the Second these} ment by ^{ment by} forerunners of the followers of Monmouth would hardly have escaped the gibbet or the quartering-block. The suppression of the other revolts is recorded with equal lack of detail, and withal with a good deal of confusion. Count Action of Brian, whom we have already heard of as defeating the William second attempt of Harold's sons,³ again appears on the Fitz- stage. With him is coupled Count William, whether the Osbern. same who had been his companion in the former campaign or the more famous William Fitz-Osbern of Hereford is not so clear as we could wish. Our single account seems to send the same pair of commanders at once to the relief of Exeter and to the relief of Shrewsbury.⁴ But we can

¹ Ord. Vit. 514 A. "Divino nutu impediti sunt."

² Ib. "Quosdam peremerunt, partim captos mutilaverunt, reliquos fugaverunt."

³ See above, p. 243.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 514 A, B. "Exonie cives Regi favebant, non immemores pressurarum quas olim passi fuerant. Protinus ubi Rex haec accepit, comites duos, Guillelmum et Briennum, laborantibus subvenire praecepit. Verum priusquam illi Scrobesburiam pervenissent, urbe combustâ hostes discesserant, defensores quoque Exonie subito eruperunt et impetu in se obdidentes abegerunt. Fugientibus obvii Guillelmus et Brienus grandi cæde temeritatem punierunt." From this account, taken literally, we should certainly think that the same two commanders were sent both to Exeter and to Shrewsbury. But this is unlikely, almost impossible. Brian however was very likely to be sent to relieve Exeter, and William, if William Fitz-Osbern be meant, was very likely to be sent to relieve Shrewsbury. One is tempted to suspect that two distinct expeditions under



ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

east see, what is perhaps the most important fact in the history of the campaign, that the citizens of Exeter were no longer on the patriotic side. With the Norman garrison of the Red Mount within their walls, the actual pressure brought upon them was not small; in such a case they may well have been tired of enterprises which brought little fruit, and they may have been well pleased to put a season of peace even at the hands of the stranger. The spirit of the proud commonwealth was so changed that its burghers, so far from giving any help or comfort to the insurgents, seem to have actively joined in driving them back. The defenders of Exeter, a name which mostly takes in both the foreign garrison and the English citizens, made a vigorous sally, and drove away the besiegers from the walls. The flying insurgents were met by the forces of the two Counts, and paid, we are told, forfeit of their rashness by being smitten with a great plague.

over confidence of his commanders in York had for once led him astray, and the fall of the capital of the North had been the result. As soon as the news came, he was moved with grief and wrath,¹ and he at once set forth to avenge the blow which he had not been able to hinder. The nature of the force which he took with him showed that speed was the main object. It is mentioned in an emphatic way that it was a force of cavalry.² Before William could reach the North, the Danish fleet had withdrawn into the Humber, and the ships had been drawn up on the coast of Lindesey.³ William and his horsemen followed them. The crews were evidently scattered over the country, which William seems to have scoured with his horse. Some were overtaken and slain in the marshes of the district; others were driven out of various lurking-places, of which we have no distinct account, but which would seem to have been some kind of rough and hasty fortresses, which William deemed it needful to level with the ground.⁴ But the mass of the invaders made their way to their ships, and crossed over to the Yorkshire side of the estuary. There they were safe for the present. William had no naval force in those waters; so the Danes were left for awhile to devise plans

He sur-
prises the
Danes at
Lindesey.

They re-
treat into
Holder-
ness.

¹ Ord. Vit. 513 D. "Securo Regi casus suorum nuntiatur, terribilitas hominum major quam sit amplificante famâ refertur, et quod cum ipso dimicaturi confidentes prestolentur. Rex ergo tam dolore quam irâ conturbatur, ac ad hostes cum exercitu properare conatur." If we may trust the Winchester Annalist (Ann. Mon. ii. 28), William showed his wrath towards his defeated servants in the same way in which he had shown it to his defeated enemies at Alençon; "Multi de castello latenter egressi rem infaustam Regi nuntiârunt, quare manus dexteræ et nasi sunt amputati, ad infideliū terrorem, et in manifestum judicium, quod commissum sibi castellum infideliter custodierant."

² Ib. 514 A. "Ipse illuc cum equitatu contendit."

³ Ib. "Illi vero metu magni bellatoris in Humbram aufugint, et ripes quae Lindissem attingit applicant."

⁴ Ib. "Nefarios quosdam in paludibus pene inaccessibilibus repperit, gladioque puniit, et aliquot latibula diruit."

SQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

hich they might avenge both themselves and their allies.¹

William had thus done all that could be done with the resources immediately at his disposal. If he had not crushed the invading host, he had at least made them feel the force of his hand, and he had shown with what speed he could march even in those parts of his kingdom where his presence was least looked for. As he had no immediate resources of reaching the Danes in Holderness, he himself turned back to put down the insurgents who still held their ground at Stafford. In Lindsey he left two trusty sons to guard that coast against any attacks from the Danes on the other side of the Humber. One of these was his brother Robert, who was thus soon called away from his new estates in the West, and who must have been staying in the flats of Lincolnshire at the very time that the insurgents were besieging his own castle on the peaked hill in Somerset. With him was joined in command

the effects of the blow were lasting ; many entries in the CHAP.XVIII. Survey show how deeply both the town and the shire of Severe Stafford suffered, and how much lies hid under the few and pithy words of our story. The wasted houses of the town, the wasted lands of the shire, the vast scale on which the confiscation was carried out, show that Staffordshire must have been the scene of vigorous resistance, and that it was therefore marked out for special vengeance.¹

The western and central shires were thus subdued ; Chester alone, the north-western angle, so to speak, of Western England, still remained independent. But the more pressing dangers of the North at least won for this untouched fortress of English freedom the gloomy privilege of being devoured the last. For the present, William took up his quarters at Nottingham, a town which, as we have seen, he had strongly fortified in his first northern march.² This was an excellent central position from which to watch at once Lindesey, York, and Chester, as well as to guard against any movements which might even now arise in the newly conquered districts. While William was putting down the movement at Stafford, his commanders had not been idle on the banks of the Humber. The people of the land were doubly the friends of the invaders. They were bound to the subjects of

William marches to Notting-ham.

armata plebs diversis infortuniis hinc inde miserabiliter concutitur. Lex Dei passim violatur et ecclesiasticus rigor pene ab omnibus dissolvitur. Cædes miserorum multiplicantur, animæque cupiditatis et iræ stimulus stimulant ac asciuntur, et catervatim hinc inde ad inferna raptantur, damnate Deo, cujus judicia esse justissima comprobantur."

¹ Domesday, 246. "In burgo de Stadford habet Rex in suo dominio xviii. burgenses et viii. vastæ mansiones; præter has habet Rex ibi xxii. mansiones de honore Comitum; harum v. sunt vastæ, alie inhabitantur." Of the houses belonging to other lords, all foreigners, ninety-five were inhabited and thirty-six waste. The entry of "wasta" often occurs in the shire, especially in a long list of Crown lands in 246. There are no large English landowners, but there is a list of Thengs at the end, among whom we find the Northumbrian Gamel. See vol. ii. p. 479.

² See above, p. 199.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

egen by the old tie of the common Danish blood which ned so large an element amongst the inhabitants of desey; they were bound too by their good wishes for success of their helpers in the common cause. The ful season of Christmas was drawing near, and the men Lindesey called their Danish friends to join them in feasts with which they enlivened the gloom of winter. Danes landed, and shared in the entertainments of ir English hosts. But the Norman Earls came upon m when they were unprepared, in the very moment of ivity. The hospitable board was stained with blood, and Danes were driven back with much slaughter to their ps.¹ But it was presently rumoured that feasting on a nder scale and on a more important spot was thought The Danes, and no doubt their English friends also, e purposing to keep the Midwinter feast at York.² This, well as what follows, shows either that some consider- e part of the city must have escaped the flames, or else

after times to become the site of the palace and minster of CHAP.XVIII.
Howden. The spot itself where William reached the <sup>Origin of
Pontefract
Castle;
its later
history.</sup> stream is marked out as lying in the neighbourhood of one of the most famous castles reared by those whom the event of that campaign was to set as lords over northern England. It was near the place where Ilbert of Lacy raised that renowned fortress, the scene of the martyrdom of Thomas of Lancaster¹ and of the mysterious death of the deposed Richard,² which, most likely from the incident of this very march, received the Romance name of Pontefract. The fortress however, all whose remains seem to be of much later date, does not, like so many others, overhang a river at its feet. The actual spot of William's encampment is to be looked for among the mills and wharfs and factories of the modern town of Castleford. That name shows itself to be of a later date than the foundation of Ilbert, while at the same time it marks the spot as having been used as a place for crossing the river in much earlier times. The stream is now spanned by a bridge, but, if that bridge had any predecessor in the days before William, it had been broken down by the enemy.³ The Aire at

¹ On the execution of Thomas of Lancaster "extra villam de Ponte Fracto," see Walsingham, i. 165, ed. Riley, and Rymer, ii. 493; and on the miracles wrought at his tomb, see the other writ in ii. 525.

² I am not bound to determine the manner of death of Richard the Second, but I suppose that we may safely use the words of Walsingham (ii. 245), "Clausit diem extremum apud castrum de Ponte Fracto."

³ The name *Pons Fractus*, though it is not found in Domesday, appears in Orderic, and was probably known to William of Poitiers. The son of Ilbert of Lacy appears in the monk of Saint Evroul, 804 C, as "Rodbertus de Pontfractio, filius Ilberti de Lacey." It is used also by the Continuator of Florence, 1140; and John of Hexham (X Scriptt. 262) speaks of one who "honori Pontifracto presedit," and Richard of Hexham (X Scriptt. 303) of "honor Pontisfracti."

As the name exists in English only in its Romance form, it is almost certain that it was given soon after the place was brought into notice by this incident in William's march. It therefore follows that a bridge was actually broken down at the time. The difficulty arising from the distance between the town and castle of Pontefract and the possible site of any real *pons fractus* is equal in any case.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

point is now navigable, at all events for the keels of country, but it is described as being at the time of iam's coming impassable alike by boats and by ng.¹ We need not however take this as implying than the incidental state of the stream during the er months. William, we are told, cast aside the sels alike of those who proposed to retreat and of those suggested the repair of the bridge. The bridge might ly a means of passage for the enemy, or an attack it be made upon them while they were still engaged e work.² William thought it better to stay idle for whole weeks on the right bank of the Aire,³ while, as story implies, the left bank was lined by at least a hment of the insurgents and their allies. This is not ly in the spirit of Brihtnoth;⁴ we may add that it is n the spirit of William himself. The tale goes on to hat all this while a valiant man named Lisois⁵ was uly seeking for a ford both above and below the

and his men, but they were themselves defeated and dispersed.¹ On the next day Lisois came back to the camp with the good news. The army marched to the spot; ^{William and his army cross the river.} they forded the river at the point which he showed them, and thence made their way towards York, through woods, marshes, hills, and valleys, along a narrow track through which two could not go abreast.² This description, as well as the evident distance of the ford from Pontefract, seems to show that, if the tale is to be trusted, the ford must be looked for in the hilly country far up the river, and that the march to York must have been made by a roundabout course indeed. It is easy to understand that fords which could be crossed in summer would be useless when the stream was swollen by the floods of winter, and that the means of crossing had to be looked for at a great distance from the camp. But it must have been no small hindrance which caused William to lose so much time at such a moment, and to reach the object of his march by such a roundabout and difficult way, when the Roman road leading straight over the flat country from Pontefract to York lay invitingly before his eyes. It is hard to avoid the suspicion ^{Probable negotiations of William with the Danes.} that some part of the seemingly wasted time was spent in those negotiations with the Danish commander which afterwards led to the utter and shameful failure of his whole enterprise.³

At last William for the third time drew near to York. I ^{reaches York and enters without opposition.} wish we could believe the tale of some later writers, who tell us that he met with a valiant resistance; and that the city was taken only by storm with the slaughter of

¹ Ord. Vit. 514 C. "Per multam demum difficultatem locum transmeabilem deprehendit, et cum lx. magnanimis equitibus pertransivit, super quos hostium multitudo irruit, sed his acerrime repugnantibus non prevaluit."

² Ib. "Postero die Lisois reversus prodit vadum, nec mora, traducitur exercitus. Itur per silvas, paludes, montana, valles, arctissimo tramite qui binos lateraliter ire non patiebatur."

³ This is the probable suggestion of Sir Francis Palgrave, iii. 455.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

islands of men.¹ But it seems plain that he entered the city or its ruins, and found no man to withstand him. The Northumbrians had gone each man to his home after their first great success,² and we hear nothing which shows that their forces had been again brought together. Of the facts we are expressly told that the news of their flight brought to William before he had reached the city.³ His first object was once more to secure its possession. A force was left at York, with orders to begin at once with the repair of the castles, which were once more to hold the metropolis of the North in subjection.⁴ And now came the fearful deed, half of policy, half of vengeance, which stamped the name of William with infamy, and which marks a clearly marked stage in the downward course of his mortal being. He had embarked in a wrongful undertaking; but hitherto we cannot say that he had heightened the original wrong by reckless or wanton cruelties. But, as it turned out, wrong avenged itself by leading to deeper wrong. There was a stain over and hitherto William had not

and Tostig, harsh as they were, would have shrunk from CHAP.XVIII.
 the horrors which William now made up his mind in cold
 blood to deal out on northern England. The harryings of Its deliberate
 which Sussex and Kent had seen something on his first landing¹ were now to be carried out, far more systematically,
 far more unflinchingly, through the whole of York-shire and several neighbouring shires.² The King took the William's personal share in the destruction of Northumberland. He left others to build his castles in York; he left others to watch the Danish fleet in the Humber; but he himself went through the length and breadth of the land, through its wildest and most difficult regions, alike to punish the past revolts of its people and to cripple their power of engaging in such revolts for the time to come. That all who withstood him were slain with the sword³ was a matter of course; Harold had done as much as that in his great campaign against Gruffydd.⁴ But now William went to and fro over points a hundred miles from one another,⁵ destroying, as far as in him lay, the life of the earth. It was not mere plunder, which may at least enrich the plunderer; the work of William at this time was simple unmitigated havoc. Houses were every- Utter de-
 where burned with all that was in them; stores of corn, struction of property of goods and property of every kind, were brought together all kinds. and destroyed in the like sort; even living animals seem

¹ See vol. iii. pp. 413, 533.

² The great harrying of the North is mentioned briefly but emphatically in the Chronicles, 1069; "þa se kyng þis geaxode, þa for he northward mid earle his fyrdre þe he gegaderian mihte, and þa scire mid calle forhergode and aweste." So Florence; "Quod ubi Regi innotuit Willelmo, exercitu mox congregato, in Northymbriam efferto properavit animo, eamque per totam hiemem devastare, hominesque trucidare, et multa mala non cessabat agere." Fuller details come from Orderic, the Evesham History, and other sources.

³ Ord. Vit. 514 D. "Plerosque gladio vindice ferit, aliorum latebras evertit, terras devastat, et domos cum rebus omnibus concremat."

⁴ See vol. ii. p. 471.

⁵ Ord. Vit. u. s. "Spatio centum milliariorum castra ejus diffunduntur."

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

ave been driven to perish in the universal burning.¹ authentic records of the Conquest give no hint of any options being made or favour being shown in any part he doomed region. But local legends as usual supply r tale of wonder. Beverley was saved by the interposi- of its heavenly patron, the canonized Archbishop John.²

King had pitched his camp seven miles from the 1, when news was brought that the people of the whole hbourhood had taken shelter with all their precious gs in the inviolable sanctuary which was afforded by frithstool of the saint.³ On hearing this, some plunrs, seemingly without the royal orders,⁴ set forth to e a prey of the town and of those who had sought ter in it. They entered Beverley without meeting with resistance, and made their way to the churchyard, re a vast crowd of people was gathered together.⁵ The er of the band, Toustan by name⁶—not, let us hope, son of Rolf, the standard-bearer of Senlac⁷—marked an old man in gaudy apparel with a golden bracelet on

or the prize which Harold or Siward or some other bracelet-giver¹ had bestowed as the reward of good service against Scot or Briton or Northman. The Englishman fled within the walls of the minster. The sacrilegious Toustain, sword in hand, spurred his horse within the hallowed doors.² But the vengeance of Saint John of Beverley did not slumber. The horse fell with its neck broken, and Toustain himself, smitten in his own person, his arms and legs all twisted behind his back, seemed no longer a man but a monster.³ His affrighted comrades laid aside all their schemes of plunder and slaughter, and humbly implored the mercy of the saint.⁴ They made their way back to William and told him the tale of wonder. The King had already shown himself a friend to the church of Saint John,⁵ and now, fearing the wrath of the saint, he summoned the chief members of the Chapter before him, and again confirmed all their possessions by charters under the royal seal.⁶

¹ Compare in the Song of Brunanburh the description of Æthelstan as "beorna beahgifa," and again in the Song of Maldon (Thorpe, *Analecta*, 132);

"Heton ðe seecgan,
jet þu most sendan raðe
beagas wið gebeorge."

² Al. Bev. 129. "Extracto quo erat pæcinctus gladio, per medium plebis attonitæ, super emissarium furens senem persecutur . . intra valvas ecclesiæ jam pene fugiendo extinctum insequitur."

³ Ib. "Ecce equus in quo sedebat fracto collo corruit, et ipse, facie jam deformi post tergum versa manibus pedibusque retortis, velut monstrum informe omnium in se mirantium ora convertit." It is curious to see how Thierry (i. 319) waters down the miracle; "son cheval, glissant sur le pavé, s'abattit et le froissa dans sa chute." Of course this is likely enough to have been the kernel of truth in the legend, but no man has a right to tell the tale in this shape as if it were undoubted fact. On stories of this kind, see the profound remarks of Professor Stubbs in his Preface to *De Inventione*, xxvii-xxix.

⁴ Al. Bev. 129. "Stupefacti et exterriti socii ejus, projectis armis et depositâ ferocitate, ad impetrandam Sancti Johannis misericordiam convertuntur."

⁵ See above, p. 204.

⁶ Al. Bev. 129. "Rex, auditâ virtute gloriosi confessoris, verensque similem ultiōnem de ceteris, accersitis ad se majoribus ecclesiæ, quaecumque priorum

William
confirms
the rights
of the
College.

CHAP.XVIII. He added new grants of land and precious gifts for the adornment of the minster,¹ and, what was of more immediate value than all, that there might be no further danger of the peace of Saint John being broken, he at once broke up his camp by sound of trumpet, and removed his headquarters to a place far removed from the hallowed spot.²

He re-moves his camp.

General desolation of the country.

Entries in
Domesday.

The lands of Saint John of Beverley were thus, according to the local legend, spared amid the general havoc, and were still tilled while all around was a wilderness.³ The long abiding traces of the destruction which was now wrought were its most fearful feature. The accounts of the immediate ravaging are graphic and terrible enough, but they are perhaps outdone in significance by the passionless witness of the great Survey, the entries of "Waste," "Waste," "Waste," which we read through page after page of the Yorkshire lordships which, seventeen years after, had not recovered from the blow.⁴ Indeed we may

regum vel principum libertate eidem ecclesie fuerant collata, regis auctoritate et sigilli sui munimine confirmavit." The chief of these former benefactors was Æthelstan, the second founder of the church in its secular

be inclined to ask whether northern England ever fully CHAP.XVIII.
recovered from the blow till that great developement of
modern times which has reversed the respective importance
of the North and the South. For nine years at least no
attempt was made at tilling the ground; between York
and Durham every town stood empty; their streets became
lurking-places for robbers and wild beasts.¹ Even a
generation later the passing traveller beheld with sorrow the
ruins of famous towns, with their lofty towers rising above
the forsaken dwellings, the fields lying un-tilled and tenant-
less, the rivers flowing idly through the wilderness.² At
the time the scene was so fearful that the contemporary
writers seem to lack words to set forth its full horrors.
Men, women, and children died of hunger; they laid them
down and died in the roads and in the fields, and there was
no man to bury them.³ Those who survived kept up life
on strange and unwonted food. The flesh of cats and dogs
was not disdained, and the teaching which put a ban on
the flesh of the horse as the food of Christian men was
forgotten under the stress of hunger. Nay, there were
those who did not shrink from keeping themselves alive on

Long
abiding
traces
of the
ravages.

State of
the country
at the
time.

Utter
wretched-
ness of the
survivors.

¹ Sim. Dun. Gest. Regg. 1079, p. 85, Hinde. "Interea ita terrâ cultore
destitutâ, lata ubique solitudo patebat per novem annos. Inter Eboracum
et Dunelnum nusquam villa inhabitata, bestiarum tantum et latronum
latubila magno itinerantibus fuere timori."

² Will. Malms. iii. 249. "Itaque provincie quondam fertilis et tyran-
norum nutriculae incendio, præda, sanguine, nervi succidi; humus per sexaginta
et eo amplius milliaria omnifariam inculta; nudum omnium solum
usque ad hoc etiam tempus; urbes olim preclaras, turre proceritate suâ
in coelum minantes, agros letos pascuus, irriguo fluvii, si quis modo videt
peregrinus, ingemit, si quis superest vetus incola, non agnoscit." Are we
to see in these heaven-reaching towers the tall slender unbuttressed steeples
of our earliest Romanesque?

³ Sim. Dun. u. s. "Erat horror ad intuendum per domos, plateas, et
itinera cadavera humana dissolvi, et tabescientia putredine cum fostro
horrendo scaturire vermis. Neque enim superat qui ea humo cooperiret,
omnibus vel extinctis gladio et fame, vel propter famem paternum solum
relinquentibus."

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

flesh of their own kind.¹ Others, in the speaking days of our old records, bowed their necks for meat in the days. They became slaves to any one who would feed them, sometimes, when happier days had come, to be set free by the charity of their masters.² Before the end of the year, Yorkshire was a wilderness. The bodies of inhabitants were rotting in the streets, in the highways, or on their own hearthstones; and those who had escaped from sword, fire, and hunger, had fled out of the land.

The harrying of northern England was a deed which was denounced by men not indisposed to make the best of William's deeds as a deed on which the wrath of God was to follow.³ To his own conscience it was perhaps

Flor. Wig. 1069. "Normannis Angliam vastantibus, in Northymbriā silusdam aliis provinciis anno precedentī, sed pressenti et subsequenti

reconciled by the thought that, after all, he had shed no blood except in open fighting. He had spared the lives of rebels whom a less merciful prince might have doomed to the slaughter. His vengeance fell only on the lands and goods which were his own lawful forfeit, and, if their former owners died of hunger through their loss, that was no guilt of his. All this, all that had gone before, all that was to come after, was to be done and suffered that William might win and wear the Crown which the choice of those whose gift it was had given to another. And, as if in mockery, William decreed to show himself in all the pomp of kingship in the midst of the land which he had wasted. He would remind men that all that he had done was not the act of a lawless invader overcoming his foreign enemies, but the act of a lawful King subduing the rebels who had again and again risen against him, who had slain his garrisons and broken down his castles. The Christmas feast was this year to be kept, not in the new minster of Eadward at Westminster or of Ealdred at Gloucester,¹ but amid the ruins of the houses and churches of the wasted metropolis of the North. The Crown which Ealdred had placed on William's head was to be worn in his own city, when there was no Northumbrian Primate to do his duty to his King, and only the blackened walls of the minster to be the scene of the ceremony. Still the form was gone through, doubtless with such diminished splendour as the state of things allowed. The Crown and all the other

He holds
the Christ-
mas feast
at York.
1069-1070.

magis condoleo, quam frivilis adulatioibus inutiliter studeo. Præterea indubitanter affero quod impune non remittetur tam feralis occisio. Summos enim et imos intuetur omnipotens Judex, et seque omnium facta discutiet ac puniet districtissimus vindex, ut palam omnibus enodat Dei perpetua lex." This passage is valuable, even if it be simply the comment of Orderic, whose sense of right and wrong was keen enough. But it becomes of tenfold value, if we can believe that he copied it from William of Poitiers. It would show that there were bounds beyond which even that shameless flatterer refused to follow his hero.

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 435, 445.

CHAP. XVIII. badges of royalty were brought from Winchester; the army was left encamped without the city, and King William, not King Edgar or King Swegen, held the Christmas feast in York.¹ It was doubtless at this grim Midwinter Settlement of York-shire, Gemót that the main settlement of Yorkshire took place. Grants to Alan of Britanny. It must have been now that the Breton Alan received that vast grant of land which placed him at the head of Richmond Castle. the nobles of the North.² In one of the most picturesque spots of that land of dales and streams, on a height overlooking the rocky bed of the dark Swale, he reared the castle which, under its French name of Richmond, so long remained as a link between the English earldom and the Breton duchy.³ A hall, a keep, a chapel, either of this or of the next age, still live to tell of the proud state of its early lords, but how much of them is actually the work of the first founder may remain a problem for the architectural antiquary.⁴ Under the shadow of the castle a town, as

¹ Ord. Vit. 515 A, B. "Inter bella Guillelmus ex civitate Guenta jubet adferri coronam, aliaque ornamenta regalia et vasa, et dimisso exercitu in castris Eboracum pergit, ibique Natale Salvatoris nostri concelebrat." This is confirmed by the Worcester Chronicle 1060: "And se kyng wps

usual, arose, and the borough of Richmond gained importance enough to give its name to new ecclesiastical and temporal divisions of the surrounding country.¹ The bounty of its lords and of their followers surrounded the castle with ecclesiastical foundations. A stately parish church arose on the slope of the hill, and a Benedictine priory, a cell to Saint Mary of York, crowned the opposite height beyond the river. At a short distance from the town, among the woods by the river side, arose in the next age the Premonstratensian abbey of Saint Agatha of Easby, and the tall slender tower of the still later Franciscan church might almost seem in its general proportions to recall the architecture of an earlier day.² Another Yorkshire borough arose on the estate of another of William's followers. Ilbert of Lacy became lord of the lands where William's host had tarried on their Northern march, and, on the nearest convenient spot to the presumptuous river, the incident of the campaign was commemorated in the name of his castle of Pontefract or the Broken Bridge.³ Another grantee was William of Percy, the founder of a great name whose genuine bearers soon passed away, but which has been, like that of the Cæsars, artificially handed on to later times.⁴ The still more renowned name of

Ecclesiastical foundations at Richmond.

Lands of Ilbert of Lacy; origin of Pontefract.

¹ The name of "Richmondshire" is familiar ; see Gale, and Whitaker's History *passim*. Richmond also gives its name to an Archdeaconry.

² The Priory of Saint Martin was founded about 1100 by Wymar, *dapifer* to the second Alan, and a chief benefactor was "Roaldus filius Roaldi, filii Alani, constabularii Richmundie." Conan himself was also a benefactor. Mon. Angl. iii. 601, 602. Roaldus [Rhiwallon] was also the first founder of the abbey of Easby. Mon. Angl. vii. 921. The Franciscan Friary was founded in 1258. Mon. Angl. viii. 1545. The tall slender tower of the fifteenth or sixteenth century is, as usual, inserted between the nave and choir of the elder church. Easby is well known for its noble refectory ; of the church but little is left.

³ See above, p. 283. On the descendants of Ilbert see John of Hexham, X Scriptt. 262, and Richard of Hexham, ib. 303.

⁴ The Percies, who seem to have a mythical genealogy before they landed in Normandy, most likely came from Percy in the Côtentin. The genuine

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

bert of Bruce also appears in the Survey, but his lands were a later gift from the Conqueror.¹ These are names essentially belonging to Northern history; but William's immediate kinsfolk and friends did not fail to come in for a share. Earl Harold's lands at Coningsburgh passed to William of Warren.² A vast estate, the reward doubtless of his services in Lindsey, fell to the insatiable lord of Kent and Cornwall.³ One Drogo of Bevrere, whose legendary history I shall discuss elsewhere, obtained a part of the peninsula of Holderness.⁴ Still many English gentry retained their lands under the Crown,⁵ while others had to hold them of Norman lords. This is specially the case with the lands of Ilbert of Lacy, which were largely taken by their former owners,⁶ while on the lands of Count Robert they seem to have been almost wholly dispossessed in favour of his foreign followers. But, after the frightful plague of this winter, lands in Yorkshire could have been of little value to any man, native or stranger. Through a ~~after page of the Survey the same frightful entry of~~

which only the barest shadow of profit could now be wrung CHAP.XVIII.
for its Norman owner.¹

Yorkshire was thus conquered. William had made a wilderness and he called it peace. Nor can we doubt that order reigned in York while the King wore his Crown at the Midwinter feast in his northern capital. As soon as the holy season was over, more warfare, more havoc, was to begin. With William the time when Kings go forth to battle was not bounded by any limits of the seasons, and in the further North there were still foes to be overcome and lands to be wasted. In some remote corner, seemingly near the mouth of the Tees, in an inaccessible spot surrounded by marshes, a daring band still defied his power. They held out in a fastness stored with rich plunder, and deemed that there at least they were safe from all attacks.² The lands of the future Palatinate of Durham were also unsubdued. Since the overthrow of Robert of Comines, no Norman had appeared within the franchises of Saint Cuthberht. But the land of the saint was already a wilderness. Bishop Æthelwine and his priests had already fled. Frightened at the horrors which were going on south of the Tees, they determined to leave the church and city on the height above the Wear, and to seek safety once more for themselves and for the body of their patron in his

Midwinter
campaign.
January,
1070.

In English
refuge by
the mouth
of the Tees.

Flight of
Æthelwine
and his
canons
from Dur-
ham.
December
11, 1069.

¹ Thierry quotes the passage in Domesday, 315, where we read of a Yorkshire estate, "Duo Taini tenuerunt per ii. maneria. Ibi sunt ii. villani cum i. carucâ. Valuit xl. solidos, modo iiiii. solidos." In the same page are other similar entries. Sacroft, which had been held by five English possessors, and was worth four pounds, was now held of Ilbert by a certain Robert, was entered as waste, and valued at twenty pence. The next place, Tornevre, held by four Englishmen, had been worth four pounds, and was now worth ten shillings.

² Ord. Vit. 515 B. "Rursum comperit hostile collegium in angulo quodam regionis latitare, mari vel paludibus undique munito." The position of this place of shelter is marked by the course of William's march, when he set forth to reduce it.

SQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

holy isle of Lindisfarn. No one was more eager shorting to this course than the Earl Gospatric. ther out of zeal for their preservation, or from any worthy motive, he himself undertook the keeping of more precious part of the moveable ornaments of the h during their absence.¹ The Bishop and his clerks set forth. Four days were taken up with the march, irst of which led them to the mouth of the Tyne, e point where its waters are joined by those of the tern Don. There, on the banks of the inlet locally n as the Slake of Jarrow, still stood the venerable h of the monastery where Bæda had dwelled, and e we may still see the massive walls and narrow win- of the choir in which he worshipped.² Since the Danish invasions Jarrow seems to have no longer ed as a monastery, but the church was at least so far rved that it was able to give a night's shelter to elwine and his companions.³ The next day's march ed them to a place called Bethlington, in the land

all these difficulties, on the fourth day, towards evening, CHAP.XVIII. they reached the coast of the mainland opposite to the They reach Holy Island. A miracle enabled them to reach the goal Lindis- of their journey more speedily. The tide, which was full legend of crossing. when they reached the coast, ebbed at once to allow them to cross, as the waters by Mount Klimax made way for the passage of Alexander.¹ As soon as they were safe on the island, the waters came back, so that no pursuers might overtake them.² A single aged clerk was sent back to Durham to see how matters fared in the church and city. On the way, in the visions of the night, he beheld Saint Cuthberht and the holy King Oswald, and he was warned by them that the judgements of another world had already overtaken the wicked Gilmichael, whom he had so lately seen flourishing and boasting that he could do mischief. He was warned too that woes would fall on Gospatric also for his timid, perhaps sacrilegious, counsel.³ The priest sought the Earl and told him of the divine threatenings. Gospatric hastened with naked feet to the Holy Island, and craved pardon for that in which he had offended. But on him vengeance came in this world;

contrarium, id est puer Michaelia, appellatus, nam rectius puer diaboli nuncuparetur, multas fugientibus injurias irrogavit, iter eorum impediendo, ipos affigendo, praedas ex eis agendo, et quocunque mali poterat faciendo." On these Gaedic names beginning with *Gil*, see Miss Yonge's History of Christian Names, ii. 113.

¹ See the story in Arrian, i. 26. 2, 3; Plut. Alex. 17; and compare the comments of Josephus, Antiq. ii. 16. 5. See also the story of Lucullus at the Euphrates, Plut. Luc. 24.

² Sim. Dun. Gest. Regg. 86. "Circa vesperam, quum plenum undique mare advenientibus prohiberet ingressum, ecce, subito sui recessu liberum prestitit introitum, ita ut nec festinantes aliquanto tardius sequerentur fluctus marini, nec tardantes aliquanto citius præcurrerent. Quum autem terram attigissent, ecce, refium mare, sicut ante, totas arenas operuerat." The story is told at greater length and more dramatically in the Durham History, iii. 15.

³ See the whole story in the Durham History, iii. 16. The words of Saint Cuthberht about Gospatric are, "Væ tibi, Gospatrice, væ tibi, Gospatrice, ecclesiam meam suis rebus evacuasti et in desertum convertisti."

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

loss of his earldom and all the troubles which befell
1 were his punishment.¹

The Earl and the Bishop had fled, and the mass of the
ple of the northern diocese followed the example of
ir chiefs. They sought shelter among hills and woods,
1 wherever shelter was likely to be found.² None
yed in their dwellings save those who from any cause
ked the means of flight. The camp of refuge by the
uth of the Tees was well stocked with provisions,
1 was fondly deemed to be impregnable.³ Against
s stronghold, at once the nearest and the most
gerous of the spots held by those whom he called
els and outlaws, William now set forth on his January
reh.

His march led him through a rugged and difficult
ntry, which, we are told, had never been crossed by
army, and where a road of twenty feet wide among
hills was the only means of approach.⁴ The geo-
nhv shows that the country spoken of must be tha

quarters of the enemy, who took flight by night at his ^{CHAP.XVIII.} approach. He followed them to the banks of the river, by a road whose ruggedness was such that the King himself had often to march on foot.¹ On the banks of the river he made a halt of fifteen days,² during which space he received the submission of the two most powerful among his English enemies. Waltheof came in person ; Gospatric appeared by proxy. They again swore oaths to him and became his men, William even consenting to receive the oath of Gospatric, as he had received the oath of King Malcolm,³ at the hands of his messengers.⁴ Both Earls were reinstated in their earldoms, and no doubt in all their possessions. Waltheof indeed was more than restored to his former place ; he was admitted to the King's highest favour, and was allowed to mingle his blood with the princely blood of Normandy. A daughter of William had been only promised to Eadwine ; a niece of William was really given to Waltheof. The elder Ade- laide, the whole sister of William, the daughter of Robert and Herleva, now the wife of Count Odo of Champagne, was by her two former husbands the mother of two daughters, Adelaide and Judith.⁵ With Adelaide, the daughter of Ingelram of Ponthieu, English history has no concern. But her younger sister Judith, the daughter of Count Lambert of Lens, became the bride of the English

Submission
of Wal-
theof and
Gospatric.

They are
restored
to their
Earldoms.

Marriage
of Waltheof
and Judith.

¹ Ord. Vit. 515 B. "Rex ardens infestos sibi hostes ad flumen Tessiam insequitur, et avia prorumpit, quorum asperitas interdum peditem eum ire compellit."

² Ib. "Super Tessiam sedens quindecim dies transegit."

³ See above, p. 206.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 515 B. "Ibi reconciliati sunt Guallevus praesens et Gaius Patricius absens, sacramento per legatos exhibito." So both the Chronicles under 1070. "Her se eorl Walþeof griðede wið bone cyng." Mr. Hinde (Hist. North. i. 179) remarks that Gospatric "felt himself safer in his rocky citadel of Bamborough than at the court of a sovereign to whom he had given such frequent provocation."

⁵ See vol. ii. p. 614.

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

rl of Northampton and Huntingdon.¹ Of her later
eer, and of her children, we shall hear again.
But the submission of the Earl of the Northumbrians
is not allowed to insure safety or pardon for the land
or which he ruled. We must suppose that the sub-
mission of Gospatric was not followed by any general
mission of the chiefs and people of his earldom. What-
ever may have been the case with the land beyond the
ne, the land between the Tyne and the Tees, the
cial inheritance of Saint Cuthberht, was doomed to a
rying as remorseless as that which had fallen on York-
re itself. To take seizin, as it were, of the conquered
d, the host of William was spread over the whole
ntry on its errand of destruction.² The materials for
ighter were few, as the inhabitants had everywhere fled,
their houses and churches stood ready for the favourite
rman means of destruction. We are specially told that
church of Jarrow, which had so lately sheltered Æthel-

told whether the minster of Durham received any damage CHAP.XVIII. in its fabric; but the great church of Ealdhun, forsaken by its bishop and his clergy, with the sound of divine worship hushed within its walls, became a place of shelter for the poor and weak and sickly, who lay there dying of disease and hunger.¹ Thus at last William had possession of the city which had so long withheld the attacks of Scot and Norman alike. But he had possession only of a city without citizens, and of a land so utterly wasted that it finds no place in the great Survey.²

This last-named fact, that the shires north of Yorkshire are not entered in Domesday, makes it hard to complete our picture of the state of the most northern parts of England after their conquest. It may be that so much had been done in the way of ravage that it was hardly needful to follow it up with so elaborate a system of confiscation as elsewhere. It is certain that, both within the limits of our own history and in later local annals, men bearing unmistakeable English and Danish names, but still holding high local position, appear in the Bishopric of Durham in greater numbers than elsewhere. And it is clear that, along with the two earls, some of the leading men of Yorkshire made their submission to the Conqueror and were received into some measure of favour. Among these we may probably reckon Archill. He is said to have been sent into banishment at some stage of William's

¹ Sim. Dun. Gest. Regg. 86. "Dunelmensis ecclesia, omni custodii et ecclesiastico servitio destituta, spelunca erat pauperum et debilium et agrotantium, qui, quum fugere non poterant, illuc declinantes fame ac morbo deficiebant."

² I suppose that it is this taking of Durham which is referred to by William of Jumièges, vii. 42; "Sicarii demique intra Dunelimum latitantes, compertis tot in perniciosis conspirationibus eadem vesania coadunatorum infortuniis, cum adhuc in suas scrummas armis atque fuga auderent, regiam expeditionem super se metuentes, deliberata sententia tam inconsulte temeritati congrua, in maritimorum praesidiorum remotiora sese receperunt, in honestas opes piratico latrocino sibi contrahentes."

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

n;¹ but it is clear from the Survey that he was banished at last. He must however have been heavily fined, as he kept only a very small portion of his great estate.² We hear too incidentally of one Eglaf, a Householder whose name speaks his Danish descent, but who is said to have risen high in William's favour.³ Of Eadwine Morkere, at this stage of our story, we hear not a word. It is plain that they took no part in the revolt, though the events of the following years show that they were in William's court, though doubtless quite as much prisoners as his guests. Still we cannot suppose that their lands were confiscated as yet, while they were still in the King's allegiance and in his apparent favour. Had Morkere to look on during the conquest and desolation of the earldom of which he does not seem to have been originally deprived?⁴ And where was Eadwine when William went forth to overcome the special home of his house, the last citadel of independent England?

For we are now drawing near to the end. One more

march now becomes specially eloquent on the difficulties of CHAP.XVIII. the passage. Some change in the weather may have made those difficulties even more frightful than William had found them on his march northwards. We now read how his course led him through hills and valleys, where the snow often lay while neighbouring districts were rejoicing in the bloom of spring.¹ Through that wild region William now made his way amid the cold and ice of winter. It needed Personal the bidding and the example of a leader who was ever the energy of William. foremost, and who shrank from no toil which he laid upon others, to keep up the spirits of his followers.² The march was toilsome and dangerous; the horses died in crowds; each man pressed on as he could, thinking only of his own safety, and recking little of his lord or of his comrade.³ At one point William himself, with six horsemen only, lost his way, and had to spend a night in utter ignorance of the whereabouts of his main army.⁴ A chance attack from some band of wandering outlaws might perhaps have freed England. It might at least have undone the work of the Conquest, and thrown the conquerors into utter anarchy and confusion. But the fortune of William once

places Hexham (Hagustald), doubtless in mistake for Helmsley (Hamelac), which is on the direct line from the lower valley of the Tees to York, and reposes under the dreary summits of the Hambleton range, to which the above description unquestionably refers." I have for once been content to take Mr. Hinde's word for the character of the district. This Helmsley must be distinguished from Gate Helmsley, which figures in the history of Stamfordbridge. See vol. iii. p. 357.

¹ Ord. Vit. 515 C. "Mense Januario Rex Guillelmus Haugustaldam revertebatur a Tesiā, viā quē hactenus exercitū erat intentata; quā crebro acutissima juga, et vallium humillimse sedes, quum vicinia serenitate verna gaudet, nivibus compluuntur."

² Ib. "At ille in acerbissimo hiemis gelu transvīt, animosque militum confirmavit suā alacritate."

³ Ib. "Illud iter difficulter peractum est, in quo sonipedum ingens ruina facta est. Anxius pro suā quisque salute exstitit, dominique parum aut amici meminit."

⁴ Ib. "In eā difficultate Rex cum senis tantum equitibus aberravit, et noctem integrā ubinam essent quos ductabat ignarus exegit."

ONQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

re carried him safe through all dangers. He reached
rk, and there he finally settled the affairs of the city and
re.¹ We should be well pleased to know all that may
k in so vague a phrase. Some confiscations, some grants
land, are doubtless implied; but we know that he
tored the castles, and he most likely took other measures
the restoration of the city, a large part of which must
ll have been a ruin. William's work north of the
umber was now done. The land was thoroughly con-
ered, but it was thoroughly conquered only because it
s thoroughly wasted. The strength and the life of the
ole district and its people had been broken by his
reiless policy. We shall still hear of one or two local
breaks in Northumberland; we shall hear of inroads in
ich the Scot ate up the little that the Norman had
red. But we shall hear of no more battles or sieges in
ich William had still to strive to win or to keep the
rthern portion of his kingdom. William was now lord

- - - - -

great hill range which so long sheltered the Briton of ^{CHAP.XVIII.} Strathclyde from the invading Angle, the range which, sometimes rising, sometimes sinking, unites the Peakland of Derbyshire with the mountains of Westmoreland and Cumberland. The Peakland is in winter preeminently a land of ice and snow, but it is hardly possible that William's line of march can have led him so far to the south. He must rather have passed through a land which in later times has been filled with some of the busiest seats of English industry, but which still retains many signs to show how rugged a land it must have been in a winter in William's day. Densely peopled settlements of man alternate with spots of rural beauty which here and there rise into somewhat of the grandeur of the wilderness. It is a land of hills and dales and streams, where the hills here and there swell almost into mountain-peaks.¹ Through this land, then no doubt an utter waste, William's army, after all its earlier toils, had to force its way amid the cold of February. As he was making ready for this last enterprise, he was met by what we now hear of for the first time in his history, a mutinous temper on the part of his own troops. They had had enough of marchings to and fro in the depth of winter, and now they were called on to set forth on another march which threatened dangers and difficulties yet greater than any of those which had gone before it. They feared the roughness of the country through which they had to pass, the cold and storms of the winter, the lack of provisions, the fierceness and daring of the enemy with whom they would have to strive.² This

Mutinous
spirit of
his troops.

¹ I am thinking mainly of the country between Huddersfield and Manchester, which lies pretty well in the direct line for a march from York to Chester.

² Ord. Vit. 515 C. "Deinde movit expeditionem contra Cestrenses et Guallos, qui, preter alias offensas, nuperrime Scrobesburiam obederunt. Exercitus autem, qui dura toleraverat, in hoc itinere multo duriora restare timebat. Verebatur enim locorum asperitatem, hiemis intemperiem, alienorum inopiam, et hostium terribilem ferocitatem."

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

source of dread, at any rate, does no small honour
he men of North Wales and north-western Mercia.
e feelings, it would seem, were felt most deeply and
essed most loudly by those parts of William's army
h were neither Norman nor English. We hear
hese complaints mainly as the complaints of the
ons, the Angevins, and the men of Maine.¹ Now it
be remembered that in an earlier stage of the war,
after his first expedition to the North, William had
issed all his mercenary soldiers.² If the Angevins had
been spoken of, we might have thought that the men
laine, who were now William's own subjects, and the
ons, who were in some sort his vassals, were not
omed among the mercenaries. But it is hard to see
any troops from the rival land of Anjou could have
serving in William's army in any character but that
private adventurers.³ Still we can understand that
geographical neighbourhood might keep together

his model Cæsar before his eyes. He did not stoop to ^{CHAP.XVIII.} entreat the mutineers or to win them over by promises.¹ William's dealings with the mutineers. He set forth at once, bidding the faithful and valiant to follow him; as for cowards and weaklings, he recked little whether they followed him or not.² This kind of dealing told on the troops. They marched on, making their way among high hills and deep valleys, across rivers swollen by the winter's rain, and bottoms which the same season had changed into well nigh impassable marshes. Storms of rain and hail troubled them on their march. Horsemen and footmen were brought to a level, as the horses of the knights were swallowed up or swept away by the treacherous swamps.³ King William himself had often to lead the van on foot, and to give help with his own hands to those whose strength was failing.⁴ But all dangers were at last overcome. To have led his army safely through so strange and wearisome a trial speaks more for William's gifts as a leader of men than to have won the prize on the stricken fields of Val-ès-dunes and Senlac.

At last the fearful march was over. William and his host came down into the rich pastures of the land which in after days was known as the Vale Royal of England.⁵

¹ Ord. Vit. 515 D. "Rex autem constantiam Julii Cæsaris in tali necessitate sequuntur est, nec eos multo precatu seu novis promissis retinere dignatus est."

² Ib. "Audacter inceptum iter iniit, fidasque sibi cohortes se sequi præcepit: desertores vero, velut inertes pavidosque et invalidos, si discedant, parvi pendit."

³ Ib. "Indefessim itaque pergit viâ equiti numquam ante experta, in quâ sunt montes ardui et profundissime valles, rivi et annes periculosi, et voraginiosa vallium ima. In hâc viâ gradientes sepe nimio vexabantur imbre, mixta interdum grandine. Aliquando præstabant cunctis usum equi in paludibus evecti."

⁴ Ib. "Ipse Rex multoties pedes cunctos agiliter præcedebat, et laborantes manibus impigne adjuvabat."

⁵ Ib. "Tandem exercitum incolumem usque Cestram perduxit." For Chester and Cheshire see the description given by William of Malmesbury, Gest. Pont. 308; "Cestra Legionum Civitas dicitur, quod ibi emeriti legionum Julianarum resedere. Collimitatur aquilonalibus Britannis. Regio

Personal energy of William.

Difficult march to Chester.

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

was the one great city which had not yet bowed to
night, the one still abiding home of English freedom.
the other great seats of royal, ecclesiastical, and mu-
nicipal power were already his. William was King at Win-
ter and London, at Canterbury and York, at Glaston-
bury and Peterborough, at Exeter and Lincoln. But he
was not yet King at Chester. The old City of the
sons, the river on which Eadgar had been rowed by
all Kings, the minster where the English Basileus had
sat with his vassal Kings around him, the walls from
which men could look out on the land which Harold had
added to the English realm¹—all still were free, standing
unchanged amid surrounding bondage, like a single perfect
man standing unhurt amid the shattered ruins of a for-
mer temple. The twelve judges of the city had in old
times sat in the name of the King, the Bishop, and the
² They must now, in the utter break-up of all
municipal authority, have wielded a power as little amenable

the course of the three years during which Chester had CHAP.XVIII. maintained its independence of the invader, the labour of the surrounding lands had been willingly given to strengthen the last national stronghold. There is no point in William's history at which we should more gladly welcome the minutest details than in this, the last stage of the real Conquest of England. But not a detail, not an anecdote, is preserved; we know only the results. The work which had begun at Pevensey was brought to an end at Chester,
Lack of details of the Cheshire campaign.

and we can see that it was not brought to an end without hard fighting. William had to put down by force the hostile movements of what was now specially the Mercian land.¹ We know not whether the city surrendered or was taken by storm; we know not by what means the shire and the adjoining lands were conquered. But a siege of Chester would have put the military art of the time to as hard a trial as the siege of Exeter. The Roman town, beneath whose walls the heathen *Æthelfrith* had unwittingly fulfilled the warnings of Augustine to the stubborn Britons,² had been left by him as *Ælle* and *Cissa* had left Anderida.³ In the Danish wars of *Ælfred* the walls still stood, no longer surrounding any dwelling-place of man, but still capable of being turned to a defensive purpose in the warfare of the time.⁴ By the watchful care of
Submission of the shire and city.
Defences of Chester; their history.
Victory of *Æthelfrith*. 605-613.
Desolation of the city. 605-907.

comitatus unum hominem venire praepositus edicebat. Cujus homo non veniebat, dominus ejus xl. solidos emendabat regi et comiti."

¹ Ord. Vit. 516 A. "In totâ Merciorum regione motus hostiles regia vi compescuit."

² See the Chronicles, 605, 606; Florence, 603; Hen. Hunt. M. H. B. 715 B, who calls *Æthelfrith's* victory "bellum bellorum maximum."

³ See vol. iii. p. 405.

⁴ In 894 the Danish army pursued by the English took refuge within the ruined site of Chester. The way in which the place is spoken of by the Chronicler is remarkable; "Pæt hy gedydon on anre wæstre ceastre on Wirhealum; seo is Ligeceaster haten." It is curious to find the future proper name of the city used as an appellative, "a waste chester." Florence is more distinct; "Civitatem Legionum, tunc temporis desertam, quæ Saxonice Legeceaster dicitur, priuquam regis *Ælfredi* et *Ætheredi* sub-

NQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

Lady of the Mercians Chester had been again called into g as a city and a fortress;¹ and it was most likely by hat the circuit of the Roman wall was extended to take he mound on which the Norman castle was now to plant her earlier stronghold.² The mediæval walls of ster are more perfect than those of any other English and traces of their Roman forerunners still remain, g to show that, except at this point, the line of the an fortification was strictly followed. Their circuit s in the minster of Saint Werburgh, then a secular, but to become a monastic, house, and which the changes of sixteenth century have made the seat of the modern oprick. The minster of Saint John, the church chosen he devotions of Eadgar, also a house of secular canons, to become one of the cathedral churches of the Mercian ese, lies on the east side of the city, without the walls.³ fortifications which William had to reduce were doubt- those of the old Cæsars as strengthened by the Mercian

PLAN OF
CHESTER.
1070-1087.





was commanded by the fortress of *Æthelflæd*, as it has CHAP.XVIII. since been by the later castle, and the whole city must have stood as a compact square, well defended both by nature and art. How this our last national stronghold fell we Fall of Chester. know not, but we know that it did fall, and that, as usual, a Norman keep soon rose on the old mound to act as a curb on the conquered city. And we know that the resistance which William met with in this his last conquest was enough to lead him to apply the same stern remedy which he had applied north of the Humber. A fearful harrying fell on city and shire and on the lands round about.¹ From Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, men young and old, women and children, pressed southwards in search of a morsel of bread. It is pleasant to learn that many of them found some measure of food and shelter at the gates of the abbey of Evesham. The prudence of Abbot *Æthelwig*, and the favour which he contrived to keep at the hands of three successive Kings, had at least not quenched his will to help the distressed, while the yet untouched wealth of his abbey allowed him the means as well as the will. The houses, the streets, the churchyard, of Evesham were crowded with homeless wretches who, well nigh dying of hunger before they reached the hospitable spot, had barely strength to swallow the food which the bountiful prelate offered them.² Every day, five, six, or

Ravaging
of Cheshire
and neigh-
bouring
shires.

Charity
shown to
the suf-
ferers by
Abbot
Æthelwig
of Eves-
ham.

deserved. I believe however that a geologist would not stand in need of this argument.

¹ Hist. Evesh. 90. "In primis temporibus sui regni Rex Willielmus fecit devastari quadam sciras istis in partibus, propter exsules et latrones qui in silvis latitabant ubique et maxima damna pluribus hominibus faciebant, videlicet Everuuiacire, Castrascire, Scrobescire, Stafordscire, Deorbiscire."

² Ib. "Maxima multitudo senum, juvenum, mulierum, cum parvulis suis, famis miseriam fugientes, dolentissime hoc veniebat, quos omnes ille vir miseratus pro posse suo alebat. Plures namque diu absorpti durissimâ fame, dum cibum avidius sumerent, morebantur. Jacebant miseri homines per totam villam, tam in domibus quam deforis, necnon et

QUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

of the fugitives died and were buried by the pious
of the Prior *Ælfric*, to whose immediate guardianship
ufferers were entrusted.¹ Nor was the bounty of
Æthelwig confined to those only who, in the very depth of
evil days, amid the cold and hunger of this fearful
winter, craved for alms to sustain their lives. Many a man
of gher rank, whom the confiscations of William had
taken from the lands and home of his fathers, found shelter
and help in the holy house of Saint *Ecgwine*.² But little
help which all the prelates and thegns of England,
every one been as openhanded as *Æthelwig*, could
have given to relieve the distress of a whole people.³ A
red thousand human beings, no small portion of the
inhabitants of England in those days, are said to have died
of cold and hunger in the winter which made William full
over the whole land.⁴ The figures are most likely a

*aeterio isto languidi, hue antequam venirent fame consumpti, et
ut cibum corporis sentiebant plurimi vitâ deficiebant."*

mere guess ; they can hardly rest on any trustworthy CHAP.XVIII. statistics ; we know not whether they are meant to apply to Northumberland only or to all the shires which William harried. Such was the price to be paid for William's conquest. As the painter of his portrait tells us, he was so stark that he recked not either of men's sufferings or of their hatred.¹ He had but won his own ; and amidst all the woes of the wasted land, he could still give his thanks and offer his gifts to God and Saint Martin and all the saints of Normandy and Gaul, who had blessed his holy work with success, and had girded him with strength to chastise the perjurer and the rebel.

But, at whatever cost, England was conquered. William England now fully conquered. had yet to struggle against revolts both among the conquered English and among his own people. But the land was won ; there was no longer any portion of English ground which could still refuse submission to an invader ; future struggles were simply revolts against a government which was now in full possession. The fall of Chester was the last scene of the long battle the first blows of which had been struck when, well nigh four years back, Tostig had first harried English ground by William's licence.² We ask, but we ask in vain, whether Ealdgyth and her Question as to Ealdgyth and Ulf. babes were still within the walls of the captured city, and whether it was now that William gained possession of the young heir of the House of Godwine, whose life, as long as William lived, was to be the life-in-death of a Norman prison.³ To questions like these no certain answer can be given. We know only that the land was won, and we

miseria, ut Christianæ gentis, utriusque sexūs et omnis etatūs, homines perirent plusquam centum millia."

¹ Compare the famous description in the Peterborough Chronicle, 1087.

² See vol. iii. p. 325.

³ See Flor. Wig. 1087, where he records the liberation of Ulf after William's death. Cf. above, p. 143.

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

v by what means the land which had been won was
kept. The castle which was built to defend what was
of Chester was entrusted, with the rank of Earl, to
King's own step-son the Fleming Gerbod.¹ William
marched again to Stafford, and took the same means
Chester, by the foundation of a castle, to keep that
famous town and shire also in order. The later castle of
Stafford stands at some distance from the town, but the
likelihood of the case may lead us to accept the local tra-
dition which speaks of an earlier castle in the town itself,
which from an entry in Domesday² would seem to have been
and destroyed before the end of William's reign. The
earls both of Chester and Stafford were guarded by com-
petent garrisons, and were well furnished with provisions.³
King then marched across the conquered country to
Bury. The royal head-quarters were doubtless fixed
in the mighty trenches of elder days, on the hill-fort
where yet another Norman castle was no doubt already
erected.

on the same spot, to mark the last stage of the change by CHAP.XVIII. which England was not indeed changed into Normandy, but was driven to accept the Norman as her master. The His re- Conqueror now gave great gifts to the men who had shared wards and his toils, gifts which, we are told, were reward enough even punishments. for all that they had gone through. The conquerors of York and Stafford and Chester, the men who had laid waste English homes and fields, and who had forced their way through the frozen hills and valleys of Cleveland, received from the mouth of their sovereign the praises due to their deeds. They were at once dismissed with all thanks and honour. And those who had forsaken William's banners, or who had quailed under the toils of his marches, received no heavier punishment than to lose their share in the rewards of their comrades, and to be themselves kept under arms for forty days longer.¹ When William could thus send away the troops whom he could really trust, and could keep himself surrounded only by discontented mutineers, it was plain that England was conquered.

It remained only to get rid of the Danish allies who had promised so much, and had done so little, for the deliverance of England. Osbeorn and his fleet stayed during the whole winter in the Humber, beyond the reach of William's arms,² but not beyond the reach of his arts. Osbeorn was perhaps in his heart not over zealous on behalf of a land from which he had once been driven into banishment.³ At some stage of this memorable winter William contrived to send a secret bribe to Osbeorn William.

¹ Ord. Vit. 516 A. "Perveniens inde Salesburiam præmia militibus ibi pro tantâ tolerantiâ largissime distribuit, bene meritos collaudavit, et cum gratiâ multâ dimisit. Desertores autem ad dies xl. ultra discessum comilitonum per indignationem retinuit, eaque poenâ delictum quod pejus meruit castigavit."

² Chron. Wig. 1069. "And þet lið leig ealne winter innan Humber, þær se kyng heom to cuman ne mihte."

³ See vol. ii. p. 63.

INQUEST OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN ENGLAND.

sage to the Danish Earl, and to win him over by the noise of a large sum of money. He was to sail away until winter was over, and he was to be allowed in the meanwhile to plunder the English coast, on condition that he did not come to any actual engagement with the King's forces.¹ And, though we have no distinct mention of the date, we may guess that this is the time when William sent and the other prisoners whom the Danes had taken at Exeter were set free.² Certain it is that Osbeorn, to his disgrace and final ruin, agreed to William's terms. He seems ever to have done his best to cheat both sides, Norman and English alike. We shall see in the course of the next chapter that William's licence to plunder was somewhat liberally construed, and that the time during which the Danish Earl was to be allowed to tarry in English waters was prolonged far beyond the time on which William might fairly insist. In the course of the next two years we shall still be occupied of the doings alike of English revolters and of their

island Empire. Within England itself, what was still to CHAP. XVIII.
be done was for the priest to follow in the track of the
warrior, for the wiles of Lanfranc and Hildebrand to build
up a power against which William himself could hold his
own, but before which his weaker descendants had for a
while to bend.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.¹

A.D. 1070—1089.

ENGLAND was now fully conquered; the authority of William was now acknowledged in every corner of realm. We shall hear almost immediately of fresh resistance against William's authority; but resistance now es the form of the revolts of a subdued people; it is longer the defensive warfare of a people whose in-

had done, had passed away for ever. William had been CHAP. XIX. driven to make his reign thus far a reign of terror, a reign of slaughter, exile, confiscation, and ravage. A large part of the lands of England had been laid waste; a larger part still had been portioned out among foreign owners. Yet for a moment there was peace; comparative peace indeed, if only the peace of utter subjection, set in from this time for the rest of William's reign. Revolts indeed were to go on, but they were all purely local revolts. There was never again a moment when any large part of the land was in arms at once, when, as during the last year, warfare was going on at once at Exeter, at Chester, at Durham, and at Norwich. For a moment the sword was sheathed; no element of disturbance seemed to be left in the land except the Danish fleet in the Humber. The conquerors and the conquered alike had a moment's breathing-time.

But in dealing with the acts of such a man as William, Personal the personal position, the personal intentions, of the man position of William. himself are of hardly less moment than the condition and the temper of armies and nations. We can hardly doubt that William had changed for the worse since the day of his crowning. Everything since that time had tended to draw out the worse features of his character and to throw the better ones into the shade. He had become harder, more unscrupulous, more reckless of human suffering. But the harshness of William's rule never sank into mere purposeless tyranny, into mere delight in oppression. He never wholly lost the feeling that he owed a duty towards God and man. Even now he was capable of honest endeavours to do his duty towards the realm which he had won at the cost of so much of crime and sorrow. It was about this time that he gave one most conspicuous instance of his wish, even now, to rule in England as an English King. It was his business as King to hearken to the

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

laints of his subjects, to do right and justice among them according to the laws of the Kings who had gone before him. It was his duty to go, like Ælfred and Cnut, through the shires and cities of his kingdom, and to see with his own eyes that those who ruled in his name had not sold, or delayed justice to no man.¹ But this could not be thoroughly done by a King who knew not the tongue of his people, who had to hear their complaints and to pronounce his own judgements through the mouth of an interpreter. William then, at the age of twenty-three, in all the pomp of kingship and the renown of his story, again bowed his neck to the yoke of the master. As Charles the Great had striven in his younger years to learn the art of writing,² so now William the Great strove, we cannot doubt with all honesty of purpose, to master the tongue of his English subjects.³ In either case were the efforts of the royal student rewarded with any great measure of success. The vague narrative of our informant leaves us with no very clear

of his own charters. And the fact that he made even an *attempt* in his own person to master the English tongue wholly wipes away the legendary notion of his striving to abolish its use,¹ and makes it all but certain that English formed part of the education of his English-born son.²

It is certain that this year, the fourth year of William, left behind it a special and a favourable memory in popular belief. The traditions of a later age told how King William, in his fourth year, summoned the Witan of the land to declare what the ancient laws of England were. He had already, we are told, remembering his own Scandinavian descent and that of his Norman followers, decreed that the customs of the Denalagu should be observed throughout his realm. But the people of England cried with one voice for the laws of good King Eadward and for none other. Twelve men therefore were, by the writ of King William, chosen in each shire, who declared on oath before the King what the laws of King Eadward were. Those laws were then put into the shape of a code, and were published by the order of King William as the only law of his kingdom.

Story of
his repub-
lishing the
Laws of
Eadward.

No one who fully takes in the history and the legal formulæ of this age can accept this story as it stands. No remains of William's legislation. One can believe that the large extant codes which bear the names of Eadward and William were really put forth in their actual shape by either of those Kings. On the other hand, there is little doubt that we have some genuine pieces of William's legislation surviving, though it would seem that ordinances put forth at various times and places have been put together as if they formed a continuous statute.³ And among these there are some enactments

¹ See the false Ingulf, 71, Gale.

² See Appendix Z.

³ The seemingly genuine Laws of William have been last printed by Professor Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 80.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

we may, almost with certainty, refer to this particular period of William's reign. It followed almost as a matter of course that, in this passing moment of peace, William was for the first time undisputed master of England, he should mark his new position by some formal act of reconciliation between his old and his new subjects. To "renew the law" of some revered prince after a period of war or disturbance was a process familiar both in England and in Normandy. Harold Blaatand had renewed the law of Rolf in Normandy,¹ and Harold the son of Godwin had renewed the law of Cnut in Northumberland.² A still closer parallel is supplied by that great Gemót of 1066 in which Danes and Englishmen formally made up their differences, and united in the renewal of the law of Eadgar.³ So it was quite in the order of things that William should, especially at this particular moment, ordain the formal reconciliation of his Norman and his English subjects, and decree the renewal of what doubtless already beginning to be spoken of as the law

laws of Eadward are renewed as touching the holding of ^{CHAP. XIX.} lands and all other matters whatsoever, but a reservation William's changes. is made for such changes as the reigning King had made for the good of the people of the English.¹ This reservation was indeed a dangerous one. But once granting the position of William in England, some changes in, or additions to, the ancient laws could hardly be avoided. We Provision for the safety of William's Norman followers.

part of the discontented English.² This provision, the germ which afterwards grew into the famous law of *Engliskry*,³ can hardly fail to belong to this early stage of William's legislation. Other provisions which regulate the relations between men of the two races within the Kingdom more probably belong to a later date.

It was quite in the spirit of this legislation that William at this moment did what he could to encourage harmony and good feeling, intermarriage and intercourse of all kinds, among all his subjects, French and English. And now that actual warfare had for a while ceased, the land began to feel the benefit of that stern police which, in William's hands, dealt out speedy justice on the robber,

impossible to doubt that this is borrowed from the opening of the Laws of Cnut quoted in vol. i. p. 431.

¹ Select Charters, 81. "Hoc quoque præcipio et volo, ut omnes habeant et teneant legem Edwardi Regis in terris et in omnibus rebus, adiunctis iis quæ constitui ad utilitatem populi Anglorum." This reservation is made again in the renewal of the Laws of Eadward by Henry the First. See Florence, 1100; "Legem Regis Eadwardi omnibus in commune reddidit, cum illis emendationibus quibus pater suus illam emendavit."

² Select Charters, 80. "Volo ut omnes homines quos mecum adduxi, aut post me venerunt, sint in pace mea et quiete. Et si quis de illis occisus fuerit, dominus ejus habeat infra quinque dies homicidiam ejus, si potuerit; sin autem, incipiat persolvere mihi xlvi. marcas argenti quamdiu substantia illius domini perduraverit. Ubi vero substantia defecerit, totus hundredus in quo occisio facta est communiter persolvet quod remanet."

³ See vol. i. p. 736.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

murderer, and the ravisher.¹ In the towns especially
the races began to dwell peaceably together; French
merchants were seen with their wares in the streets of
the boroughs, and French burghers began to form a
part of their settled inhabitants. Their English neighbours
began in some degree to adopt their dress and
mode of life, and we may be sure that each found it
useful to gain some knowledge of the others' language.²
The process had begun through which, a hundred years later,
it had become impossible, except in the highest and
lowest ranks, to distinguish Englishmen from Normans.³
The process, busily at work among the smaller thegnhood,
was still more busily at work in the towns, and it bore
its bleakest fruit when the marriage of Gilbert of Rouen
& his wife, Adela of Louesia of Caen gave birth to Thomas of London.⁴
This year then of comparative peace, as it was certainly
wholly bare of military events, was most likely not
of important political events. Still it is in its ecclesiastical
aspect that it stands out most clearly in our

witnessing the beginning of the systematic policy of William and Lanfranc in ecclesiastical matters. CHAP. XIX.

§ 1. *The Councils of the Year 1070.*

This specially ecclesiastical year, in which William was to show himself to the world mainly in the character of a reformer of the Church, began, strangely yet characteristically, with an act which, in a less pious prince than William, might have been set down as a gross breach of all ecclesiastical right. Many wealthy Englishmen, mainly, we may suppose, those who had suffered outlawry or confiscation of lands, had sought to save at least their moveable wealth by placing large sums of money in the safe-keeping of various monastic bodies. But the thresholds of the English saints proved no safe-guard against the Norman King. Early in the year, in the course of Lent, while he was still at Salisbury or before he reached Salisbury, William caused all the monasteries of England to be searched, and all deposits of this kind to be carried to the royal treasury. It always has a grotesque sound when the deeds of William the Great, like those of smaller men, are either excused or aggravated by throwing the blame on evil counsellors; but we are told that of this particular deed the Earl of Hereford, William Fitz-Osbern, was the chief adviser.¹ It may have been deemed that

¹ Both Chronicles (1071 Wig., 1070 Petrib.) record this search and spoliation, but they give no hint as to its special motive; "And þes on Lengten se cyng let hergian calle þa mynstra þe on Englalande waren." Florence (1070) adds the cause, and mentions William Fitz-Osbern as the adviser; "Willelmi Herefordiensis comitis et quorundam aliorum consilio, tempore Quadragesimali, Rex Willelmus monasteria totius Anglie per-scrutari, et pecuniam, quam ditiones Angli, propter illius austeritatem et depopulationem, in eis deposuerant, auferri et in serarium suum jussit deferri." The writer known as Matthew of Westminster (1070), who is followed by William Thorn, the historian of Saint Augustine's, asserts that, not only money, but the charters to which William had sworn, and which

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

holy places were rather purified than profaned by
g them of the worldly wealth of rebels and traitors.
season of penitence having been spent in this charitable
; William could better give his mind to the great
nes of ecclesiastical reform whose carrying out was to
n on the Easter festival.

that festival the usual Gemót was held at Win-
er, and the King wore his Crown with the usual
. This public wearing of the Crown was in some
a religious ceremony, a continuation, as it were, of the
nal rite of consecration, and the Crown itself was
d on the royal head by one of the chief prelates of
and.¹ In this case the rite received a special dignity

I now broken, were carried off. In Thor's somewhat longer version
usage runs thus (X Scriptt. 1787); "Willielmus . . . videns se in
i positum et in regni solio confirmatum, subito ad alium virum
us, de rege factus est tyrannus . . . Willielmus Conqueror dictus in
promissa violavit, monasteria totius Angliae perscrutari fecit, et
am simul et chartas, in quarum libertatibus nobiles Angliae confide-
st quas Rex in arcto positus observaturum se juraverat. ab ecclesiis

and significance from the position of those by whom it was CHAP. XIX. performed. Pope Alexander had sent three Legates to the court of his obedient and victorious son. Ermenfrid, Bishop of Sitten, a man already well known both in England and in Normandy, whom we have already seen as the Papal representative at the courts both of William and of Edward,¹ now came a third time, accompanied by two other Legates, the Cardinal priests John and Peter,² at once to congratulate the Conqueror on the temporal success of his holy enterprise, and to help him in carrying out his ecclesiastical schemes for the subjugation and reformation of the benighted islanders.³ They came at William's own prayer,⁴ and one at least of them tarried with him a whole year. They were honoured by him, we are told, as the Angels of God, and they helped him with their advice and authority in many matters in many places.⁵ Their first function was the ceremonial one of placing the Crown on William's head at the Easter Feast, a kind of confirmation by Papal authority of the consecration which had been long ago performed by Ealdred in the West Minster.⁶ This ceremony done, a ceremony far from lacking significance or importance, King and Legates turned themselves to the more serious business which lay before them.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 458; iii. p. 97.

² Orderic, 516 A, mentions Ermenfrid only by name, adding, "et duos canonicos cardinales." Florence adds their names, "presbyteros Johannem et Petrum, cardinales sedis apostolice."

³ See vol. iii. p. 284.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 516 A. "Ex petitione ipsius Alexander Papa tres idoneos ei ut clarissimo [carissimo!] filio legaverat vicarios."

⁵ Ib. "Apud se ferme annuo ferme spatio retinuit, audiens et honorans eos tamquam angelos Dei. In diversis locis, in plurimis negotiis, sic egere, sicut indigas canonices examinationis et ordinationis regiones illas dinovero." From Florence we learn that only Ermenfrid could have stayed so long as a year. John and Peter went back before Pentecost.

⁶ Ib. "Guillelmus Rex Dominicam Resurrectionis in urbe Guentâ celebavit, ubi Cardinales Romanæ Ecclesiae coronam ei sollempniter imposuerunt." Vita Lanfr. (Giles, i. 292). "Eum in paschâ, coronam regni capitii ejus imponentes, in Regem Anglicum confirmaverunt."

Presence
of the
Papal
Legates.
Ermenfrid
of Sitten.
1055.
1062.

William
crowned
by the
Legates.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

It was no other than the beginning of William's great scheme for gradually remodelling the Church of England, had already gone far to remodel the State of England, as the policy of which we have already seen the first step in the appointment of Remigius of Fécamp to the see of Dorchester.¹ The great places of the Church of England were to be filled by Normans or other strangers whom William could trust. Englishmen were to be wholly屏出 from the rank of Bishop, and but sparingly admitted to that of Abbot.² But William was no more inclined to act hastily in this matter than in any other. Rather, he was disposed to walk warily and was careful to have the letter of the law on his side. It would not have suited his purpose to make a wholesale deprivation of English prelates. But as bishoprics and abbeys were vacant, fitting occupants of foreign birth were to be found for them,³ and there was no objection to quicken the succession by depriving, one by one, those English bishops or Abbots against whom any plausible charge

We have already seen that the ecclesiastical position of CHAP. XIX. the Archbishop had been looked on as doubtful from the time of his nomination to the primacy by the voice of liberated England in that Mickle Gemót which drove his foreign predecessor from his ill-gotten throne.¹ Ermenfrid, the present Legate, had, on his former visit to England, been the bearer of a papal letter against him.² Yet William had hitherto treated him with studied honour;³ he had consecrated the only bishop who had been appointed since his accession,⁴ and, if he had not been allowed to pour the consecrating oil on William's own head, he had filled the second place in the ceremony of his coronation.⁵ But his hour was now come; he could now be deposed, not by the mere arbitrary will of the King or by the sentence of a purely English or Norman Assembly, but by the full authority of the head of western Christendom. As usual, all kinds of vague and improbable charges were brought against him;⁶ but the canonical grounds on which he was formally condemned were three. He had held the see of Winchester¹⁰⁷⁰ along with the archbishoprick.⁷ He had taken the archbishoprick during the lifetime of Robert, and he had used at the mass the pallium which Robert had left behind.⁸ He had obtained his own pallium from the usurping Pontiff Benedict the Tenth.⁹ Stigand was heard in his own defence; but his defence seems to have consisted of

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 330, 333, 340, and on the ecclesiastical position of Stigand, p. 632.

² See vol. ii. p. 463.

³ See above, p. 132.

⁴ See above, p. 78.

⁵ See vol. iii. p. 558.

⁶ Ord. Vit. 516 B. "Stigandum pridem reprobatum anathemate deposuerunt. Perjuriis enim et homicidiis inquinatus erat, nec per ostium in archipresulatum introierat."

⁷ See the charges in full in vol. ii. p. 632.

⁸ That Robert left his pallium behind is a point insisted on with glee by the Peterborough Chronicler. See vol. ii. p. 330. The consequences were not then foreseen.

⁹ See vol. ii. pp. 341, 433.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

ients which would have more weight in the minds of shmen than in those of William and Ermefrid. He led to the faith of the King who had so long treated s a friend ; he protested against the iniquity of his ice, and apparently against the authority of his ^{§.1} Such a defence was of course in vain ; he was ed of both his bishopricks, and, if not absolutely soned, he was at least kept under some measure of int under the King's eye at Winchester. It seems er that he kept some of his private property, h at least to give him the means of better fare lothing than those of an ordinary prisoner. Legend f course busy with the end of such a career as his. ved in his prison the life of an ascetic. His friends, ally his neighbour the Lady Eadgyth, prayed him to re himself somewhat more both in food and in ng. He answered with the most solemn oaths that d not a penny nor a penny's worth to supply his . Whether either the Old Lady or any other friend

held himself.¹ We are not told what crimes were laid to CHAP. XIX. his charge besides those of being an Englishman and a brother of Stigand. One probable ground of accusation may however be inferred from an entry in the Survey, by which it appears that the East-Anglian Bishop had a wife.² We are told also that several Abbots were deposed ;³ Deprivation of Abbots. but it is hard to identify more than one who was deposed at this particular Gemót. It is probable that our informant had in his mind the general system of deprivation of both Abbots and Bishops which went on from this time, rather than any special acts of this Easter Assembly. It is certain however that one great abbey was at this moment vacant by death and another by forfeiture, and it would appear that the Norman successors of the English prelates were appointed in this Council. Brand of Peterborough, the Abbot who had been confirmed by the Ætheling Eadgar,⁴ died while William was engaged on his Northumbrian campaign.⁵ The vacant post was given to one Turold, of whose exploits, military rather than ecclesiastical, we shall presently hear.⁶ William's vengeance

¹ See vol. ii. p. 64.

² Domesday, ii. 195. "Hoc manerium accepit Almarus cum uxore sua antequam esset episcopus, et postea tenuit in episcopatu." Æthelmer, like most other people, French and English, is charged in Domesday with something in the way of *invasiones*. In the same page where his wife is mentioned we read, "Hemesbi tenuit Algarus comes T. R. E. et Alwius emit. Stigandus abstulit et dedit Almaro fratri suo, sed hundred nescit quomodo ex illo fuit in episcopatu." Another entry in p. 200 is more curious. After the account of the outlawry and flight of Eadric the naval captain (see above, p. 121), it is added, "Episcopus Almarus invasit terram." But if Æthelmer was Eadric's next heir, or, as he very likely was, his lord, his occupation of the forfeited land of an outlaw would be an *invasio* in the Domesday sense.

³ See Appendix DD.

⁴ See vol. iii. p. 529.

⁵ Chron. Petrib. 1069. "And on þisum ilcan geare forðerde Brand Abbot of Burh on v. Kal. Decembr." This is one of the earliest instances of the modern idiom "Abbot of Burh."

⁶ See the next Chapter.

Brand of Peterborough.
November 27, 1069.
Succeeded by Turold.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

also on one inmate of the Golden Borough who had seemed likely to be perfectly harmless. This Ethelric, who had once been Bishop of Durham, but had long ago given up his see and had retired to the remnant of his days in the monastery.¹ About this time, and seemingly by a decree of this Easterly assembly, he was seized and led to Westminster; what was his fate there we are not told. His offence, whatever it was, had doubtless something to do with the conduct of his more active brother *Æthelwine*, his successor in his bishoprick. It seems, as far as we can make out of our chronology, that this prelate was excommunicated by another decree of this Council.² The charge seems to have been a charge of sacrilege, or of complicity with sacrilege. During the flight of the Bishop from Durham the great crucifix of the church had been left behind, as being too heavy to carry away.

Soon after their flight, when the Normans reached London, it was thrown down by some of the invaders, and

back again in his shrine with all honour.¹ It must have CHAP. XIX. been just at this time that the sentence of outlawry was pronounced against Aethelwine, and there is no other visible motive for it except his disobedience to the royal order. No charge could better fall in with William's policy; the English prelate had failed to show that zeal on behalf of his own church and its possessions which he, the Conqueror, had not forgotten, even in the midst of his Northumbrian warfare. If sacrilege was the crime of Aethelwine, he soon added to it, at least in the eyes of William. He saw that England was no longer a place Aethelwine sets sail for Köln, but is driven back to Scotland. April, 1070.
for him; he took a large part of the moveable treasures of his church and set sail for Köln. Stress of weather however drove him back to Scotland, where he passed the winter.² He was thus enabled to have a share in the

¹ The story is told in the Durham History, iii. 15. "Instante autem Quadragesimā, tranquillitate redditā, sacrum corpus Dunelmum reportaverunt, atque reconciliatā solemniter ecclesia vii. Idus Aprilis, cum laudibus intrantes ecclesiam suo in loco illud reposuerunt. Invenierunt autem imaginem Crucifixi in solum dejectam, et a suo ornatu quo a comite supradicto, videlicet Tosti, et ejus conjugē fuerat vestita, omnino spoliata. Hanc enim solam ex ornamentis post se in ecclesiā reliquerant, ob hoc videlicet quod difficile in fugā portari poterat, simul sperantes quod propter illam maiorem loco reverentiam hostes exhibere vallent. Verum quidam illorum supervenientes, quidquid in eā auri et argenti vel gemmarum invenerant, penitus abstrahentes abierunt. Quo facto Rex graviter indignatus jussit eos perquisitos comprehendendi, et comprehensos ad episcopum et presbyteros, eorum judicio puniendos, perduci. At illi, nihil triste eis facientes, permiserunt illos abire." The same story is told by Roger of Howden (i. 120), some of whose expressions sound as if he had got the tale from some other quarter than Simeon; "Imago Crucifixi, qua sola de ornamentis ecclesiae remanserat, quoniam non facile, pro sui magnitudine, a festinantibus poterat asportari, auro suo et argento est spoliata, detrahentibus Normannis. Rex autem quum non longe esset, agnoscens ecclesie soliditudinem et Crucifixi expoliationem, graviter satis tulit, ipsoque qui hoc fecerant perquiri precepit, nec multo post eodem ipso sorte sibi obvios habuit, quos, quum publicam viam declinare consiperat, illico intellexit homines mali alicujus esse consocios; qui protinus comprehensi aurum et argentum, quod de Crucifixo tulerant, ostenderunt. Quos statim ad judicium episcopi et eorum qui cum illo erant, jam de fugā regredientium, transmisit, sed illi a reatu absolutos impune dimittunt."

² See Appendix EE.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

its and sufferings of the next year. Another prelate took nearly the same course was in worldly fortune prosperous. It was now in all probability that ÆlSIGE, the pluralist Abbot of Ramsey and Saint AUNÆS, who had been William's own ambassador at the court of Swegen,¹ left England, and again sought the service of Denmark, this time in the character of an exile.² Kentish office at least was dealt with as forfeited, and the other abbey which was filled about this time, most probably in this Council. A Norman monk bearing the strange name of Scotland was forced on the abbot of the Celling brotherhood of Saint Augustine's.³ He did something however to retrieve the scandal of his appointment by reat works in the way of building, and by recovering some of the lost estates of his church, some of them of William's own seizing.⁴

¹ above, p. 135.

² See Appendix K.

³ Thorn. X Scriptt. 1787. "Anno Domini quo supra, comperto quod

It must have been a striking episode among the acts of CHAP. XIX. this Assembly, in which so many English prelates were deprived of their dignities, when one of their number boldly stood forth to assert the rights of his see. While others saw the King's purpose and trembled lest the stroke might fall upon them, the holy Bishop of Worcester arose and demanded the restitution of the estates of which Ealdred, on his translation from Worcester to York, had defrauded the church which he had left.¹ The lands were now, during the vacancy of the see of York, in the King's hands, and Wulfstan called both on the King and on the other members of the Assembly to do justice to his church.² We may feel certain that, in this and in every other action of his life, Wulfstan acted with perfect single-mindedness. But the man whom Harold had chosen as his fellow-worker when Northumberland was to be won over by persuasion³ could not have been absolutely wanting in worldly wisdom. He could not have been the mere model of childish innocence and simplicity which his monastic admirers are inclined to make of him. Wulfstan no doubt knew well that, even from William's point of view, no charge could be brought against him. He was also no doubt equally ready to run any risk in maintaining a right whose maintenance was really the discharge of a trust.⁴ But he

Saint Wulfstan demands the lands taken by Ealdred from the church of Worcester.

His position with regard to William and Ermenfrid.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 464.

² Fl. Wig. 1070. "In hoc itaque concilio, dum cæteri trepidi, utpote Regis agnoscentes animum, ne suis honoribus privarentur timerent, venerandus vir Wulstanus, Wigornensis episcopus, possessiones quamplures sui episcopatus ab Aldredo archiepiscopo, dum a Wigornensi ecclesiâ ab Eboracensem transferretur, suâ potentia retentas, que eo tunc defuncto in regiam potestatem devenerant, constanter proclaimsbat, expetebat, justitiamque inde fieri, tam ab ipsis qui concilio praererant quam a Rege flagitabat."

The question suggests itself whether, in the days of the Conqueror, the estates of the vacant archbishoprick would be in the King's hands, as that practice would seem, from several passages which I shall have to refer to in my next volume, to have rather been an innovation of William Rufus.

³ See vol. iii. p. 61.

⁴ We are often unpleasantly struck, in reading the history of ecclesiastical

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

otless knew also that a claim of right on behalf of an ecclesiastical foundation was exactly the kind of cause in which both conscience and policy would lead William to justice. Nor would he forget that the chief of the four Legates was an old friend of his own. Eight years before Ermenfrid had been his guest at Worcester, and had given his voice on his behalf in the Gemót at Gloucester.¹ The claim was made and listened to; but the answer of William and Ermenfrid was discreet. They could not judge without hearing both sides; they had heard the claim of Worcester; they had not heard the defence of York; the archbishop of York was dumb, having no shepherd to speak for him when the northern archbishoprick should again be in question; both sides should be heard and the case decided.²

The appointments to the two metropolitan sees were not finally made at the Easter Council. We cannot doubt that William had long ago settled in his own mind who

regular Gemót. This was the feast of Pentecost; but CHAP. XIX. the meeting usual at that season was held, not, according to rule, at Westminster, but at the royal seat of Windsor.¹ This is a place of which we begin first to hear in the days of Eadward,² and which became of increased importance under William. Either now or later in his reign, a castle, the germ of the present royal dwelling, arose there, and its defence seems to have been a special burthen laid upon the landowners of Berkshire.³ There, instead of close under the walls of London, the Assembly was held in which the thrones of Augustine and Paullinus were again to be filled by men of foreign blood and Roman speech. On the Pentecostal day itself, King William, doubtless by his writ and seal like his predecessor King Eadward, granted two of the vacant sees to Norman priests.⁴ York, regularly void by the death of Ealdred, was granted to Thomas, Treasurer of the church of Bayeux and chaplain to the

Whitsun
Gemót at
Windsor.
May 23-31,
1070.

William
grants the
sees of
York and
Winchester
to Thomas
and Wal-
kelin.
May 23.

¹ Ord. Vit. 516 A. B. "Maxima vera ac utilissima synodus Windessoris, celebrata est anno MLXX. ab incarnatione Domini." He however confounds the acts of this council with those of the Easter council at Winchester. Florence carefully distinguishes them.

² Eadward's grant of Windsor to the church of Westminster is mentioned in his writ, Cod. Dipl. iv. 227, and in the spurious charter, iv. 178; he also dates a charter there in iv. 209.

³ In Domesday, 56 b, Windsor appears as held by the Crown both T. R. E. and T. R. W. without any mention of the rights of the church of Westminster. The place is also mentioned in 62, 62 b. The Buckinghamshire Thegen, Leofwine of Newham, had also (151 b) to find "ii. loricatos in custodiam de Windessores;" and in the Abingdon History, ii. 3, we read how the same duty was laid upon that monastery; "Tunc Walingaforde et Oxenforde et Wildesore ceterisque locis castella pro regno servando compacta. Unde huic abbatis militum excubias apud ipsum Wildesore oppidum habendas regio imperio jussum."

⁴ Orderic, 516 B, says only "constituti sunt nominandi praesules Normanni duo regii capellani. Guaschelinus [Gualchelinus?] Guenantorum et Thomas Eboracorum, unus in loco depositi, alter defunctus." But Florence brings in the royal grant more distinctly; "Die Pentecostes Rex apud Windesoram venerando Baioensi canonico Thomae Eboracensis ecclesie archiepiscopatum, et Walcelino suo capellano Wintoniensis ecclesie dedit praesulatum."

CHAP. XIX. King. Winchester, void by the deprivation of Stigand, was granted to Walkelin, another royal chaplain, who is also said, like so many other people, to have been a kinsman of the King.¹ Both appointments, like most of William's ecclesiastical appointments, did him honour, and that of Thomas may even have been prompted by a wish to make some slight amends to a part of the kingdom which had been so deeply wronged. Thomas, a native of Bayeux, as well as a canon of its church, had sought for learning beyond the bounds of Gaul and even beyond the bounds of Christendom. Through the bounty of his diocesan Odo, who made up somewhat for his own misdeeds by generous promotion of merit in others, he had been enabled, like his metropolitan Maurilius,² to study in the schools of Saxony and other Teutonic lands, and there he may possibly have learned enough of the kindred tongues to make him not wholly incapable of communicating with his English flock.³ But his love of knowledge had carried him into the South as well as the North; he had crossed the Pyrenees, and had come back to Bayeux full of all the learning of the Spanish

Character
and history
of Thomas
Arch-
bishop of
York.
1070-1100.

Saint-Omer, Tournai, etc.

the Treasurer's stall in the church of his native city.¹ This CHAP. xix. was an office for which one who had studied in the land of the goldsmith's craft² might be supposed to be specially fit. The character of Thomas stood high in every way, and he has left a special name behind him in the history of his own church as the restorer alike of its fabric and of its discipline.³ The name of Walkelin of Winchester is of Walkelin less renown, but he too bears a good report in local history, ^{Bishop of Win-} and his work may still be seen in the solemn transepts of ^{chester.} ^{1070-1098.} Saint Swithun's, and even in some sort in the mighty nave of Edington and Wykeham.⁴

William had thus on the Pentecostal Sunday exercised the ancient right of an English King to bestow the great benefices of the English Church. On the morrow an ecclesiastical Synod—such bodies are now beginning to be distinguished from the general Gemots of our forefathers—was held by Ermenfrid, who was now the only Legate in England, his two colleagues having already gone back to Rome.⁵ Here we are told that several Abbots were ^{Æthelric of Selsey} deposed, and also one Bishop, ^{Æthelric} of Selsey. We are ^{deposed.} May 24. not told what his offence was, but our English informant commits himself in this, as in other cases, to the assertion

be little doubt that the name of Robert has dropped out before the words "regis filius." It is inconceivable that, if Thomas had been the King's son, he should have signed himself "regis filius" once in his life, and should never have been so spoken of at any other time.

¹ T. Stubbs, u. s. "Tandem ad natale solem reversus, magnifici viri Odonis Baiocensis episcopi familiaritatem nactus, tum propter morum elegantiam, tum propter multimodam scientiam, Baiocensis ecclesie ab eodem episcopo assecutus est thesaurariam." So Prior Godfrey, *Satirical Poets*, ii. 154;

"Supra doctores et supra philosophantes
Philosophia suo pane refecit eum."

² See above, p. 41.

³ See the account of his works in T. Stubbs, 1708. I shall have to mention them again.

⁴ On the episcopate of Walkelin, see below, p. 371.

⁵ Flor. Wig. 1070. "Cujus [Regis] jussu mox in crastino predictus Sedunensis episcopus Armenfridus synodus tenuit, Johanne et Petro præfatis cardinalibus Romam reversis."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

he sentence was uncanonical.¹ Of Æthelred personally now nothing, except that at a later time both William Lanfranc did not scruple to make use of his knowledge ancient laws of England.² For the present however deposed Bishop of the South-Saxons was kept in ward Marlborough.³ His see was granted to one Stigand, it was hardly needful for any writer to distinguish the deposed Primate.⁴ The name is Norman as well English, and it is just possible that the Bishop of Selsey, so be of Chichester, is the same person as the guardian Margaret of Maine.⁵ The East-Anglian bishopric, vacant by deprivation of Æthelmær, was given to Herfast, the chaplain whose lack of learning had been long before noted by Lanfrane in his cell at Bec.⁶ One at least of new Bishops, Walkelin of Winchester, was at once consecrated by the Legate.⁷ The consecration of theumbrian Primate was delayed. The chronicler of *vn church* tells us that it was because, owing to the death of Æthelwine, there was no Bishop of his own

province to perform the ceremony.¹ But it is hard to see CHAP. XIX. how an Archbishop of York, whose nominal jurisdiction reached to the Orkneys, but who had practically only a single suffragan at Durham, could ever have been canonically consecrated by Bishops of his own province. We cannot doubt that the real reason for the delay was that it suited William's policy that the new Primate of York should be admitted to his office by no hands but those of the new Primate of Canterbury.

The purpose which William had doubtless formed long before was now carried into effect. It was formally decreed by the King and the whole Assembly² that the vacant metropolitan throne should be filled by the Abbot of Saint Stephen's. But Lanfranc was not at hand either to receive the archbishopric at the King's hands or to receive the ecclesiastical sacrament at the hands of the Bishops of his intended province. The Legate Ermenfrid, with another Legate named Hubert, of whom we have not before heard, but who henceforth takes a leading part in all the ecclesiastical doings of William's reign, was commissioned to bear the news to the Primate-elect and to obtain his consent to his promotion.³ A Synod of the Norman

Lanfranc appointed to Canterbury.

vi

The Legate sent to invite him.

¹ T. Stubbs (1706) records the flight of Æthelwine, and adds, "Sic factum est, ordinatio ipsius per tres fere menses delata est, eo quod Eboraensis ecclesia illo tempore suffraganeos a quibus ordinari possit non habebat." The position of the Scottish Bishops as supposed suffragans of the see of York comes out more distinctly in the Appendix to the Winchester Chronicle under the year 1080. Archbishop Thomas consecrates William Bishop of Durham with the help of suffragans of the see of Canterbury; "Jubente Rege et Lanfranco consenserunt . . . eo quod a Scottorum episcopis, qui sibi subjecti sunt, habere adjutorium non potuit."

² Vita Lanfr. (Giles, i. 293). "Cogitanti Regi de hac re et proceres regni consulenti, convenientissimo fine, in Lanfranco quieavit, quatenus uberrimum luminare in hac arce elatum, nebulas undique pravitatum et caligines dilueret, saluberrimo fulgore cuncta honestans."

³ So Lanfranc says in his letter to Alexander (Giles, i. 19); "Legati tui, Hermenfredus videlicet Sedunensis Episcopus atque Hubertus Sancte Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalis, in Normanniam venerunt." He appears else-

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

which was held on the occasion, in which the Bishops, Earls, and nobles of the Duchy were gathered together.¹ Pressed on Lanfranc the duty of accepting the office to which he was called; the Legates demanded his obedience in the name of the Apostolic See.² Lanfranc of course set forth in the style usual on such occasions, his own general fitness for so great a post, and he added other objections which were a good deal more to the purpose, his ignorance of the English tongue and of the manners and customs of these barbarous islanders.³ Still to this it would have been easy to answer that the scholar of Pavia had once been a great stranger in Normandy as he would be in England, and that, if he were out of place on an English episcopal throne, he must be equally out of place in the chief stall of a Norman abbey. But all objections were overruled. Queen Matilda and her son Robert urged his acceptance of the post; their urgings however took the form of prayers; what Lanfranc seems to have been

still acknowledged a right to command. Herlwin, the CHAP. XIX. Abbot of Bec, who had first received him to the monastic life, bade him, by virtue of his old authority as a spiritual father, not to shrink from the sphere of duty to which he was called.¹ Lanfranc yielded to the combined prayers and commands of all Normandy. With a heavy heart, as he himself tells us, he forsook the monastic life which he loved above all other lives;² he crossed the sea; on the feast of the Assumption he received the archbishoprick at the King's hands;³ on the feast of the Decollation of Saint John Baptist he was consecrated to what his continental admirers looked on as the post of chief Pontiff,⁴ Patriarch, and Pope of the nations beyond the sea.⁵

The ceremony was performed at Canterbury,⁵ in the

¹ Ord. Vit. 520 A. "Abbas Herlwinus imperat, cui obsecundare velut Christo solebat. Regna cum filio principe precatur, maiores quoque ideo collecti studiose hortantur." The word "princeps" applied to Robert, which the biographer leaves out, is remarkable. I know no instance of its use at this time in the vulgar sense; it is therefore probably applied to him as being joined with his mother in the government of the duchy. See above, p. 123.

² Ep. Lanfr. (Giles, i. 20). He prays Alexander to release him from his archbishoprick; "Abrupto per eamdem auctoritatem hujus necessitatis vinculo absolvatis, vitamque conobiale, quam pre omnibus rebus diligo, repetendi licentiam concedatis."

³ Flor. Wig. 1070. "Rex . . . archiepiscopum constituit Cantwariensis ecclesiae." The Appendix to the Winchester Chronicle is remarkable for the Old-English constitutional language; "Lanfrancus Cadomensis abbas, compellente Rege Willalmo et jubente Pape Alexandro, Angliam venit; et primatum regni Anglorum in ecclesiâ Cantuariensi suscepit, diligentibus eum senioribus ejusdem ecclesiae cum episcopis et principibus, clero et populo Anglia, in curia Regis."

⁴ See vol. i. p. 556, and the still stronger expression of Pope Urban (Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 100), "Includamus hunc [Anselmum] in orbe nostro quasi alterius orbis papam," and of the Worcester Annalist (1102), "Anselmus papa."

⁵ Chron. Wint. (1070). "He was gehaded iiiii. Kal. Septembris on his agenum biscopetile." This explains the words of Florence, "et in festivitate Sancti Johannis Baptista die Dominicâ, archiepiscopum consecrari fecit Cantwarie." The Feast of Saint John intended is that of the Decollation, not of the Nativity. See also Vit. Lanfr. (Giles, i. 300); and Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 39.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

opolitan church. That church had been burned nearly years before.¹ It had doubtless been patched up so allow the monks to keep up their regular services, t could hardly have been in a fitting state for so great e as the consecration of a Metropolitan, and that a opolitan who was, in some sort, the beginner of a new

But in point of attendance of the higher ecclesiastics e realm there was no lack. The Archbishop-elect received with all honour by both the convents of the by the monks of his own church, and by those of ival house of Saint Augustine.² For the actual rite nsecration eight³ Bishops of his province had come her. Four were absent, among whom the absence of aintly Bishop of Worcester is the most remarkable. ill who did not appear in person signified their assent essengers and letters, and gave reasons which excused absence.⁴ The eight who joined in the rite presented gular variety, alike in their birth and origin and in

good will of Godwine or Harold.¹ His countryman, CHAP. XIX. Walkelin of Winchester, had just been consecrated by the papal Legate Ermenfrid, and so, it is to be supposed, had Herfast, the new Bishop of the East-Angles, and Stigand, the new Bishop of the South-Saxons. Gisa of Wells and Hermann of Sherborne were, like William, members of the Old-English hierarchy, though of foreign birth. But Gisa had been consecrated at Rome by Pope Nicolas; Hermann alone had received his consecration from a Primate at once of English birth and of undoubted canonical position.² Nor was the line of the deprived Stigand left unrepresented in the admission of the man who supplanted him. Two of the ministering Bishops had received the episcopal order at his hands, Siward of Rochester in the days of King Eadward³ and Remigius of Dorchester since King William came into England.⁴ By the hands of these eight Lanfranc, the scholar of Pavia, the teacher of Avranches, the monk of Bec, the Abbot of Caen, was received into the episcopal order and placed in the patriarchal see of Britain.

§ 2. The Primacy of Lanfranc.

A.D. 1070—1089.

Another stage of the Conquest was thus reached. The Position of Crown of England had been won by the greatest of living William and Lanfranc. warriors and statesmen, and now the highest place in the English Church was filled by the most renowned of living scholars, the ablest—though not the most renowned—of living ecclesiastical rulers. But at that moment the fame of Abbot Lanfranc was most likely equal to that of Archdeacon Hildebrand, and we may doubt whether the Primate

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 159, 344.

² Hermann, appointed in 1045 (see vol. ii. p. 79), must have been consecrated by Eadsige, or by some other English Bishop acting in his name.

³ See vol. ii. p. 433.

⁴ See above, p. 132.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

lived and died honoured by all men and successful
all his undertakings did not show a higher power of
ting means to ends than the Pope who loved righteous-
and hated iniquity and for his reward died in exile.¹
that moment it might well seem that the two foremost
of the mainland of Western Christendom had crossed
together to rule as Pope and Cæsar in the island
which men looked on as another world. And truly William
Lanfranc ruled together in their island Empire as no
one and Cæsar ever ruled together in the Imperial city
of.² It is certainly to the honour of William, it is
perhaps not altogether to the honour of Lanfranc, that no
such difference seems ever to have arisen between the two
distinguished colleagues. Lanfranc does not stand charged
with a direct share in any of William's particular acts of
oppression, but we never hear of his protesting against
them, and he may fairly be looked on as sharing the
responsibility of William's general system of policy. Each
set out to keep down the conquered nation by his own special

this process was to secure the more complete submission CHAP. XXI. of the northern metropolis to the southern. The position Ecclesiastical side of the process. of the Archbishops of York was an anomalous one. There is no doubt that, in the original scheme of Gregory the Great, the two Metropolitans of Britain were meant to hold an equal rank and to have ecclesiastical jurisdiction over a territory of nearly equal extent. The province of York is smaller than the province of Canterbury simply because political causes kept the Northumbrian Primate from exercising any effective authority north of the Tweed and the Solway. Scotland was meant to form part of the sheepfold whose centre was at York, just as Wales was meant to form part of the sheepfold whose centre was at Canterbury. Wales was in the end ecclesiastically subdued; Scotland never was subdued to any practical purpose, and the result was that the Archbishops of York were left with a vast region under their diocesan care, and with the single suffragan see of Durham under their metropolitan jurisdiction. But the diocese and province of York was, as events had shown, exactly the part of England where the authority of William and the unity of the monarchy were most likely to be threatened. It was always possible that some insurrection of the inhabitants, or some invasion from Denmark, might set up an opposition King in the Northumbrian capital. It was a point of some moment to cut off such a pretender from the means of obtaining any ecclesiastical sanction for his claims. An Archbishop of York who had any claim to be independent of the see of Canterbury might consecrate a King of the Northumbrians, and the King of the Northumbrians might grow into a King of all England.¹ An Archbishop of

¹ T. Stubbs, X Scriptt. 1706. "Porro utile esse ad regni integratatem et firmitatem ut Britannia uni quasi primati subderetur, aliquin contingere posse ut de exteris gentibus, quae Eboracum navigio venientes regnum infestare solebant, unus ab Eboracensi archiepiscopo et ab illius provincie

Position of the Archbishops of York.
Intended extent of the two provinces.
Scotland designed to be under York.

Political position of the York province.

Danger of an independent metropoli-
tan in Northum-
berland.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

who had professed canonical obedience to the church of Canterbury could not venture on such an act without laying on himself the charge of ecclesiastical as well as rebellion. It was needful then for the joint schemes of William and Lanfranc that the first ecclesiastical act of a new epoch should be the full submission of the Primate of York to the new Primate of Canterbury. Thomas of Bayeux was to receive his consecration at the hands of Lanfranc and to make profession of canonical obedience to him.

It was no doubt with this object that, when the other newly appointed Bishops were consecrated by the Legate Anselm, the elect of York remained without consecration.¹ Thomas now came to Canterbury and sought consecration at the hands of Lanfranc. All things were ready for the ceremony; the Archbishop and the assistant Bishops were in their places before the altar of Christ Church; but, before the actual performance of the sacrament, Lanfranc demanded a profession of canonical

patriots.¹ Lanfranc was inexorable ; he bade the assembled ^{CHAP. XIX.} Bishops and monks take off their vestments ; the assembly ^{and departs} broke up, and Thomas went away unconsecrated.² Little ^{unconse- crated.} However as Thomas might have learned of English law, he had learned enough to know who was the Supreme Governor of the Church of England. His first appeal ^{He appeals to the King.} was to the King.³ William, it is said, was at first wroth ^{William's alleged displeasure at Lan-} at the refusal of Lanfranc. He deemed that the claim ^{franc's demand.} of Canterbury was one not founded on plain truth and reason, but was something devised by the subtle learning of the Archbishop.⁴ But within a few days Lanfranc came to the King's court and set forth his own case. His hearers from beyond sea were convinced by his arguments ; those of English birth bore witness that all that he claimed was in accordance with the ancient laws of the land.⁵ The whole controversy illustrates William's position ;

¹ Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 39. "Hoc autem ignorantia magis quam spiritus elati pertinanti faciebat. Novus enim homo et Anglice consuetudinis penitus expers, verbis adulatorum plus sequo et bono fidem exhibebat."

² I follow the zealous Canterbury writer, who tells the tale in our own tongue (Chron. Wint. 1070) ; "On jam geare Thomas, se wæs gecoran bispoc to Eferwic, com to Cantwareberig þæt man hine ðær gehadede efter þan ealdan gewunan. Da ja Lanfranc crafede festnunge his gehersumnesse mid sūswerunge, ja forsoc he and sede þæt he hit nahte so donne. Da gewraðeðe hine se arcebiscop Lanfranc, and bebead jam bispocan ðe þar cumene wæran be ðas arcebiscop L. hæse ja serfise to donde, and eallan þan munecan þæt hi scoldan hi unscrydan, and hi be his hæse swa didan. Swa Thomas to þam timan agean ferde buton bletsunga."

³ Chron. Wint. App. 1070. "Thomas non sacramentus abcessit, Regem adiit, et de Lanfranco querimoniam fecit."

⁴ Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 40. "Rex audiens graviter accepit, existimans Lanfrancum injusta petere et scientiā magis litterarum quam ratione et veritate confidere." The York writer (X Scriptt. 1706) goes a step further ; "Thomas . . . exactionem Regi rettulit, qui primo moleste accipiens mandavit archiepiscopo ut abeque professione eum consecraret." This is a perfectly natural Northumbrian view, but it seems quite inconsistent with the general relations between William and Lanfranc, and it is strange to find it in one who, like Willm of Malmeebury, wrote within the province of Canterbury.

⁵ Will. Malms. u. s. "Paucorum dierum spatio evoluto, Lanfrancus ad

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

arks his strong spirit of technical legality, his freedom from any thought of formal innovation on the laws and customs of England. William heard the disputants and gave judgement. The abstract question he deemed too hasty to be decided all at once. Still it was absolutely necessary to come at once to a settlement of some kind, not to leave the church of York, at such a time, any longer without a pastor. The practical mind of William desired a temporary compromise. Thomas should make a written profession to Lanfranc personally, pledging himself to canonical obedience. But he should not be bound to the like to any successor of Lanfranc, unless in the meanwhile the matter had been thoroughly sifted, and the respective rights of the two metropolitan churches formally decided by a competent tribunal.¹ Thus far Thomas was

n venit, a Rege audientiam postulavit, redditis rationibus ejus animatum
avit, transmarinis qui aderant sue parti justitiam adesse suauit et
assit. Angli enim qui rem noverant assertionibus ejus per munia con-
ssime testimonium perhibebant."

content to yield. With some unwillingness, he went back to Canterbury, made the required profession, and went away a consecrated Bishop.¹

Soon after, seemingly before the year was out, Lanfranc received professions of canonical obedience from those Bishops of his province who, in the days of the usurpation of Stigand, had received consecration from various other Archbishops or from the Pope.² Our informant, in mentioning these two classes, forgets to add a third, namely those, the Norman Bishop of Dorchester among them, who had been consecrated by Stigand himself.³ It was now that Remigius made that remarkable profession which I referred to at an earlier stage,⁴ and Wulfstan that no less remarkable one which I referred to at an earlier stage still.⁵

The next year both the newly consecrated Archbishops went to Rome for their pallia. Lanfranc was received by Alexander with special honour. Contrary to all custom, the Pope rose to meet him, and bestowed on him, not one pallium only, but two, the second, it would seem, being a special badge of personal favour.⁶ Yet some incidents in the story might make us think that we were reading over again the stories of earlier days. Alexander dealt with

¹ Will. Malm. Gest. Pont. 40. "Igitur redit, quae iussa sunt implevit, sacratus abcessit."

² Chron. Wint. App. 1070. "Nec multo post Lanfrancus ab omnibus Angli regni episcopis professionem quassavit et accepit." William of Malmesbury (Gest. Pont. 40) adds, "Qui diversis temporibus, diversis in locis, ab aliis archiepiscopis vel a Papa tempore Stigandi sacrauti sunt."

³ See above, p. 132.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ See vol. ii. p. 634.

⁶ Chron. Wint. App. 1071. "Secundo anno ordinationis sue Romanam ivit, quem Papa Alexander in tantum honoravit ut ei contra morem assureret, et duo pallia ob signum precipui amoris tribuit, quorum unum Romano more ab altare accepit, alterum vero ipse Papa, unde missas celebrare conueverat, sua manu porrexit." So Will. Malm. Gest. Pont. 40. The Life (Giles, i. 302) puts a special reason into the Pope's mouth; "Non ideo assurrexi ei quia archiepiscopus Cantuarie est, sed quia Becci ad scholam ejus fui, et ad pedes ejus cum aliis auditor consedi." For a list of his schoolfellows, see Charma, Lanfranc, p. 17, and the notes, p. 43 et seqq.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

omas of York pretty much as Nicolas the Second had
it with Ealdred when Earl Tostig went on pilgrimage.¹
dealt with Remigius pretty much as Leo the Ninth had
it with an earlier Norman Bishop of Dorchester, the
bishopry Ulf.² The Pope, or his great adviser, was
nded to deprive both Thomas and Remigius of their
hopricks. Thomas stood charged with no offence of
iony or plurality; but he was the son of a priest. This
s nothing wonderful or disgraceful either in English
in Norman eyes; but in a court where Hildebrand was
presiding spirit, it would doubtless be held that the
of a priest came within the scope of those canons
ich forbade ecclesiastical dignities to those who were
born in lawful wedlock. The appointment of Remi-
is lay open to cavil on stronger grounds. The gifts
ich the loyalty of the almoner of Fécamp had made to
Duke, when he was about to set forth on his great
erprise, were affirmed to have amounted to a simoniacal
value of which the sum of £ 1000 was then reckoned

LANFRANC AND THOMAS AT ROME.

and Leo. The matter was referred to the judgement of Lanfranc, and by his decision both Thomas and Remigius were allowed to keep their bishoprics.¹ The rings and staves of which they had been deprived—rings and staves which they had received from the King of the English in an Assembly of his Witan—were restored to them again by the hands of the Primate. We know not whether it was before or after this intercession on the part of his rival that Thomas craved for a decision by Papal authority of the point in dispute between the churches of York and Canterbury. He pleaded that, by the ordinance of Gregory the Great, the two Primates were to be of equal authority, and that a simple personal precedence was to belong to him whose consecration was of older date. But Thomas claimed more than this. He asserted that three bishoprics of the province of Canterbury, those of Dorchester, Lichfield, and Worcester, belonged of right to his own metropolitan jurisdiction.² Alexander declined to decide either question; both should be heard and decided in England by a Council of the Bishops and Abbots of the realm.³ With affairs in this state the three prelates came back to England.

Thomas asserts the right of his see,

He and claims jurisdiction over three suffragan sees of Canterbury.

¹ Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 65. “Papa enim, pondus facti a se rejiciens, in eum considerationem transfudit, bene an secus fieret. Redderet ipse investituras si vellet, sin minus, faceret quod commodum sciret. Ita illi de manu Lanfranci baculos et annulos recipientes, hacten ad patriam cum eodem moliti sunt redditum.” It is almost needless to say that nothing of this sort is to be found in the loyal Yorkist Thomas Stubbe.

² Ib. 40. “In cuius [Alexandri Pape] praesentia Thomas columniam movit de primatu Dorobernensis ecclesiae et de subiectione trium episcoporum, Dorensis sive Lincolniensis, Wigorniensis, Licitfeldensis, qui nunc est Cestrensis.” So Vita Lanfr. 302. That is, Thomas claimed for the see of York the primacy over Mercia as well as over Northumberland. Hereford alone, a diocese still partly Welsh, would have been left to Canterbury.

³ Ib. 41. “De qua re et de tribus Episcopis multis hinc inde verbis prolatiis, decrevit Papa oportere hanc causam in Anglia terrâ audiri, et illic totius regni episcoporum et abbatum testimonium et judicio diffiniri.”

CHAP. XIX. The cause was heard and decided in the course of the next year. It appears to have been twice heard, in the The Easter regular Paschal and Pentecostal Gemôts. The former was held, according to ancient use, at Winchester, while the latter was held, like one of the meetings two years before,¹ in the now favourite royal dwelling-place of Windsor. The two meetings are evidently confused in our several accounts; but it would seem that the matter was first heard at Winchester before a purely ecclesiastical assembly, but that the final decision was given at Windsor in a general Gemôt of the whole realm.² The Bishops and Abbots and the great men of the laity were all assembled,³ the Papal Legate Hubert was present,⁴ and the King himself, presiding, like his predecessors, among his Witan, adjured all present to hear and determine according to right between

¹ See above, p. 339.

² Besides the account in the *Gesta Pontificum*, we have Lanfranc's own letter to Pope Alexander (Giles, i. 23), and the formal decree of the Assembly with the signatures (Vit. Lanfr. Giles, i. 303; Will. Malmes. Gest. Regg. iii. 298). In this document the two hearings are distinctly brought out, while Lanfranc's letter might have implied only a single

the two illustrious disputants.¹ The cause was argued. CHAP. XIX. From the side of Canterbury we have a minute account of Trial of the cause between Lanfranc and Thomas. the pleadings, as detailed by Lanfranc himself to the Pope. On the side of York no record is preserved of the pleadings, except so far as they may be guessed from the points insisted on by Thomas at the Roman court. The History Pleadings of Baeda was put in as evidence; so were a long series of letters from various Popes;² and the decision of the Assembly was given wholly in favour of the Kentish metropolis. The Humber was to be the boundary of the two provinces,³ a boundary clear enough as between Holderness and Lindsey, less clear if we go up to the higher course of the Trent or the Ouse. This sentence of course confirmed the right of Canterbury to archiepiscopal authority over the three disputed dioceses; but the claim of York over them was even now not quite silenced.⁴ As to the church of York itself, the inherent precedence of Canterbury was acknowledged; Thomas and his successors were to make profession, not only to Lanfranc personally, but to him and his successors. A zealous Canterbury writer adds, in a somewhat mocking strain, that, lest the Primate of York should be left altogether without suffragans, he was allowed to receive the profession of the Bishop of Durham.⁵ He

¹ Ep. Lanfr. 24. "Deinde regia potestas per semetipsam contestata est eas per fidem et sacramentum quibus sibi colligati erant quatenus hanc causam intentissime audirent, auditam ad certum rectumque finem sine partium favore perducerent. Utrumque omnes concorditer suscepserunt, sese ita facturos sub prefata obligatione sponderunt."

² See Ep. Lanfr. 24-26, and more fully Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 44-65.

³ Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 65. "Succubuit tantis rationibus Thomas, et placitum ad moderationem transferrens, libenter conditioni concedit animum, ut ulterior ripa Humber fluminis esset principium sue dioecesis, ceterior esset limes parochie Cantuariensis."

⁴ See below, p. 369.

⁵ Gervase, Act. Pont. Cant. X Scriptt. 1653. "Attamen pro bono pacis Lanfrancus sponte concessit Thome ut Dunelmensis episcopus de cetero sibi profiteretur et ut suffraganeus obediret, ut vel sic, uno saltem decoratus episcopo, nomen archiepiscopi obtineret." He adds maliciously; "Legimus

CHAP. XIX. was doubtless allowed to receive the profession of the Scottish Bishops also, if it were to be had.

Ecclesiastical schemes of Lanfranc. The undisputed ecclesiastical reign of Lanfranc now began. His actions as the second man in the realm, as William's viceroy when he was out of England, will be recorded at other stages of this volume. The general effects of his administration, the closer connexion with the Papacy, the reform or revival of monasticism, the impulse given to learning, results all of them in which the personal agency of Lanfranc had no small share, will be better discussed when we come to a final survey of the results of the Norman Conquest. At present I purpose to go on with a sketch of the acts of his primacy, and of the great, though gradual, revolution wrought by him in the Church of England alongside of the revolution which William was working in the State. William was distributing lands and appointing Earls and Sheriffs, in such sort that, without any one moment of violent change, the native nobility of the land was gradually supplanted by strangers. Lanfranc meanwhile was doing the same work among the Bishops

Gradual removal of English prelates.

REBUILDING OF CHRIST CHURCH.

But besides his general care over the whole Church and ~~over~~

realm, Lanfranc was a diligent Bishop over his own city and ^{is under} his diocese. His most pressing local cares were the rebuilding ^{of} his ^{church} of the metropolitan minster, the restoration of its monks to their full number, and the re-establishment of canonical discipline among them. As for the material fabric, whatever the fire had spared of the church which Oda had repaired and raised¹ was now swept away to make room for the last improvements which the building-art had received beyond the sea. Lanfranc took as his model the church which he had left at Caen,² and which still lacked somewhat of completion.³ Prudent, like his master, Lanfranc took care not to lay himself open to the reproach which lights on those who begin to build and are not able to finish. The church of Canterbury, as designed and carried ^{Changes in} ^{the plan of} the new church. out by him, was not one of those vast piles whose building could not fail to be spread over several generations. His whole work was done in the space of seven years, a space whose shortness amazed his own generation.⁴ The ancient church, with its two apsidal ends and its basilican ranges

classes of assemblies in such an expression as that (see above, p. 341) of the Legate holding a synod on the morrow of the assembly held by the King. So in 1085 (*Chron. Petrib. in anno*) we find the King holding his court for five days, and then the Archbishop holding his synod for three days more. Here are the beginnings of the anomalous position of the two Convocations in England, half ecclesiastical synods, half estates of the realm, each character hindering the effectual working of the other.

¹ See above, p. 125. See all the evidence in Willis's *Canterbury*, 13, 14.

² See the comparison between the two churches in Willis, 65.

³ See vol. iii. pp. 108, 384.

⁴ Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 8 (Selden). “Ædificavit . . . ecclesiam, quam spatio septem annorum a fundamentis ferme totam perfectam reddidit.” William of Malmesbury also (*Gest. Pont.* 69) remarks on the speed with which Lanfranc’s work was done; “Ædificia ecclesiae cui sedebat vorax flamma ante non multum consumperat, cumulabatque ruinam aggres parietum, disiecta tectorum. Ille, deturbatis veteribus fundamentis, suscitavit in ampliorem statum omnia, ignores majore pulchritudine an velocitate.” So Eadmer also (7) says of the monastic buildings, “domos ad opus monachorum necessarias citato opere consummavit.”

CHAP. XIX. of pillars, now gave way to a minster of the received Norman type, with two towers, one of which was standing within the present generation, flanking its western front, and with the central lantern rising, as usual, over the choir with its supporting transepts.¹ The building thus raised was enriched with every ornament known to the age ; the vaulting of large spaces with stone had not yet been ventured on, but all the skill of the goldsmith and the painter was lavished on the adornment of the rich ceilings of Lanfranc's minster.² And, if the Primate was careful for the material temple, he was no less careful for the welfare and

He reforms discipline of its ministers. The monks of Christ Church, his monks and increases earls rather than monks in the stateliness of their following, lived, we are told, the life of laymen in all things, except their number. that the vow of chastity was still observed.³ Dice, banquets, raiment softer than the rule of Saint Benedict allowed, the joys of torture and slaughter so dear to the saint upon the throne, formed, so Norman reformers gave out, the delights of the English brotherhood in the days

¹ The description of Gervase (*De Combustione, X Scriptt. 1293*) clearly

points out the position of the choir under the tower. (See *Archæologia*, Vol. LVI, p. 112.)

LANFRANC'S REFORMS.

of Stigand.¹ All this was changed, but not suddenly. CHAP.
Lanfranc knew better than at once to put new wine into old bottles, and the sinners were gradually led by his mild rebukes to forsake the error of their ways.² He also largely increased the numbers of the society. The monks of Christ Church were raised by him to a body of not less than a hundred and fifty, and they were placed under the more regular government of a Prior.³ Besides building houses on many of his rural lordships,⁴ Lanfranc rebuilt the archiepiscopal palace in the city,⁵ within which he had some temporal rights,⁶ and he did much for the good of the citizens in other ways. He built hospitals for the poor and sick of both sexes, and founded the church of Saint Gregory

His build-
ings and
charitable
founda-
tions.
Saint
Gregory's
at Canter-
bury
founded.
1084.

¹ Will. Malm. Gest. Pont. 70. "Canum cursibus avocari, avium praedam raptu aliarum volucrum per inane sequi, spumantis equi tergum premere, tesseras quatere, potibus indulgere, delicatori victu et accuratori cultu; frugalitatem nescire, parsimoniam abnuere, et cetera id genus, ut magis illos consules quam monachos pro frequentia famulantur diceres."

² Ib. "Sciebat enim, artis artium, id est regiminis animarum, perittissimus, consuetudinem a natura esse secundam, a repentina morum conversione teneriores exacerbari animos. Quapropter blandis monitionibus per intervalla temporis, nunc illa, nunc ista subtrahens, cote virtutum rudes exacuebat ad bonum mentes, eliminabatque ab eis vitiorum rubiginem."

³ Gervase, Act. Pont. Cant. X Scriptt. 1654. "Processu temporis centum monachos apposuit," sic prudenter instituens ut in ecclesia Christi monachi essent septies xx. vel centum et l., quibus ordinem scripsit, Priorem instituit."

⁴ Ib. 1655. "In maneris ad archiepiscopum pertinentibus ecclesias et domos honestas edificavit." Of one of these buildings we find a somewhat suspicious notice in Domesday, 3 b; "Ad hoc manerium [Estursete] pertinuerunt T. R. E. in civitate lii. measure, et modo non sunt nisi xxv., quia aliae sunt destructae in novâ hospitatione archiepiscopi."

⁵ Eadmer, Hist. Nov. 8. "Edificavit et curiam sibi."

⁶ According to Eadmer (Hist. Nov. i. 369) Lanfranc held the city as a benefice for life; "Civitas Cantuaria quam Lanfrancus suo tempore in beneficio a rege tenebat." But this is hardly borne out by the description of the city in Domesday, 2, where the King appears as lord throughout, and we read that "per totam civitatem Cantuarie habet Rex sacram et socam excepta terra S. Trinitatis," and some others. The Archbishop has his burgesses and so forth, but so have several other lords.

CHAP. XIX. the Apostle of the English, served by a body of regular canons—the first, it would seem, of that order who had been seen in England—whose duty it was to minister to the souls and bodies of the brethren and sisters.¹ In all these good works the King helped and favoured him, as also in his efforts for the spread and reform of monasticism His private in the country generally.² And besides these public acts, good works. we hear much also of his private alms,³ alms in which his abundant bounty did not always wait till it was called upon. Lanfranc freely offered help wherever it was needed, and he strove that his left hand should not know what his right hand did.⁴

He re-
covers the
estates of
his see.

But if Lanfranc was bountiful in spending, he was no less careful in recovering the property in regard to which he was trustee for his church and his successors. One

¹ Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 72. “Extra urbem Cantuarium in aquilonali parte lapideas domos omnibus egenis, in occidentali parte regia valetudine fluentibus ligneas locavit, canonicis etiam apud Sanctum Gregorium regularibus institutis, qui eis divina facerent officia; divisis pro varietate sexuum habitaculis, sumptibus provisis, ministris delegatis.” The distinction of the two classes of buildings in wood and in stone should be noted. Compare the buildings of Bishop Avesgaud of Le Mans, vol. ii. p. 607; Gervase,

famous case of his zeal in the recovery of the lost possessions of his see has become familiar as an example of the jurisprudence of the age.¹ The King's brother, Bishop Odo, had, in his temporal character of Earl of Kent, usurped divers possessions and rights belonging to the Archbishop.

To these Lanfranc made his claim, and the King commanded the matter to be heard, in ancient English form, before the Scirgemót of Kent. He further bade that Englishmen known to be well versed in the laws of England should be specially summoned, and that perhaps not from Kent only but from other parts of the kingdom. Such a provision was not needless. When the King's men, French and English, were gathered together, the result might be different in a shire like Kent, which had been utterly given over as a prey to the spoiler,² and in a shire like Lincoln, where English Thegns and Lawmen still held their own in considerable numbers.³ The Assembly met in the ancient meeting-place of the shire on Penenden Heath, and the pleadings on the two sides occupied the whole shire for three days. In this case the natural presidents of the Assembly, the Bishop and the Earl, were themselves the litigants; the court was therefore held by Geoffrey of Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances, who appears on more than one other occasion in the character of Justiciary. A crowd of men of rank and authority, French and English, appeared in that mixed character, at once judges and witnesses, which marks the jurisprudence of the age. But special weight was attached to the witness of *Æthelric*, the deposed Bishop of the South-Saxons, an aged man, specially learned in the laws of the land. He was, by the King's special order, brought—perhaps from his prison at Marlborough—in a car or waggon like a Merowingian King, to declare to the Assembly what the ancient customs of England were. The Assembly heard and determined, on

¹ See Appendix GG.

² See above, p. 33.

³ See above, p. 214.

Lanfranc's
suit on
Penenden
Heath.
1072.

Nature
of the
Assembly.

Witness of
Bishop
Æthelric.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

unds, we are told, so strong and clear that from that no man ever dared to call in question one jot or one le of its decision. Divers lands of the see were re-
ered from Odo and his followers and from other unjust
nstants. Among them we specially mark Hugh of
ntfort, already known at Senlac and at Dover,¹ and
old of Rochester, whose dwarfish form still lives in
Tapestry of Bayeux. A third was Ralph, surnamed
raspina or *Curbespine*, who appears in the Survey as a
cial despoiler of women.² The Archbishop moreover
ceeded in defining the King's rights over his own lands,
ich were narrowed to certain cases touching the safety
good maintenance of the King's highway. He estab-
ed in return divers rights of his own over the lands of
King and the Earl, such especially as touched the good
rals and the souls' health of his flock. The decree of
local Gemót was laid before the King, by whom it
s approved and confirmed, and it was seemingly sanc-
ned with all solemnity by a general Council of the

JUDGEMENT OF THE SCIRGEMÓT.

means of judging fairly between both disputants. Above CHAP. all, the story shows that nothing was further from his thoughts than to root out the laws of England and to bring in some foreign code of his own devising in their stead. The matter is judged by the lawful English Court, assembled in its ancient place of meeting. It is judged according to the ancient laws of England, as set forth by the mouths of those who knew them best, those whose memories could go furthest back into the days of the holy Eadward and the righteous Cnut. If men of foreign birth were present, if one of them even presided in the Assembly, it was not as men of foreign birth that they were there. Geoffrey of Mowbray and his companions were present in the Gemót at Penenden as men who held English lands according to English law. They were present as the officers of a King of the English who, on that day at least, fully carried out the oath which he had sworn, to rule his kingdom as well as it had ever been ruled by any of the Kings of the English that were before him.¹

Having thus sketched the state of the metropolitan church, I will run briefly through the history of the chief bishopricks and abbeys of England, as they were affected by this memorable primacy. A few events which had a direct bearing on general history will be kept for their proper place in chronological order.

Next to his own church of Canterbury, the chief object Rochester. of Lanfranc's care was the little dependent bishoprick of Rochester. The nomination to this see lay in his own hands.² The English Bishop Siward, who had a share

¹ See vol. iii. p. 561.

² All our authorities emphatically point to this peculiar position of the Rochester bishoprick. Thus in the Appendix to the Winchester Chronicle we read, "Sexto anno dedit Hernosto monacho, in capitulo ecclesie Christi, ecclesiam Rofensem regendam, quem et Lundonie sacravit. . . . Hernostus hoc ipso anno ab hac vita migravit. Septimo anno, Gundulfo modo ecclesiam



THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

the consecration of Lanfranc, was allowed to keep his office for life.¹ He was followed in quick succession by two monks of Caen, Ernulf and Gundulf,² the latter of whom has left a great name behind him in the history of military architecture. He was the architect of the great work of the Conqueror, the mighty Tower of London;³ he built also his own tower at Malling,⁴ and in the days of William Rufus he built a royal castle in his own city,⁵ which in the next age gave way to one of greater enrichment, which now forms one of the noblest ruins of Romanesque defensive work. But he also, no doubt in partnership

se fensem tradidit, quem etiam Cantuarie sacravit." See also Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* pp. 96, 101; Gervase, *Aet. Pont. Cant.* 1654. Will. Malms. *Hist. Pont.* 136; "Has miserias corrigerem volens, sapientissimus Lanfrancus episcopus Arnustum quemdam monachum pontificem loco dedit. Sed veloci morte praepeto, Gundulfum sequem monachum induxit." But the other side may be seen in the "Libellus" of the Rochester monks, *Ang. c. i.* 384.

¹ Ann. Roff. Ang. Sac. f. 342. "Anno MLXXV. Sywardus Roffensis obiit, cui successit Arnostus, Beccensis monachus." Florencia

with his patron, rebuilt his cathedral church¹ and re- CHAP. XIX.
 formed the discipline of its ministers. At the death of Herebuilds
 Siward, we are told, it was in a wretched state. It was Rochester
 still served by secular canons, of whom only four were
 left, and those living in the same poverty in which we
 are told that their brethren at Wells were found at the
 coming of Gisa.² We gather from another source that Rochester
 they were commonly married, that their wives and chil-
 dren were legally recognized, and that moreover both
 husbands and wives remained on good terms with the
 monks who supplanted them.³ These, under the care of
 Lanfranc and Gundulf, grew to the number of fifty, and
 the rule of Saint Benedict flourished in the church of Saint
 Andrew of Rochester. Lanfranc won back for his vassal Lanfranc
 church a lordship in its own neighbourhood, which in the ^{recovery}
 days of King Eadward had come into the hands of Earl ^{the estates}
 Godwine and which had now passed to Odo of Bayeux.⁴ ^{of the see}
 in Cam-bridge.

¹ Ernulf (Ang. Sac. i. 337) speaks only of Gundulf's share in the work ; "xxxii. annis inibi superstes existens, ecclesiam S. Andreea, pene vetustate dirutam, novam ex integro, ut hodie appetat, edificavit, officinas quoque monachis necessarias, prout loci necessitas pati potuit, omnes construxit." But Gervase, Act. Pont. Cant. 1665, distinctly attributes the work to Lanfranc ; "Ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ Roffensis, quam Rex olim fundaverat Ethelbertus, renovavit, consummavit, quam etiam preciosis orna-mentis et monachis ditavit."

² Ang. Sac. i. 339. "Et quum non amplius in introitu episcopatus sui quam quinque invenisset in ecclesia S. Andree canonicos, die quâ seculo presenti decessit plusquam sexaginta monachos, bene legentes et optime cantantes, in servitio Dei et apostoli sui Deum timentes et super omnia amantes, reliquit." William of Malmesbury (Gest. Pont. 72) speaks of the canons of Rochester, just like those of Wells, as "ipso quotidiani panis egentes."

³ This appears from a curious set of entries in Ang. Sac. i. 340, from which it is plain that neither the English nor the Norman clergy had any scruple about marrying, and moreover that the monks did not think them very wicked for so doing.

⁴ This is Stoke in Kent, mentioned in Domesday, 5 b (see vol. ii. p. 546), where we read, "postmodum vero, regnante W. Rege, diratiocinavit illud Lanfrancus archiepiscopus contra Baiocensem episcopum, et inde est modo sisita Rofensis ecclesia." See also Monasticon, i. 173.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF EN

He won back for it also another lordship in
hire of Cambridge, a lordship which had belonged
to Harold, and whose grant is recorded in a writ
in the English tongue. The story illustrates
the state of things in the days when English law had
been administered by foreign officers. The Bishop of
Lancaster claims the land of King William; the King
refers the matter to the lawful tribunal, the Scirger,
but through fear of the Norman Sheriff Picot, of
whom we have already heard,¹ the English witnesses ga
ve a verdict that the land belonged to the Crown.
This was made to Bishop Odo, who had been present
at the hearing, and who, like his brother, was not dis
cerning of justice when his own interest was not concer
ned. The case was changed; the venue was changed;
the trial was again referred to the general Assembley of the realm, and the
land was judged to the bishoprick.²

In the metropolitan see of York Thomas of E

York to a mere suffragan rank, but with the vaguer title CHAP. XIX. of Metropolitan.¹ The question too about the diocese of Dorchester or Lincoln also rose again. When Remigius had finished his church on the hill, and, feeling himself on the point of death, made ready for its hallowing, Thomas forbade the ceremony on the ground that it was built within his diocese. The King, William Rufus, won over, it is said, by the gifts of Remigius, bade all the Bishops of England come together to the ceremony, but before the appointed day Remigius died.² After what might be taken to be so manifest an interposition in his favour, it is no wonder that, on the death of Remigius, Thomas objected to the consecration of his successor Robert Bloet as Bishop of Lincoln. He might be Bishop of Dorchester, like his predecessors; but Lindesey, part of the spiritual conquest of Paullinus,³ was of ancient right subject to the metropolitan authority of York.⁴ This claim Works of Thomas at York. came to nothing, and Thomas found better scope for his energies in the reform of his own church. The minster of Restoration of the Saint Peter, like that of the southern metropolis, was found minister.

¹ T. Stubbs, X Scriptt. 1707. We read first, "Scripta petitione et lecta ut eum in primatum totius Britanniae consecraret, et Thomas discocerit, et se pontificalibus exxit." This was evident retaliation for the behaviour of Lanfranc towards Thomas himself, see above, p. 350. But Thomas is presently pacified by Anselm and Walkelin of Winchester, and it is agreed that "quod scriptum erat, 'in primatum,' minime lecto et ex toto abraso, petitione correptâ ut in metropolitanam Cantuariensem consecraretur." The Worcester Annals under 1092 remark, "Tunc primo vocati sunt Cantuarienses archiepiscopi, qui prius totius Anglie metropolitani vocabantur."

² This story is told by Florence, 1092. He says that the interference of William Rufus was made "pro pecunia quam ei Remigius dederat." Henry of Huntingdon also (Scriptt. p. Bed. 213) says, "provinciam tamen Lindisse archiepiscopus Eboracensis calumniabatur ex antiquâ temporum serie. Remigius vero nihil dicens impetionem ejus, non segniter opus inceptum peregit, peractumque clericis doctrinâ et moribus approbatissimis decoravit." Cf. Gir. Camb. Ang. Sac. ii. 415, who seems to look on the establishment of the see of Lincoln as a triumph over York.

³ See T. Stubbs, X Scriptt. 1707; Gir. Camb. u. s. 417.

⁴ See above, p. 355.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

Thomas a blackened ruin.¹ Yet it would seem that the ancient church was not utterly destroyed, and that the work of Thomas was rather to repair than actually to rebuild.² But of the works either of Thomas or of his predecessors nothing remains beyond a few fragments embedded in the crypts which support the vaster and more splendid fabric of later days. With regard to the constitution of his church, his career was a memorable one in local and even in general history. It forms a good illustration of the habits and feelings of Englishmen with regard to the position of the secular clergy. The church

of York had been served by seven canons only, and, after the desolation of Northumberland, but three were found at their post.³ Thomas called back those who had fled, and increased the number of the body. He at first followed the example of Leofric at Exeter⁴ and Gisa at Wells,⁵ by singing in the Lotharingian discipline. He built a dormitory and refectory, and made his canons live in common

THE CHAPTER OF YORK.

and Treasurer. The office of Chancellor or Master of the CHAP. XIX. Schools he had already introduced while the church was under the Lotharingian discipline.¹ The work of Thomas in this respect still lives. The constitution of the church of York, as laid down by him, still remains nearly unaltered, and in no church in England have the original rights of the whole capitular body been so little encroached on by the growth of a residentiary oligarchy.

In the church of London no change was needed. Bishop William lived on, honoured by men of both races, and leaving behind him a memory which was long cherished among the burghers of his city.² Two Bishops succeeded him in the days of Lanfranc and King William. Hugh of Orival is an obscure name enough,³ but his successor Maurice was memorable for beginning the mighty pile of old Saint Paul's. But, unlike his metropolitan, he began it on a scale which made it in the end the vastest of the minsters of England, but which also put it utterly out of the power of its first founder to finish it.⁴

At Winchester Bishop Walkelin survived his metropolitan and his sovereign. He bears the honourable character of a mediator between the King, his alleged kinsman, and his conquered subjects.⁵ He too began a

William
Bishop of
London.
1061-1075.

Hugh of
Orival
Bishop.
1075-1085.

Maurice
Bishop.
1086-1107.

Walkelin
Bishop
of Win-
chester.
1070-1098.

¹ T. Stubbs, X Scriptt. 1709. "Annis plurimis canonicis communiter vestimentibus, quorumdam consilio placuit archiepiscopo de terra Sancti Petri, que adhuc multum vastata erat, singulas præbendas partiri. Tunc quidem statuit decanum, thesaurarium, cantorem, nam magistrum scholarum ante statuerat."

² See his epitaph, set up by the "Senatus populusque Londinensis," in Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops.

³ Will. Malmes. Gest. Pont. 145. He underwent the fate of Origen, but for the health of his body, not of his soul.

⁴ Ib. "Magnanimitatis certe ipsius est indicium basilica beati Pauli quam inchoavit Londoniæ . . . quia igitur Mauritius erat mentis immodicus, laboriosi operis impensam transmisit ad posteros."

⁵ So at least says Prior Godfrey, Satirical Poeta, ii. 154;

"Os tu plebis eras, regis secretior auris,
Illum subjectis se sibi concilians."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGL

urch perhaps hardly second in size to that of at great minster where his transepts still remain untouched, and where even his gigantic nave is said to have utterly vanished.¹ He was less successful in his attempt to recast the constitution of his church, renewing its material fabric. While several bishops were displacing their secular canons to make room for monks, Walkelin became the leader of a count among the prelates, whose object was to displace them from the cathedral churches in general, and even to effect a change in the metropolitan church itself.² They who sat at the metropolitan chapter, above all, had duties which were quite inconsistent with the profession, and which could be better discharged by men of more worldly experience of the secular clergy. The adherents will probably be convinced by their arguments whose weight was admitted by the sagacious mind of William himself. The party

had.¹ The Primate appealed to Pope Alexander. He obtained from him a bull censuring in the strongest terms the scheme for the humiliation of the monastic order, and decreeing that the church of Canterbury should remain served by monks, as the blessed Augustine had founded it. The design for the like change in the church of Winchester was equally brought to nought. There also all innovation was forbidden by papal decree. The canons whom Walkelin had gathered together had to go back to their homes without taking possession of their expected prebends, and the discipline which had been brought into the Old Minster by the zeal of Eadgar and Æthelwold went on untouched till the general dissolution of monastic bodies.

Leofric, the first Bishop of Exeter, the prelate who had brought in the Lotharingian discipline,² kept his bishoprick for life. A Briton or Englishman whose feelings were mainly foreign, he was followed by a stranger who had learned to feel as an Englishman. Osbern, a son of the faithful guardian of William,³ a brother of the famous Earl of Hereford, had, like others of his nation, crossed the sea to enjoy the favours and bounty of the good King Edward.⁴ But, unlike most of those who came on that errand, he adopted the manners and feelings of Englishmen. Amongst other signs of this tendency, he forbore to destroy

Bishop of
Exeter.

1046-1072.

Osbern

Bishop.

1072-1103.

¹ "Se arwurða muneca feder and frouer Landfranc arcebiscoep," says the Peterborough Chronicler in recording his death in 1089. The secular Henry of Huntingdon, following this description (*Scriptt. p. Bed. 213 b*), enlarges it into "Doctor luculentus clericorum et pater dulcissimus Monachorum."

² See vol. ii. p. 85.

³ Will. Malms. *Gest. Pont. 201.* "Successit Lefrico Osbernus Regis Willelmi tempore, natione Normannus, frater Willelmi precellentissimi comitis." His consecration in London is recorded in the Appendix to the Winchester Chronicle.

⁴ Ib. "In Angliâ sub Eduardo Rege liberaliter et domestice conversatus, quippe qui cognationem regiam vicino attingeret gradu."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND

e works of his predecessors to make room for b
e now prevailing style.¹ The beginnings of the
thedral of Exeter, with the two massive tow
ll remain, are due to his successor William
ist, in the days of Henry the First.

The see of Hereford remained in possessi
otharingian Bishop Walter. Thirteen years a
m's coming it became vacant by his death,
which, if the scandal of the time spoke truly, was a
d shameful one. Walter died by the hand of
the defence of her chastity.² His successor
otharingian, Robert by name, was the chosen
aint Wulfstan, and, like most other Norman Bi
builder of his church.³ The sainted Bishop of

¹ Will. Malm. Gest. Pont. 201. "Unde in virtualibus et
Anglicos mores premor, parum Normannorum paucum sus
studines domini sui Regis Eduardi efferebant, et quoniam per
tur cum assidentibus manu et gestu aggrediebantur. Ita pr
erum presulum, veteribus contentus scilicet, liberalia ani

himself outlived both King and Metropolitan, and remained for many years the only Bishop of English birth in England.¹ We are told that, in one of the early Councils of William's reign, the two Archbishops conspired together against the Englishman, or at least attacked him at once from their several points of view. Thomas, as we have already seen,² claimed him as a suffragan; Lanfranc despised him as a simple and ignorant man, unable, it would seem, to speak any language but his own.³ His deposition seemed hardly to be avoided, but he went forth in his simple faith, taking no thought what he should speak when he was brought before Kings and rulers.⁴ His faith had its reward; he came forth triumphant over all his enemies. He not only kept his see, but Thomas was glad of his help as a native in administering his vast and desolate diocese;⁵ Lanfranc too was glad to send him

Position
of
Saint
Wulfstan.

Lanfranc
meditates
his deposi-
tion.
1075.

His ac-
quittal and
friendship
with the
two Arch-
bishops.

it, see also Florence, 1095. Prior Godfrey (*Satirical Poets*, ii. 154) seems to witness to Robert's mathematical learning;

“Non tua te mathisia, præsul Rodberthe, tuetur,
Non alios alter dinumerans abacos.”

Godfrey, like other people, read Greek by accent, and made the second syllable of *μάθησις* short.

¹ Wulfstan died in 1095, twenty years after the death of Siward of Rochester (see above, p. 366), sixteen after that of Walter, Siward being the last surviving Bishop of English birth and Walter the last of English appointment.

² See above, p. 355.

³ Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 284. “Sub seniore Willemo inclamatum est in eum a Lanfranco de litterarum inscientia, a Thomâ Eboracensi archiepiscopo quod ei subjici deberet ex antiquo jure.” In the account in the Life of Wulfstan (Ang. Sac. ii. 255) Lanfranc does not appear as an enemy of Wulfstan.

⁴ Vita Wlst. 256. “Tandem jussus exire ut strictiori consilio responsum poliret, cum paucis secum egressis horam nonam incepit et percantavit. Illis porro referentibus ut alia magis quam psalmos curaret, et id propter quod venerat expediret, respondit; ‘Stulti necscitis quod Dominus dixit, Dum steteritis ante Reges et præsides, nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini. Dabitur enim vobis in illâ horâ quid loquamini.’” This is given more fully in Gest. Reg. iii. 303, Gest. Pont. 284.

⁵ Will. Malms. Gest. Reg. iii. 303, Pont. 285. “Ita data benedictione

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND

visit the newly-conquered diocese of Lichfield, the bishopric of which was vacant, and in whose subdued districts no Norman prelate as yet dare set himself.¹

In after days legendary writers drew a striking picture of the King and his Council assembled in the West before the tomb of the holy Eadward.² The foreign Primate called on the English Bishop to give up his staff and ring. He was, they said, a simple and unlearned man who knew not the French tongue, and who had no use in the counsels of the King. Wulfstan refused to give up his staff, but he would not give up the ring. Infranc, from whom he had not received it; I will give it up to the holy Eadward who had given it to me. Wulfstan walked to the tomb of Eadward and spoke to him as follows: "Thou knowest, most holy King, that I am unworthy to be thy master; I willingly I took this burthen upon me, and how

¹ *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, p. 22.

² *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, p. 23.

LEGEND OF SAINT WULFSTAN.

which stood forth chief above all.¹ Lo, now there is a new CHAP. XI
King, a new law, a new Primate, who puts forth new
decrees. They charge thee with error, who didst make me
a Bishop;² they charge me with presumption in that I
obeyed thee. Yet will I not resign my staff to them, but
I will give back to thee the charge which thou didst give
me."³ He raised his hand, he struck the staff on the
tomb, and spake again; "Take it, my Lord O King, and
give it to him whom it shall please thee." He went back
and took his seat, no longer among the Bishops, but as
a simple monk among the monks. But at the touch of
Wulfstan's staff the solid marble had yielded, and the
badge of rule which Eadward had given remained safe in
Eadward's keeping. The unbelieving Primate, like his
English predecessor by the dying bed of Eadward,⁴ put no
faith in the wonder done before his eyes. He bade his
chaplain and creature, Gundulf of Rochester, take the staff
from the tomb. The staff yielded not, and, in one version
of the story, Wulfstan turns to the King himself; "A
better than thou gave it me, take it away if thou canst." The
Primate tried; the King himself tried; but the staff
remained fixed in the tomb till Wulfstan was fully confirmed
in his see, till King and Primate had craved his
forgiveness. Then, at Wulfstan's prayer, the holy Eadward
loosened his hold, and the staff which would yield to no
other hand at once gave way to the touch of its lawful
owner.

¹ Æthelred, 406. "Licet non deesset fratrum electio, plebis petitio,
voluntas episcoporum et gratia procerum, his tamen omnibus tua pre-
ponderavit auctoritas, tua magis urget voluntas."

² Ib. "Te erroris arguit qui iusidisti." Roger of Wendover (ii. 53)
reads "me pontificem fecisti."

³ Ib. "Non igitur illis qui exigunt quod non dederunt, sed tibi, qui jam
inductus in ipsam veritatem erroris vel ignorantiae tenebras evasisti, tibi
inquam resigne baculum, tibi curam eorum quos mihi commendasti dimitto,
tibi secure eos committo cuius merita non ignoro."

⁴ See vol. iii. p. 11.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

Whatever we make of this legend, whatever we make of the whole story of the intended deposition of Wulfstan, the at least shows from whom, alike in the days of Eadward or of William, an English Bishop was held to receive his episcopal office. Wulfstan does not appeal to Pope or to any ecclesiastical laws or canons. His appeal is to the Norman King to his English predecessor. But if more prosaic, is far more certain, is that, in an assembly of the realm under the King's own presidency,¹ Wulfstan won back from Archbishop Thomas the twelve bishops of which Ealdred had robbed the see of Worcester. Eanfranc zealously abetted Wulfstan's cause, and the vicious rumours of the time said that he abetted it out of a grudge against his brother Metropolitan.²

With this storm over, the saintly Bishop was left to rule his see in as much peace as the presence of the Sheriff and men of his stamp would allow. Many tales, whether historical or legendary, bear witness to his faith

no great distance from the city, at the foot of the range of hills which bound the shire and diocese to the west, the priory of Malvern, the work of the holy Ealdwine, arose under his patronage.¹ But Wulfstan's greatest work was in his own city. Unlike the Norman-born but English-minded Bishop of Exeter,² he yielded to the fashion of the day, and destroyed the church of his holy predecessor Oswald to make room for a building on a greater scale, and more in accordance with the prevalent taste of the times.³ Of the work of Wulfstan in the minster of Worcester some portions still abide above ground, and his crypt is still untouched, showing that the style of the day could assume forms of lightness and elegance which seem strange to one used to the massive undercrofts of York and Gloucester. But when the work was done, when the monks had taken possession of the new church, when the work of the blessed Oswald began to be unroofed and pulled down, the holy Wulfstan stood and wept.⁴ The bystanders asked him why he did not rather rejoice at being the means of carrying so great and holy a work to its ending.⁵ The Bishop forthwith made answer; "Our predecessors, whose monu-

Founda-
tion of
Malvern
Priory.
1085.

Rebuilding
of Wor-
cester
Cathedral.
1084.

Wulfstan
weeps at
the de-
struction
of the old
church.

¹ Ann. Wig. 1085. "Major Malvernia fundata est per Alwium monachum." A somewhat fuller account is given by William of Malmesbury, Gest. Pont. 286, 296; Vit. Wlst. 256. Ealdwine had a companion named Guy, another instance of Norman and Englishman working together.

² See above, p. 373.

³ Ann. Wig. 1084. "Ineoptio operis Wigorniensis monasterii per sanctum Wulstananum." Vita Wlst. 263. "Tunc autem et novam ecclesiam perfecit; nec facile invenias ornamentum, quod eam non decoraverit. Ita erat in singulis mirabilis et in omnibus singularia."

⁴ The story is told by William of Malmesbury in the Life of Wulfstan, 262, and in Gest. Pont. 283. The words in the latter place are, "Quum ecclesie majoris opus, quod ipse a fundamentis incepérat, ad hoc incrementi processisset ut jam monachi migrarent in illam, iussum est veterem ecclesiam, quam beatus Oswaldus fecerat, detegi et subrui. Ad hoc spectaculum stans sub divo Wlstanus lacrimas tenere nequivit."

⁵ Will. Malma. Gest. Pont. 283. "Modeste a familiaribus redargutus, qui gaudere potius deberet, quod se superstite tantus ecclesie honor acces- sisset ut ampliatus monachorum numerus ampliora exigeret habitacula."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

ts we deface, rather (I doubt) to set up the banners of vain glory than to glorify God, they indeed (quoth he) not acquainted with such stately buildings, but every e was a church sufficient for them to offer themselves a nable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto God. We con wise are double diligent in laying heaps of stone, so to e a material temple, but are too negligent in setting ard the building of that lively temple the Church of

"¹

et there was no prelate of his own or of any other day had less need than Wulfstan to charge himself with ecting the spiritual temple of God in order to build up s of stone. I pass by his zeal against the married y and other matters of purely ecclesiastical concern.² ll rather dwell on one side of his character which sets before us as an unflinching assertor of the eternal ciples of right. One act of Wulfstan's life, of which I already incidentally spoken in an earlier volume³

withstanding the repeated legislation of the days of *Æthelred* and *Cnut*, the Bristol slave-trade still went on. Indeed we may believe that, in the first years of the Conquest, when men bowed their necks for meat in the evil days,¹ the wicked traffic in human flesh became more rife than ever. Men, we are told, went the length of uniting lust, cruelty, and greed; they sold their female slaves when they were with child by themselves.² Such a state of things could in no way give strength to William's throne or help in any way to carry out the schemes of his policy. William therefore was as zealous against the evil practice as his predecessors. If he was for a moment unwilling to give up the profits which the tolls payable on the sale of men, as of other articles of commerce, brought into the royal exchequer, his avarice yielded to the arguments of Lanfranc and Wulfstan,³ and one of the genuine pieces of legislation of William's reign strictly forbids the wicked traffic.⁴ But the evil practice was too deeply rooted even for William's power.⁵ The saint of Worcester therefore

¹ See above, p. 292.

² Vita Wlst. 258. "Homines enim ex omni Anglia coemptos majoris spe quæstus in Hiberniam distrahebant, ancillasque prius ludibrio lecti habitas jamque pregnantes venum proponebant. Videres et gemeres concatenatos funibus miserorum ordines et utrinque sexus adolescentes, qui liberali formâ, setate integrâ, barbaris miserationi essent, quotidie prostitui, quotidie venditari." Bristol in those days clearly deserved the name of "totius Angliae noverca" which it gets in the *Gesta Stephani*, 31.

³ Gest. Regg. iii. 269. "Cujus facti preconium cui potius imputem, Lanfranco an Wulstano Wigornise antistiti, pro vero non discerno, qui regam, pro commodo venalitatis quod sibi penitabatur renitentem, vix ad hoc coegerint nisi quod Lanfrancus laudaverit Wulstanus præcepérit." The royal profits on sales of this kind are marked in *Domesday*, 21, under the borough of Lewes, where "qui in burgo vendit equum dat præposito nummum, et qui emit alium; de bove obolum, de homine IIII. denarios, quo-cumque loco emat infra rapum."

⁴ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 85. "Ego prohibeo ut nullus vendat hominem extra patriam super plenam forisfacturam meam."

⁵ Vita Wlst. 258. "Ab his Wulstanus morem vetustissimum sustulit, qui sic animis corum occalluerat, ut nec Dei amor nec Regis Willelmi hactenus eum abolere potuissent."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

oted himself to the good work of reclaiming the men he merchant borough which then formed the furthest it of his diocese. He went repeatedly to Bristol; he ed there two or three months at a time, and preached y Sunday against the great sin of the place.¹ The it which had been too strong for Cnut and William e way—at least for a season—to the exhortations of lfstan. The burghers of Bristol became convinced of r sin; they forsook their unlawful gains and became xample in such matters to the other trading-towns of land.² So far indeed did their newly-born zeal carry n, that one stiff-necked sinner, who refused to hearken he repeated arguments and entreaties of the Bishop, driven from the town by his fellow-burghers with the of his eyes.³

With regard to Saint Wulfstan, there is a document in ch he is concerned which throws a good deal of light he relations between English and Norman churchmen

members of the league, after Wulfstan himself, are the CHAP. XIX.

famous Abbot *Æthelwig* of Evesham, Wulfwold of Chertsey, *Ælfseige* of Bath, Eadmund of Pershore, Ralph of Winchcombe, and Serlo of Gloucester. Of these prelates two only, Ralph and Serlo, were foreigners, and all the English abbots mentioned kept their abbeys for life. *Æthelwig* lived on in all honour, continuing his career of wisdom and munificence, till the eleventh year after the Conquest. His architectural works were less splendid than those of some contemporary prelates; but he bestowed much on his church in many ways, and he gave up part of his paternal estate in the vain attempt to recover part of the lands of the abbey from the rapacious Urse.¹ On his death, the abbey was granted to a Norman chaplain of Walter Lanfranc, Walter, a monk of Duke Robert's house at Cerisy,² who carried on great buildings with the money which *Æthelwig* had gathered together,³ but who lost a large part of the estates of his church in a contention with the all-powerful Bishop of Bayeux.⁴ It helps to bring more fully home to us the nature of the times with which we are dealing when we find the signature of *Æthelwig* followed by that of his guest or captive Godric, the deposed Abbot of Winchcombe,⁵ and at a little distance by that of Ralph, the actual Norman Abbot of that church. His English neighbour, Eadmund of Pershore,⁶ kept his

Æthelwig.
1077.

Walter
Abbot of
Evesham.
1077-1084

Ralph
Abbot of
Winch-
combe.
1077-1095

Eadmund
Abbot of

The document is in English, and begins thus; "On Drihtnes naman Hælendis Cristes, is þeet Wulstan biscoop on Drihtnes naman hæfð geresedd wið his leofan gebroðra þe him getreowe synd, for Gode and for worulde." Then follow the names of the abbots, with the addition of "Ælfstan decanus on Wigraceastre."

¹ Hist. Eves. 95. Of Acton in Worcestershire; "Hec fuit terra petris sui, has duas villas dedit Ursoni pro Beningurthe quam injuste occupavit, sicut medietatem iterum postea fecit, et omnes tres injuste detinet."

² Ib. 96. He was "literis tam liberalibus quam grammaticis undcumque eruditissimus." On the abbey of Cerisy, see vol. i. p. 473.

³ Ib. 97. "Maxime de pecunia quam Ageluuius abbas ad hoc opus reliquerat."

⁴ Ib.

⁵ See above, p. 177.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

till his death late in William's reign. He was succeeded by the Norman Toustan or Thurstan, a monk of Cester, and was buried with all honour by the reigning Abbot of that house.¹ This was Serlo, who succeeded to the abbey on the death of his predecessor Wulfstan, who died on that distant pilgrimage to Jerusalem in which he followed the example of his benefactor Archbishop Ealdred.² Serlo fills a great place in the annals of Gloucester, alike as the reformer of its discipline and as the founder who began the great minster which still remains. In former point, notwithstanding all the zeal of Ealdred and the three Wulfstans,³ Gloucester had sunk so low that he found in his monastery only two monks of full age and eight young novices.⁴ He is also described as returning to his church some of the possessions of which it had been defrauded by Ealdred, and the local writer records the triumph the deep contrition with which Archbishop Serlo gave back the ill-gotten gains of his predecessor.

surer evidence. After eleven years from its beginning, the minster of Gloucester, or at least its eastern portions, the massive piers and arches now so strangely hidden by the net-work of a later age, stood ready for consecration in the last year of the eleventh century.¹ Of the Abbots beyond Wulfstan's diocese who signed the document, Wulfwold of Chertsey is remarkable only for his death being thought worthy of a record in the national Chronicles,² which however leave us to find from other sources that he too had a Norman successor, Odo by name.³ The remaining prelate, Ælfslige of Bath, is known only as the last independent abbot of that church before its union with the bishopric of Somerset.⁴

The document to which the names of these prelates are subscribed is chiefly interesting as showing the friendly relations which existed at the time between churchmen of Norman and of English birth. Wulfstan himself had won the special regard of his Norman neighbours,⁵ and he lived on terms of greater intimacy than we might have looked for with the worldly Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances.⁶ So we

Thomas came, "se ipsum graviter inculpando, pectus tundendo, genu flectendo, qui injuste eas [villæ] tamdiu tenuerat." This is placed in 1095. It is not wonderful that we hear nothing of this in the historian of York, but it is hard to reconcile the story with the statement of the Gloucester historian himself that some of the disputed lands were not recovered till the time of Abbot Hamelin, who succeeded in 1148, when we hear of another restitution.

¹ The first stone was laid on Saint Peter's Day, 1089. It was consecrated by Samson Bishop of Worcester and other prelates, July 15, 1100. Hist. Mon. Glouc. i. 11, 12.

² Chron. Petrib. 1084. "Her on þisum geare forfiferde Wulfwold abbot on Ceortesege on þam dæge Kl. Mai."

³ Ann. Wint. 1084. "Wluodus abbas Cartesie dimisit, morte præventus, abbatiam Odoni." Does this mean a death-bed nomination in Odo's favour?

⁴ His death is recorded by Florence, 1087; "Abbas Bathoniensis Alsius decessit." His name is found in some of the deeds of manumission in Cod. Dipl. vi. 209.

⁵ Fl. Wig. 1088. "Normanni . . . diligebant eum [Wlstanum] valde."

⁶ It was to this prelate, who reproved the saint for the meanness of his

Terms of
the docu-
ment.

CHAP. XIX. here find the heads of these great monasteries, some Norman, some English, but presiding over brotherhoods almost wholly of English birth,¹ binding themselves together, without respect of birth or birthplace, in the closest spiritual fellowship. They bind themselves to be obedient to God, Saint Mary, and Saint Benedict,² and to their own Bishop,³ as well as to be loyal to their world-lord King William and to Matilda the Lady.⁴ Among themselves the seven monasteries were to be as though they were but one monastery; their inmates are to have one heart and one soul;⁵ and they bind themselves to certain special acts of devotion and charity.⁶ The whole document breathes

attire, that Wulfstan made the famous answer, which to our ears does not sound either specially witty or specially reverent, “*Crede mihi, ne quis cantatur Agnus Dei quam cattus Dei.*” *Vit. Wlst. Ang. Sec. ii. 259.* Geoffrey recommended that “*pelles sabelinas vel castorinas vel vulpinas . . . vel saltem cattos indueret.*” Wulfstan, in his lamb-like innocence, clave to his lambskins. “*Crede mihi,*” it should be noticed, was the holy man’s substitute for an oath; “*nam hic mos jurandi episcopo inoleverat,*” says William in his other account in *Gest. Pont. 283.*

¹ The lists of the subscribing brethren at Evesham, Chertsey, and Bath are added to the list. Most of the names must be English; all of them may be. The possible exceptions are Godefrith, Regnold, Ulf, Benedict,

that spirit of simple piety, of earnest love towards God and man, which breathes in most of the ancient records of the native English Church. And it is not displeasing to find prelates of foreign birth so readily taking their places alongside of the men of the conquered nation with whom they were brought into spiritual alliance.

One chief feature of this memorable primacy was the number of Councils held by the Archbishop year after year,¹ Councils which, as has been already said, were beginning more and more to assume a purely ecclesiastical character, unknown to earlier English usage.² In earlier days ecclesiastical and temporal causes had been heard, and ecclesiastical and temporal decrees had been passed, in the same assemblies, local and national. The practice of separating ecclesiastical and temporal affairs had even been solemnly condemned by a formal decree of a national Gemót.³ But this state of things was altogether opposed to the theories of ecclesiastical propriety which were held both by Lanfranc and by William. The episcopal laws which had been hitherto in force in England were now declared by King William and his Witan to be bad and contrary to the sacred canons.⁴ The Bishops were now forbidden

Councils
held by
Lanfranc.

¹ A list of these Councils is given in the Latin *Life of Lanfranc* attached to the Winchester (now Canterbury) Chronicle. They were held in the years 1071, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1078, 1081, 1086, at different places, Winchester, Gloucester, and London. That is to say, they were held at the same time as one of the regular Gemóts of the year.

² See above, p. 358.

³ See vol. i. p. 366.

⁴ The writ is given in Selden's *Eadmer*, p. 167; Thorpe's *Laws and Institutes*, i. 495; *Stubbs, Select Charters*, 82. The censure on Old-English Law runs thus; "Sciatis vos omnes et ceteri mei fideles qui in Anglia manent, quod episcopales leges, quae non bene nec secundum sanctorum canonum præcepta usque ad mea tempora in regno Anglorum fuerunt, communi concilio, et consilio archiepiscoporum meorum et ceterorum episcoporum et abbatum, et omnium principum regni mei, emendandas judicavi."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

ing any cause which involved questions of canon law, iestions concerning the cure of souls, before the ancient s of the shire and the hundred.¹ Hitherto the Bishop presided alongside of the Ealdorman, and the men of hire had given judgement in matters alike ecclesiastical temporal.² The Bishops were now to hold courts of own, in which alone matters of ecclesiastical concern to be judged, and in which every man was bound to ar when summoned, no less than in the court of the magistrate.³ Here we have the beginnings of those ally ecclesiastical tribunals which, with lessened powers, survived to our own day. The best that can be said hem is that, in the dark days of oppression, their claim idge the causes, not only of ordained persons, but of who bore any ecclesiastical character, and even of the , the fatherless, and the widow, did something to place most helpless part of the population under the rule milder jurisprudence than that of the courts of the

and his clergy sat for three days more.¹ And it seems CHAP. XIX. that, in this case at least, Bishops were chosen in the Election of purely ecclesiastical assembly, though, as the choice in Bishops in every case fell on the King's clerks, the King's will could ecclesiasti-
cal assem-
blies.

not have been without its influence. In several of these Deposition Councils one chief matter taken in hand was the deposition of Abbots. of English abbots. Wulfrie of New Minster. In the very first of these synods which is recorded, Wulfrie, the newly chosen Abbot of the New Minster, was deposed to make room for a successor whose name of Rhiwallon witnesses to his birth in the lesser Britain. This assembly was held at Winchester. In another, held in London six years later,² Æthelnoth of Glastonbury, William's companion on his first voyage to Normandy,³ was set aside for a Norman successor. In this choice at least William and Lanfranc did not display their usual discretion. The new Abbot, Thurstan by name, made himself memorable by giving occasion to a local disturbance, a minute account of which has been thought worthy of a place in the national Chronicles. His doings illustrate the worst side, as the league of the Worcester Abbots illustrates the best side, of the strangers who were now set to rule over the churches of England. The monks, we are told, were in every way well disposed towards him, and prayed him oft that he would deal gently with them, as they were loyal and obedient to him.⁴ But the new

Deposition
of Abbots.
Wulfrie
of New
Minster.
1071 or
1072.
Æthelnoth
of Glaston-
bury.
1078.

Appoint-
ment of
Thurstan.
1082.

¹ Chron. Petrib. 1085.

² App. Chron. Wint. "Octavo anno concilium Londonie celebravit, in quo Ailnodum, Glastengensis coenobii abbatem, depositum." But the discord between Thurstan and the monks is placed in the Peterborough Chronicle under 1083, and William of Malmesbury in his Glastonbury History (330) places the accession of Thurstan in 1082, without any mention of the deposition of Æthelnoth. It is hardly like the policy of Lanfranc to leave the abbey vacant for five years.

³ See above, p. 79.

⁴ Chron. Petrib. 1083. "Ærest hit com of þees abbotes unwisdom, þet he misbead his munecan on fela þingan, and þa munecas hit mændon lufelice to him and beadon hine þet he sceolde healdan hi rihtlice and lufian hi, and hi woldon him beon holde and gehyrsume. Ac se abbot noldre þees naht, ac dyde heom yfele and beheot heom wyrs."

CHAP. XIX. prelate, a monk of Lanfranc's own house at Caen,¹ despised the English brethren, and insisted on innovations in the service of the Church according to the newest fashions of Normandy. The monks of Glastonbury were called on to cast aside the immemorial Gregorian chants, and to adopt a new way of singing which had been lately devised by one William of Fécamp.² One day the monks were gathered together in the chapter-house, rather, it would seem, to receive their Abbot's orders on this and other matters than for any purpose of free debate. The monks were stubborn; the Abbot was fierce and threatening. At last he called for his Norman archers, who presently entered the chapter-house all harnessed as if for battle.³

His disputes with the monks. 1083.

¹ Will. Malms. Ant. Glast. 330. "Turstinus . . . quem Willelmus, ex duce Normannise factus Rex Anglie, ex monacho Chodomensi abbatem constituit." So Florence, 1083. Yet, as Thurstan had been (see Orderic, 635 B) one of those whom Odo had sent to study in foreign parts, it may be that better things might have been expected of him.

² Will. Malms. Ant. Glast. 331. "Inter cetera etiam Gregorianum cantum aspernatus, monachos compellere coepit ut, illo relieto, cuiusdam Willelmi Fiscanensis cantum discerent et cantarent. Hoc sagre accipientes, quippe qui jam tam in hoc quam in alio ecclesiastico officio secundo [secundum?], Romane ecclesiae morem insinuerant, insuper mores ejusdem, tamquam alienigenae nec

What followed cannot be so well told as in the words of the CHAP. XIX.
 Chronicler; "Then were the monks sore afeared of them, and wist not what to do, and fled hither and thither. And some went into the church, and locked the door after them, and they went after them into the minster, and would drag them out, for that they durst not go out. And a rueful thing there happened that day;¹ for the Frenchmen brake into the choir, and shot towards the altar, where the monks were, and some of the knights² went up to the up-floor,³ and shot downwards with arrows towards the halidom,⁴ so that on the rood that stood above the altar stuck on many arrows. And the wretched monks lay about the altar, and some crept under it, and cried with yearning to God, craving his mildness,⁵ for that they could get no mildness from men. What may we say, but that they shot sorely, and that others brake down the doors there, and went in, and slew some of the monks to death, and many wounded therein, so that the blood came from the altar upon the greeves and from the greeves upon the floor.⁶ Three were slain to death and eighteen were wounded."⁷

¹ Chron. Petrib. 1083. "Ac reowlic ping þer gelamp on dæg." Compare the words in 1087 about the death of William; "reowlic ping he dyde, and reowlieor him gelamp."

² Ib. "Sume of þam cnihian." Not *knight* in the sense of *chevaliers*, which, as we see under 1086, would be "*rideras*," but most likely the younger men of the party, as Mr. Thorpe takes it.

³ Ib. "Upon þone upplore," a most speaking description of a great Romanesque triforium. William of Malmesbury has "solaria inter columnas erecta," which would well describe the triforia at Romsey and Saint Frithswyf's, and those in the far older church of Saint Martin at Angers.

⁴ Chron. Petrib. 1083. "Toweard þam haligdome;" the *sacrarium* or *presbytery*.

⁵ Ib. "Gyrne clepedon to Gode, his milte biddende, þa þa hi ne mihton nane milte æt mannum begytan." Surely the English tongue was now at the full height of its power.

⁶ Ib. "Swa þat jet blod com of þam weofode uppon þam gradan, and of þam gradan on þam flore." For "gradan" I use the later form "greeves," which so oddly survives in the "*Grecian Stairs*" at Lincoln.

⁷ William of Malmesbury (in the *Glastonbury History*) adds some mar-

The monks
killed and
wounded
in the
church.

CHAP. XIX. It is needless to say that scenes of blood and sacrilege like this formed no part of the schemes of ecclesiastical reformation designed by William and Lanfranc. But the story shows how easily, in such a state of things, a man of ungoverned temper placed in a position of authority could give occasion to horrors which he himself perhaps as little really wished for as his superiors. A foreign prelate, with foreign soldiers at his command, might easily be hurried into deeds which could not have happened either in the England of Eadward or in the Normandy of William. And if such measure was dealt out by churchmen to one another, we may guess what deeds were done in many a new-built donjon towards men who had not the same means as the monks of Glastonbury for handing down their wail to posterity. As in most wars and revolutions, the greatest evils of the Norman Conquest were not those which were done by the regular authority of the Conqueror himself. The cruellest blows were those which were dealt by the more violent and base-minded among his followers, to whom a state of things for which he was responsible had given the power of working deeds of

evil which even his mighty arm could not always CHAP. XIX. redress.

The upshot of this story is remarkable, as showing the difference between the Conqueror and his immediate successor. William heard the cause between the Abbot of Glastonbury and his monks. Neither side was pronounced to be wholly guiltless, but the greater blame was declared to rest with the Abbot. Thurstan was removed from his office, and sent back in disgrace to his cell at Caen. Of the monks, several were sent to other monasteries, to be kept under some degree of restraint, the exact nature of which we are left to guess.¹ But as soon as the great King was dead, Thurstan, by the help of his kinsfolk, and of the more prevailing eloquence of a bribe of five hundred pounds of silver, obtained from William Rufus his restoration to the office of which he had shown himself so unworthy.²

The Abbot censured and banished by William.

He buys his restoration from William Rufus.

1089-1090.

¹ Will. Malm. Ant. Glast. 332 (partly following Florence), "Regi demum Willelmo primo querelā super hoc delatā, dum maxima fuisse patuit abbatis culpa, ab eodem Rege in Normanniam ad monasterium unde venerat redire compulsa est inglorius; de monachis vero quamplures per episcopatus et abbatias jussu Regis custodiendī disperguntur." The Winchester Annalist (1083) uses very strong language; "Abbas autem, quasi in testimonium innocentiae excusso caputio, quem dignus esset vel igne cremari vel suspensi patibulo, ad claustrī sui columnam Cadomī unde venerat, jussu Regis reversus est."

² Will. Malm. Ant. Glast. 332. "Rege tamen mortuo, idem Turstinus, auxilio parentum suorum, abbatiam Glastonie a filio suo Willielmo dicto Rufo quingentis libris argenti dicitur redemisse, et monasterium aliquot annis occupans et per ejusdem possessiones pervaegatus, longe ab ipso, ut dignus erat, misere vitam finivit." This is partly copied from Florence, who however says nothing about the "auxilia parentum." In the Gesta Pontificum (197) William adds the comment, "Impudens et infamis, qui, tanti sacrilegii conscius, ausus sit iterum loco quem violaverat intrudi." Notwithstanding all this, in the Glastonbury History he winds up his account by speaking of Thurstan's "fervor religionis, nonnulla pietas in Deo, multa providentia in saeculo."

The restoration of Thurstan must have been one of the first acts of William Rufus, as his name is added to the (manuscript) grant of the town of Bath to Bishop John de Villulā in 1090.

There is a letter from Lanfranc to Thurstan (Giles, i. 77). It is short and

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

other great monastic house was also supplied by Lan-
with a ruler in the year of the deposition of Æthelnoth.
ric, who held the abbey of Saint Alban at the time
King William came into England, is a man whose
story has become almost wholly mythical, and the details
of his story I shall therefore examine elsewhere.¹ It is
in that he still held his abbey at the time of the settle-
ment of the dispute between the two Archbishops.² But
years later the abbey had become vacant, and the way
in which it was bestowed is everywhere spoken of as the
king's own personal act. The great foundation of Offa
put under the rule of a Norman monk from Saint
Paul by name, a near kinsman of his patron, and
the scandal of the time affirmed to be his son.³ He
was a great and magnificent prelate, reforming the
monastery and increasing the revenues of his house,⁴ and
in that gigantic minster which, for size at least, if

not for beauty, has remained the wonder of all succeeding CHAP. XIX.
ages. The ruins of Roman Verulam had long formed a quarry for the works of the neighbouring abbey;¹ and it was mainly out of bricks taken from that inexhaustible source that Paul, aided by the purse of Lanfranc, reared the vastest and sternest temple of his age.² His gifts to his house were bountiful,³ yet he did not fail, any more than Thurstan at Glastonbury, to show the insolence of the conquering race towards those over whom he was set to rule. But while Thurstan shed the blood of living men, Paul was satisfied with doing despite to the memory of the dead. In rebuilding the minster, he swept away the tombs of his English predecessors, many of whose names were held in the deepest reverence, affirming that they were rude and ignorant barbarians, unworthy of any respect.⁴ Yet even this scornful stranger could have borne witness that the barbarous people showed him no little kindness in carrying out his mighty works. Among the Abbot's plans

He de-
stroys the
tombs of
his English
prede-
cessors.

¹ The details of the state of the ruins of Verulam in the *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 24, 25, contain matter interesting to the geologist and the comparative mythologist. The passage with which we are concerned runs thus; “Tegulas vero integras, et lapides quos inventit [Ealdredus abbas] aptos ad sedicia, seponens, ad fabricam ecclesiae reservavit. Proposuit vero, si facultates suppetarent, dirutâ veteri ecclesiâ, novam construere; propter quod terram in profunditate evertit ut lapidea structuras inveniret.”

² Gest. Abb. i. 53. “Paulus abbas, quum jam abbas undecim annis exstitisset, infra eosdem annos totam ecclesiam Sancti Albani, cum multis aliis sediciis, opere construxit lateritio, Lanfranco efficaciter juvante; qui, ut dicitur, mille marcas ad fabricam contulit faciendam.”

³ The most interesting among these gifts is a collection of twenty-eight books, all seemingly ecclesiastical (58). One wishes to see the “duos textus, auro et argento et gemmis ornatos.”

⁴ Gest. Abb. i. 62. “Tumbas venerabilium antecessorum suorum, Abbatum nobilium, quos rudes et idiotas consuevit appellare, delevit, vel contempnendo eos quia Anglicos, vel invidendo, quia fere omnes stirpe regali vel magnatum preclaro sanguine fuerant procreati.” Matthew Paris goes on especially to rebuke him for omitting to translate the body of King Offa to the new church. This is in direct contradiction to the legend of Offa's burial in the *Vita Offarum* (Wats, ii. 32).

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

the replenishing of the tower of the minster with
Two of these were, so the story went, the gift of
lf, a rich Thgn of the neighbourhood, and his wife.²
wealth of Ligulf consisted largely of flocks of sheep
goats. Of these he sold many, and with the price
ht a bell, and when he heard its music in the minster,
he rejoiced and said merrily in his native tongue
his sheep and goats bleated sweetly.³ The other bell
the gift of his wife, who, when she heard her husband's
and her own ringing in concert, rejoiced in so happy a
e of their lawful marriage and mutual love.⁴

these cases the Primate was the chief mover, but in-
ves are not lacking to show the personal, and evidently
factions, interest which William himself took in eccle-
ical affairs. No church in the realm had higher claims
is reverence than the newly-reared minster of his lord
predecessor, where that lord and predecessor slept amid
conspicuous of both music and whom he himself had been

Norman successor Geoffrey.¹ The next vacancy gave rise CHAP. XIX. to a correspondence which does William honour. He mused long as to the choice of a fit person to fill the office. At last, by the advice of Lanfranc and the other chief men of his realm, he pitched on Vital, a monk of Fécamp, who was the Abbot of his grandmother Judith's foundation of Bernay.² He had raised that house from such lowly beginnings to so high an estate that the discerning eyes of the King and the Primate marked him out, notwithstanding his own unwillingness, as the fittest man for the higher place now vacant in England. On this matter the King writes to John, the Italian Abbot of Fécamp,³ the ecclesiastical superior of the house of Bernay, and the answer of that prelate, giving his canonical sanction to the wishes of the King, may pass as a model of a style at once respectful and independent in addressing a superior.⁴ In weighing the mixed character of William it would be utterly unfair not to let the relation in which he stood to men like Lanfranc, John, and Vital reckon for something, even against those dark passages of his history which I have already

¹ Will. Malm. Gest. Regg. iii. 298. "Ego Goafridus abbas cenobii Sancti Petri, quod non longe a Londoniâ situm est, consensi."

² Chron. Petrib. 1076. "On þisum geare . . . se cyng geaf Westmynster Vithele [Fipela, Wig. 1077] abbode; se wæs sir abbot on Bernege." He is spoken of by Orderic (491 D) as "Bernaciensem abbas" in the account of the endless disputes about his own monastery. See vol. ii. p. 231. On Vital's chronology, see Neustria Pia, 401; on Bernay, see vol. i. p. 454.

³ See vol. iii. p. 101.

⁴ The connexion between Fécamp and Bernay appears from the charter of Duke Richard the Good, quoted by Mabillon, i. 223, and printed at length in Neustria Pia, 398-400. So in the letter in Mabillon (i. 220). William asks John that the translation of Vital, "quod de eo' communi consilio meorum providi procerum," may be made "licentia tua et bona voluntate et conventu fratum." The Abbot answers, "Ego Johannes, vester totus in Domino, humiliter vobis suggero et litteris significo, quoniam moleste acciperem quod frater noster dominus Vitalis sine licentia nostra de abbatiâ ad abbatiam migraret, nisi quod vos diligo et vestra consilia honorare volo. Idcirco laudo et confirmo quod vestra regalis sancivit auctoritas." The whole letter should be read.

William
appoints
Vital,
Abbot of
Bernay.
1077.

His cor-
respond-
ence with
Abbot
John of
Fécamp.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

rded and those darker passages still which I have yet scord.

ut besides acting the part of a nursing-father to the ches which he found already standing in the conquered , the Conqueror had also to discharge the vow which, ne great crisis of his life, he had made on the height of am to the Apostle of the Gauls.¹ If William was not rove himself as faithless to the Saints as ever Harold been, the hill of Senlac must needs be crowned with holy house which should be the memorial of that day's e and victory. And it was to be no mere memorial, mere thank-offering; the prayers and masses which : to be offered there were to go up to heaven for souls' health of all, Norman and English alike, who given up their lives in the day of the great slaughter.² even in discharging his vows to the Saints, even in his itable work for the souls of friends and enemies, Wil-

in the first zeal of his conversion, had been hurried into the CHAP. XIX. irreverent comment that Saint Martin, good friend as he was in time of need, was one who took good care not to be defrauded of his rights.¹ The vow of William was not forgotten, but it certainly was delayed.² He held perhaps that the thank-offering for his victory was not due till his victory was more thorough than it had been on the morrow of the battle, or even on the day of his crowning. The exact date of the beginning of the work is unknown, but it did not happen till William could fairly call England his own.³ He was often reminded of his promise by William *Faber*, the monk of Marmoutier, who, at the moment of his vow, had procured that it should be made to the great Saint Martin and not to any meaner patron.⁴ At last he gave his monitor a commission to begin the foundation alike of the material and of the spiritual temple. In the form of that commission the grim pleasantry characteristic of William and his nation rose into something like a poetical conception. The house which was to commemorate the Conquest was to be raised on the very spot where the Conquest had been won ; the brotherhood which was to be the sign that England had been subdued by the

Beginning
of the
foundation
of Battle
Abbey.

1070-1076.

William
orders
William
Faber to
begin the
buildings,
and to
bring
monks
from Mar-
moutier.

The mon-
astery to
be built on
the site of
the battle.

¹ See the tale in *Gesta Regum Francorum*, Duchègne, i. 704-5.

² Chron. de Bello, 6. "Quia multis et innumeris preoccupatus negotiis, regnum in brevi unire ac pacificare nullatenus quiverat, plura diutius necessario omisit, quae maturius exsequenda proposuerat."

³ Ib. "Per plurimum enim temporis ad municipiorum expugnationem atque ad rebellium subjugandam cervicositatem sollicitius animum occupavit et vires." Matthew Paris in the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* (iii. 169) strangely makes the consecration of the church of Battle happen within the year after the battle itself, and seemingly before William's coronation ; "Ecclesiam, quam Bellum appellavit, anno sequenti sollempniter fecit dedicari ; ubi jurans et certissime promittens se dilectissimi Regis Edwardi leges inviolabiliter observaturum, et vestigia ejus sequendo gentem Anglicanam sincero corde conservatam dilectorum, grataanter ob omnibus est susceptus. Et Londonias veniens, a civibus cunctis est honoratus et [ab] Aldredo, archiepiscopo Eboracensi, apud Westmonasterium coronatus est."

⁴ Chron. de Bello, 7. "Willelmo Fabro horum mentionem studiosius inculcante." See vol. iii. p. 458.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

of Gaul should be brought from no meaner spot than greatest house that bore the name of the Gaulish tribe.¹ The *Faber* accordingly hastened to his home at Moutier, and thence brought four of his brethren to the beginnings of the new society. They looked at new dwelling-place, but the site prescribed by the ;'s order pleased them not. To men who had spent days at Marmoutier, with the rocks above their heads the mighty Loire at their feet, the hill of Senlac would but few charms. The spot was high and bleak ; the hill waterless ; the nature of the ground was unfitted to receive the vast and varied buildings of a great monastery.² Better liked a lower spot towards the western slope of the hill, a spot which, to men who had been themselves in the Norman victory.³ There they actually began to build houses for their dwelling-place,⁴ and they then sent to the King, who had begun to take a lively interest in the work, praying that

BUILDING OF THE MONASTERY.

struggle for his wife or for his kingdom. The King was CHAP. wroth at the request; he again bade that his church should be built on no spot but that where he had won his crowning mercy. The high altar of the abbey of Saint Martin should stand nowhere but on the spot where the Standard of the Fighting Man had been pitched on the day of Saint Calixtus.¹ The monks, in their prosaic mood, pleaded the lack of water on the hill. William answered merrily that, if God gave him long life enough, there should be a readier flow of wine in his new house than there was of water in any other abbey in England.² They pleaded the lack of building-stone in the neighbourhood. William's answer was speedy and practical; ships were at once sent off to Caen to bring as much stone as might be needed from the quarries of Allemagne.³ The work began; the foundations were laid on the appointed spot, and the high altar rose on the site of King Harold's Standard.⁴ But the work was still delayed; William, with his hands full of other matters,

The high altar on the site of the Standard.

Delay in the work.

¹ Chron. de Bello, 7. "Quod quum Rex percepisset, indignatus refugit, oculisque jussit in eodem loco quo hoste prostrato sibi cesserat triumphus basilice fundamenta jacere." So Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 207. "Cenobium . . . Sancti Martini de Bello, quod Rex Willelmus fundavit et proximitate in loco ubi, Angliam debellaverat, multa sibi et pretiosa quum vivus tum moriturus delegans. Altare ecclesiae est in loco ubi Haroldi pro patrie caritate occisi cadaver exanimis inventum est."

² Chron. de Bello, 7. "Quumque obniti non praesumentes, aquarum penuriam caussarentur, verbum ad hæc memoriale magnificus Rex protulisse fertur, 'Ego,' inquit, 'si, Deo annuente, vita comes fuerit, eidem loco ita propiciam, ut magis ei vini abundet copia quam aquarum in alia præstanti abbatia.'"

³ Ib. 8. A tale is added how, while the stone was bringing from Normandy—"a Cadomensi vico"—a neighbouring spot was revealed to a devout matron, where a rich quarry was found.

⁴ Ib. "Jactis ergo fundationis præstantissimi, ut tunc temporis habebatur, operis, secundum Regis statutum altare majus in eodem loco quo Regis Haraldi signum, quod Standard vocant, corruisse visum est, provide stauunt." So Chron. Petrib. 1087. "On þam ilcan steode þe God him geudē þeot he moste Engeland gegān, he arerde mære mynster, and munecas þer gesette, þeot hit well gegodade."

CHAP. XIX. had no time to visit the spot in person;¹ the craftsmen employed were skilful but dishonest; the foreign monks themselves were less zealous than they should have been.²

Robert
Blanchard,
first Abbot,
drowned.

Gausbert,
second
Abbot.
1076.

The first Abbot, Robert Blanchard, was drowned on his return from a voyage to Marmoutier immediately on his appointment.³ Under the second Abbot, Gausbert, also a monk of the parent house, the works went on more speedily and the number of the brethren increased.⁴ But even now the building was far from going on with the same swiftness with which Lanfranc had rebuilt his metropolitan church in the space of seven years.⁵ The founder never saw the finishing of his work, the finishing of the minster whose length in feet was, as the founder was said in after times to have been warned in a vision, to foretell the number of years that his descendants were to reign over England.⁶ It was not till twenty-eight years after the great battle,

¹ Chron. de Bello, 8. “Innumeris irretitus negotiis, nec locum *præ dolore intimo* adire, nec de eodem quæ proposuerat, hujusmodi forte dilatationibus circumventus, exsequi valuerit.”

² Ib. The details are curious.

³ Ib.

⁴ Ib., and also p. 23. “Statuit conventum ad minus lx. monachorum

till twenty years at least after the beginning of the foundation, that the fully completed abbey of Saint Martin was hallowed, not in the presence of William the Great, but in that of his unworthy son.¹

Thus arose the great monastery to which William, in the spirit in which he had fixed upon his site, gave the name of the Abbey of the Place of Battle.² Around the monastery a town arose,³ and the solitude which once had reigned around the hoar apple-tree of former days⁴ gave way to the busy sights and sounds of the temporal and spiritual life of the age. We might wish that the spot had for ever remained a wilderness, that no sign of man's hand, save some massive stone, some simply-sculptured cross, had ever marked the place where the martyrs of England fell. And as it is, we look on the small remains of William's minster which still crown the hill of Senlac with other feelings from those with which we look elsewhere on the

CHAP. xix.
Consecra-
tion of the
church.
1094.

¹ Chron. Petrib. 1094, and Florence.

² Chron. de Bello, 9. "Rex igitur magnificus inchoati operis non indevotus, ad victoriae sue perpetuandam memoriam ipsum locum Bellum memoriter per succedentia tempora nominari censuit." So Will. Malmes. Gest. Regin. iii. 267. "Alterum monasterium Hastingis edificavit Sancto Martino, quod cognominatur de Bello, quia in eo loco principalis ecclesia cernitur ubi inter consertos cadaverum acervos Haroldus inventus fuisse memoratur." The usual title is "ecclesia Sancti Martini de Bello," "ecclesia de Bello," or, as we have seen in English, "þet mynster at þære Bataille." The fuller form, "Abbas Sancti Martini de loco Belli," appears in Domesday, 11 b, but it is commonly called in the Survey "ecclesia de Labatailge." Compare the church of Batalha in Portugal. The verses of Robert of Gloucester, ii. 368, must not be forgotten:—

"Kyng Wyllam býþoste hym ek of þe volc, þat was verlore,
And aslawe eke þoru hym in batayle býuore.
Þere, as þe batayle was, an abbey he let rere
Of Seyn Martyn, vor her soules, þat þer aslawe were,
And þe monckes wel y nou feffede wyþoute faýle,
Þat ys ycluced in Engelond, abbey of þe batayle."

³ Chron. de Bello, 17. "Homines ipsius villæ ob ejusdem loci per maximam excellentiæ dignitatem, burgenses vocantur." The chronicler goes on to describe their customs.

⁴ See vol. iii. p. 445.

CHAP. XIX. fallen temples and altars of former days. At Glastonbury and Crowland we curse the work of greed and barbarism and sacrilege; as we trace out the length and breadth of the Abbey of the Battle, we can rejoice that the spot where Harold fell is again open to the light of day and the winds of heaven. And yet it is among the remaining buildings of the abbey that we find the most speaking witness that is left us of the ebb and flow of defeat and victory on the day of the great battle. The site of the Standard fixed the site of the high altar, and the site of the high altar fixed the site of the other buildings of the abbey. Strangers from Marmoutier, to whom the place itself was a penance, would have no mind to fix their cloister and other buildings on the chilly northern side of the minster. And on the south, the nearness of the Standard to the slope of the hill gave but little room for the erection of the complicated group of buildings which surrounded the cloister of a great Benedictine house. The great dormitory, a building in its present state of a later age, was thus driven over the slope, and had to be borne aloft on the vastest and tallest of those underlying vaults with which the wisdom of ancient builders

Effect of
the site on
the build-
ings.

The foundation of Battle Abbey is important also in another point of view. If it did not begin, it certainly did much to forward, that system of exemption from the ordinary jurisdiction of the Bishops at which the monastic bodies were now constantly aiming. The special pledge of obedience to diocesan authority contained in the bond of Saint Wulfstan and the confederate Abbots was most likely not without a special meaning at that particular time.¹ In the case of Battle, independence of the Bishop of the diocese was asserted from the very beginning.² In local belief, it had even formed part of the Duke's first vow upon the hill of Telham.³ The warfare with the Bishops of Chichester forms a large part of the local history. It was the greatest of local triumphs when Stigand, the prelate who

quod idem (Willelmus) Christianos innoxios hostiliter Christianus impetit, et tanto sibi sanguine Christiano regnum paravit, quante apud homines glorie, tantæ etiam apud Deum noxe fuit. Cujus rei argumentum est quod a testibus fide dignis accepimus." He then mentions the foundation of the abbey, and goes on; "Denique in eodem monasterio locus ille ubi Anglorum pro patria dimicantium maxima strages facta est, si forte modico imbre maduerit, verum sanguinem et quasi recentem exsudat: ac si aperte per ipsam rei evidentiam dicatur, quod adhuc vox tanti sanguinis Christiani clamet ad Deum de terra, que aperuit os suum et suscepit eundem sanguinem de manibus fratrum, id est Christianorum." This is copied by Walter of Hemingburgh, i. 20.

¹ See above, p. 386.

² The story of the dispute with the Bishop of Chichester is given in the *Chronicon de Bello* (25, 26). In the foundation charter the words run, "Sit libera et quieta in perpetuum de omni subjectione Episcoporum et quarumlibet personarum dominatione, sicut ecclesia Christi Cantuarie." In the other charter in the *Monasticon*, iii. 245, William is made to say, "Ita ut libera et quieta in perpetuum ab omni subjectione et dominatione et querelâ Majoris Monasterii et aliarum personarum exactione permaneat, sicut ecclesia Christi Cantuariensis, et sicut mea dominica capella, et signum Anglice corone per quam ego regno, et successores mei Reges regnum Anglie debent obtinere." All this has a very suspicious sound, but the signatures are not impossible, like those of the other charter. They are those of Peter Bishop of Chester, Hermann Bishop of Salisbury, William of Warren, Bernard Newmarch, the founder of Saint John's Priory at Brecknock—a cell of Battle—and Abbot Gausbert himself.

³ See vol. iii. p. 458.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

ed the South-Saxon bishoprick to its later site, had to do his claim to summon the second Abbot Gausbert to receive the benediction in the cathedral church, and himself to Battle and performed the ceremony before the high altar of what must have been the temporary church of the abbey.¹ The house of Battle had also to defend its leges against more distant claimants. Its possessions in the city of Exeter² involved it in disputes with the bishops of that church,³ and the independence of the abbey itself had to be defended against the pretensions of power beyond the sea and even beyond the dominions of William. The elder house of Saint Martin asserted the rights of a parent over the younger foundation. But William protected his own creation against the claims of the abbot of Marmoutier, no less than against the claims of the bishop of Chichester.⁴ The house whose independence was carefully guarded against intruders from all quarters was richly endowed with lands and temporal rights, and the

EXEMPT MONASTERIES.

It would seem that Lanfranc by no means willingly gave ~~cha~~ in to a system by which episcopal authority and the common order of the Church were so thoroughly undermined, <sup>Le
op.
to I. —</sup> as when the abbey of Battle was released from all ordinary jurisdiction on the part of the Bishop of Chichester. Charters of exemption were now constantly obtained by the monastic bodies. A few generations later the evil spread still further; the independence which had been obtained by the regulars was envied and imitated by the seculars, and the authority of the Bishops began to be specially set at nought in those churches which were specially their own.¹ Each diocese was thus cut up into a group of distinct ecclesiastical jurisdictions, some of them subject to the authority of the ordinary and others holding him at defiance. Lanfranc, if a monk, was also a Bishop, and he seems to have done what he could to stop the innovation. He was severely taken to task by Pope Gregory for abetting, or at least not restraining, Herfast, Bishop of Thetford, in certain acts which were looked on as breaches of the privileges of the house of Saint Eadmund.² And in one account he is charged with detaining in a somewhat high-handed way a document of exemption from episcopal authority which Abbot Baldwin

Dealing
of Lan-
franc and
Herfast
with Saint
Eadmunds-
bury.

¹ Compare the disputes of Archbishops Baldwin and Hubert with the monks of Christ Church, so graphically told by Professor Stubbs in the Preface to his *Epistole Cantuarienses*, and the long controversy between Robert Grosseteste and his refractory Chapter of Lincoln, which will be found in Mr. Luard's edition of his Letters.

² Epp. Lanfr. 23, Giles, i. 44, Jaffé, ii. 49. "Non minimā admiratione dignum ducimus quā fronte, quā mente, Arfastum dictum episcopum sanctae Romane ecclesie illudere et beate memorie Alexandrum prædecessorem nostrum, ejusque decreta contemnere patiamini . . . fraternitatem vestram confidenter deprecamur, ut vice nostrā Arfasti nugas penitus compescatis, et Sancti Eadmundi abbatem contra decretum decessoris nostri inquietari nullo modo sinatis." Still more curious is the way in which Gregory speaks of the King; "Guilielum Regem, carissimum et unicum filium sanctae Romane ecclesie, precibus nostris et vice nostrā super his admonere dilectionem vestram precamur, et ne Arfasti vanis persuasionibus acquiescat, in quo sua singularis prudentia supra modum diminuta et contracta ab omnibus cognoscitur."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

obtained from Pope Alexander.¹ But at a later time and him exhorting Bishop Herfast, among other pre-moral and ecclesiastical, to observe the privileges of illustrious abbey.² But the tone of Lanfranc is reliable; he does not at all take up the high line of ory; he simply exhorts Herfast to conform strictly to existing law, and to make no claims over the monastery which were not justified by the example of his predecessors.³ Far home the Primate was more vigorous still in putting all pretensions which were inconsistent with his full temporal and metropolitan authority. The abbey of Saint Augustine was one of those great monasteries in or close to temporal cities which seem to have been designed as special as in the side of the diocesan. The writers of the house held that it had enjoyed the fullest exemption from all canonical jurisdiction from the very beginning of things.⁴ They charge Lanfranc with having obtained from the Abbot Scotland concessions which destroyed the

ancient independence of the monastery.¹ On the death of CHAP. XIX. Scotland, which did not happen till after the death of the ^{leges of the} Conqueror, the Primate went still further. He gave the ^{Abbey.} 1088. abbatial benediction to a certain Guy, who must have been nominated either by himself or by the new King.² He then went to Saint Augustine's, strengthened by the secular arm in the person of Odo, Bishop and Earl,³ and required the brethren to receive Guy as their Abbot. On their refusal the Archbishop installed Guy by his own authority, and intrusted him with the government of the church.⁴ The mass of the monks seceded, like the Roman Commons, and found their Sacred Mount near the church of Saint Mild-thryth.⁵ But as the hour came which was commonly spent in the refectory, the more part of them, pressed by hunger, gave in and submitted to Guy as their Abbot.⁶ But on those

¹ W. Thorn, X Scriptt. 1791. "Lanfrancus . . . hanc ecclesiam apostolicam persequi incepit, et dominum quod super eam juste habere non potuit, ut aliquo modo obtinueret per se et suos complices machinari non destitit. Hic ergo postquam aliquot annis dignitate archiepiscopali functus est, abbatem Scotlandum quasi in magnae amicitiae familiaritatem, sibi in dolo associavit, ut sub umbrā hujus mutue dilectionis quod sepius optabat celerius adipisceretur. Erant autem quasi compatriotes," &c.

² Chron. Wint. App. "Widonem ecclesie Sancti Augustini abbatem . . . Cantuarie in sede metropoli examinavit atque sacravit."

³ Ib. "Associato sibi Odono Baiocensi episcopo, fratre Regis, qui tunc Cantuariam venerat."

⁴ Ib. "Venit itaque Lanfrancus, adducens abbatem, et quum monachos pertinaciter videret resistere, nec ei velle parere . . . Lanfrancus cum suis abbatem honorifice introductum in sede locavit, et ecclesiam commendavit."

⁵ Ib. "Quum omnibus rite peractis domum rediret, nuntiatum est ei monachos qui exierant sub castro, secus ecclesiam Sancte Miltrudie, condidisse."

⁶ Ib. "Horā autem refectionis, quum esurirent plures ex iis, penitentes sue pertinacie, ad Lanfrancum miserunt, et ei omnem obedientiam promiserunt. Quibus continuo pepercit, mandans ut redirent, et professionem suam praefato abbati se servaturos sacramento confirmarent. Itaque redierunt, et se deinceps fore fideles et obedientes Widoni abbati super corpus beati Augustini juraverunt." Compare the momentary and partial submission of the Fellows of Magdalen College in 1687. Macaulay, ii. 299. It does not appear whether the dinner-hour, which has before now in-

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND

so resisted the hand of the Primate was heavy. The Prior and others were condemned to terms of punishment of different degrees of length and severity,¹ so confessed a design to kill the new Abbot, was purged and expelled from the city. This man had the Scotchish name of Columban, and the only other mentioned by name, besides the Prior *Ælfwine*, is his brother *Ælfred*.² This certainly looks as if national ecclesiastical jealousies had something to do with it.³ And it looks the more so as, when the king turned his thoughts on after the death of Lanfranc, the monks who had been attached to the Abbot were vigorously supported in their claim to the government of the city.⁴

But, besides the changes made in the older houses, there was also an age in which many new monastic foundations were made. Of the King's own great foundation I have spoken, and the Norman nobles who had been supporters of the foundation of monasteries in their own

in England. In the next Chapter I shall have to mention CHAP. XIX. several instances in which wholly new foundations arose, or in which secular canons were displaced to make room for monks at the hands of the most famous of William's followers. Some followed the ancient rule of Saint Benedict, while others, above all William of Warren and Gundrada in their great foundation at Lewes, brought in the reformed usages of Cluny.¹ But one foundation of this age deserves special mention, as being the work of an Englishman who was evidently high in the favour not only of William the Conqueror but of his successors. This was the Cluniac priory of Bermondsey, the foundation of *Aelfwine*, a citizen of London, who, in the local Annals, bears the title of *Cild*.² Domesday records the new and beautiful church which the Commissioners found there, but the house of Bermondsey does not appear in the Survey as possessed of any lands.³ New benefactors, among them William Rufus himself, bestowed gifts in various parts of England. And at last, in the days of Stephen, a nephew of the Conqueror, William, once lord of Cornwall and Mortain, took the habit of religion within its walls. The priory in process of time became an abbey.⁴ Its Annals form part of our materials for the English

¹ On the Cluniac Order, and its introduction into England, see Monasticon Angl. v. 1, 72.

² I do not profess to identify this *Aelfwine* for certain among various bearers of that name in Domesday. In 218 b there is an "Aluinus praefectus regis," who holds lands in Bedfordshire.

³ Ann. Berm. 1082. "Hoc anno Aluinus cild, civis Londonie, fundator monasterii monachorum Sancti Salvatoris de Bermondeseyā, ex licentia regiā dedit eisdem monachis qui venerunt in Angliam in anno secundo Wilhelmi regis Ruf secundi diversos redditus in civitate Londonie, antequam idem rex Willemus secundus dedit manerium de Bermondeseye." As London is not surveyed in Domesday, this accounts for the priory not appearing there; Bermondsey itself appears (32) as a royal lordship which had been held by Earl Harold, and it is added, "ibi nova et pulchra ecclesia." See Ann. Berm. 1093. *Aelfwine* died in 1092.

⁴ Ann. Berm. 1399.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

ory of several centuries, but there is no monastic house which all traces have now more utterly passed away. This foundation of a London citizen, who learned, by what means we know not, to hold his own in the days of Edward.

The mention of the various monastic houses, some of which were deeply interested in the series of Councils held at Lanfranc, has led me away from the succession of the saints themselves. In one of them, held nine years after William's first entry into England, a measure was taken which has had an important influence on the later history of the English Church, and which is still more important as an illustration of its earlier state. This was the decree by virtue of which several of the bishoprics of England were removed from their former seats, which in some cases were small and insignificant places, to cities of greater importance. This was a decree which could hardly have

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system, hardly less than among the commonwealths of CHAP. XIX. ancient Greece, the city was the hearth and home and centre of all public and private life. In such a state of things the ecclesiastical arrangements and divisions could hardly fail to shape themselves according to the existing civil arrangements and divisions. The seats of ecclesiastical authority were naturally fixed in the same spots as the seats of temporal authority ; the limits of the two jurisdictions were marked by the same boundaries, and the Bishop had his almost exclusive home in the city from which he took his name. An ecclesiastical map of France, as the dioceses stood before modern changes, faithfully reproduces the map of Roman Gaul.¹ But when, in the case of Britain, the Gospel was, for the first time in the West, accepted by a land beyond the limits of the Empire, its preachers had to deal with a wholly different social and political state. In this aspect, the Celtic and the Teutonic portions of the island may be classed together. In neither were the cities dominant, and in both the ecclesiastical arrangements adapted themselves to this fact.² The Bishop did not become, in the almost exclusive sense in which he did in the Romanized lands, the Bishop of the city; in some dioceses there was hardly anything to be called a city at all. The extent of the Bishop's jurisdiction was marked out by the extent of the temporal jurisdiction of some

Episcopacy
in Britain,
Celtic and
Teutonic.

Its tribal
or terri-
torial cha-
racter.

the *heath* or wilderness, as opposed to the man both of the city and of the cultivated land. See Comparative Politics, pp. 113, 407.

¹ The changes made in the episcopal arrangements, chiefly of southern Gaul, in the fourteenth century must be remembered, as well as those made in the nineteenth and a few in intermediate times. The earlier changes consisted chiefly in the division of dioceses, as the last changes consisted chiefly in their union. Several churches, as Toulouse, Alby, and Paris, have also been at different times raised from diocesan to metropolitan rank.

² Far be it from me to plunge into the mysteries of early Celtic ecclesiastical history, Coarbs, Lay Abbots, and what not. I speak of the Irish and Scottish bishoprics as they appeared when they had assumed an intelligible territorial shape.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

ing or Ealdorman, but, like the King or Ealdorman, he was essentially the Bishop, not of a city, but of a district rather of a tribe. Hence, both in England and in other parts of the British Islands, the titles of Bishops were for long time more commonly territorial or tribal than local, in the case of some of the Celtic bishoprics the territorial style is kept on to this day.¹ The Bishop had seen his see, his *bishopstool*, his ordinary dwelling, in a particular church of his diocese. This was his cathedral church, the church which was specially his own, where he was surrounded by the monks or canons who were his immediate companions and fellow-workers. But this habitual home was not always placed in the greatest town of his diocese. In some cases, as at Saint David's and Disfarn, the seat of the bishopric seems to have been conveniently placed in an inaccessible spot, as if it were rather meant to be the place of the pastor's occasional retreat than his more active duties than to be the constant centre of his labours. This state of things went on at least till the end

same feeling which shows itself in the decree of Lanfranc's CHAP. XIX.
 Council shows itself also in Leofric's translation of the See of
 united sees of Devonshire and Cornwall to the great city Exeter.
 of Exeter.¹ We can hardly doubt that this change, as well Motive of
 as the changes which he made in the internal constitution Leofric,
 of his church, was prompted by his Lotharingian education. Under William and his successor a long series
 of changes of the same kind were made. In a Council Council of
 held at Saint Paul's in London² it was ordered, with the London.
 King's sanction, that episcopal sees should be removed
 from villages or small towns to cities.³ Three bishoprics
 were at once removed by virtue of this decree. The Lo- Hermann
 tharingian Hermann, who had united the sees of Sherborne removes
 and Ramsbury, now followed the example of Leofric, and his see to
 removed the seat of the united diocese to the hill-fortress of [Old] Salis-
 1075 1078. bury.
 the elder Salisbury.⁴ The choice of such a position was
 strange, and its evil consequences were felt till the day
 when Richard Poore came down from the hill into the Founda-
 plain, and, like Ealdhun, founded at once a church and tion of New
 a city which supplanted their elder neighbours.⁵ Her- 1221.
 mann, old as he was, began vigorously to build a church Death of
 on the unpromising spot which he had chosen; but he 1078.
 1078.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 83.

² Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 66. All the Bishops of England were present, save Walcher of Durham, who had a canonical excuse for absence. Rochester was vacant.

³ Ib. 67. "Ex decretis summorum pontificum Damasi et Leonis, necnon ex conciliis Sardicensi et Laodicensi, in quibus prohibetur episcopales sedes in villis existere, concessum est regiâ munificentia et synodali auctoritate episcopis de villis transire ad civitates, Herimanno de Shirburna ad Seribiam, Stigando de Selengeo ad Cicestrum, Petro de Licitfelde ad Cestrum." Florence must be mistaken when (1070) he makes the removal of the see to Salisbury happen before the consecration of Lanfranc.

⁴ See vol. i. pp. 290, 318; vol. ii. p. 406.

⁵ Ann. Wav. 1217. "Ricardus . . . cuius consilio et auxilio nova ecclesia Sarreberie novo in loco incepta est, ecclesiâ veteri infra castelli moenia sitâ prius effractâ atque submotâ." Richard became Bishop of Salisbury in 1217. The actual building of the church began in 1221; see the Tewkesbury Annals in anno.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

began, and he left his work to be finished by his successor, the famous Osmund, a name renowned in liturgical history.¹ At the same time, Stigand of Selsey re-
-red the seat of the South-Saxon bishopric from the place which Æthelwealh had granted to Wilfrith² to the town, once the Roman Regnum, which had taken the name of one of the earliest Saxon conquerors in Britain. It was the son of Ælle, one of the destroyers of Anderida,³ who gave his name to Cissanceaster or Chichester, a city which has retained its episcopal rank ever since the days of Stigand. Here again the choice seems strange, at least because the central position of the city was to be at all thoughts well as its size.⁴ The third see which was forsaken was that of Lichfield, the seat of the holy Ceadda. To foreign eyes few episcopal sites in England are more attractive than that where, after all the havoc wrought by war and barbarism, the three spires still rise in all their grace above the silver pool at their feet. But few places were

highest point of a great city like Bourges or Le Mans, a CHAP. XIX.
 small town had gathered itself outside the episcopal pre-
 cinct, as it had gathered itself outside the monastic pre- Peter
 cinct at Crowland and Evesham. Such a site was at once Bishop of
 condemned; and, by virtue of the new decree, Peter Bishop Lichfield,
 of Lichfield moved his dwelling-place to William's last 1072-1085,
 conquest of Chester, and placed his throne in the minster removes
 of Saint John without the walls of the city.¹ But this the see to
 change was not a lasting one; the next Bishop, Robert of Saint
 Limesey, again removed the see to Earl Leofric's minster John's at
 at Coventry.² He is said to have been stirred up to the Chester.
 step by the vast wealth and splendour of that house, Robert of
 which he wished to make his own by annexing the abbey Limesey,
 to his bishoprick.³ His rapacious dealings with the monks
 We learn, on the evidence of the Pri- of Co-
 mate himself, that the way in which Robert took possession ventury.
 partook strongly of the nature of a raid or a storm. Lan- He is re-
 franc, who kept up a diligent correspondence with his buked by
 Lanfranc.

¹ Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 309. "In eadem civitate, ut dixi, fecit Petrus episcopus sedem in ecclesia Sancti Petri, positis pauculis canoniciis." There can be no doubt however that the church meant is that of Saint John; see above, p. 312.

I gather from Lanfranc's letter to Pope Alexander (Giles, i. 22) that Peter's English predecessor Leofwine was excommunicated for being married, and for refusing to appear at a synod, and that he then resigned his bishoprick. But there is no distinct mention of this either in the Gesta Pontificum or in the local history.

² Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 309. "At vero successor ejus Rotbertus iterum sedem in Coventreiam migravit." See vol. ii. p. 414. He goes on to speak of the splendour and wealth of the monastery. Some of his expressions (Gest. Pont. 310, Gest. Reg. iv. 341) are remarkable. In the Gesta Regum he clearly wishes to imply that there was no lawful removal of the see to Coventry; "Quinetiam moriturus, parvi faciens scita canonum quibus edicunt pontifices in suis sedibus sepeliri debere, non apud Cestram, sed apud Coventreiam se tumulatum iri precepit; sua opinione relinquens successuris non indebitum calumniandi, sed quasi jus legitimum vindicandi." The words in Italics are left out in the Gesta Pontificum. Robert appears in Orderic (671 A) as "Robertus de Limesia, Merciorum episcopus."

³ Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 310. "Hoc Rotbertus inhians ex ipsis ecclesiae gazis accepit, unde Regis occupationes falleret, unde Romanorum aviditati irrepereret."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

gans and rebuked them sharply on occasion, rebuking them with special sharpness, not only for his irreverent treatment of his own metropolitan letters,¹ but also for his proceedings with the monks of Coventry. He had entered their dormitory by force; he had broken open their chests, taken away their horses and other property, pulled down their houses and carried off the materials to his manors, lastly, quartered himself and his following on the city for eight days.² Restitution is ordered; yet Coventry remained the head church of the diocese,³ and for the course of the next century Chester seems to have been well nigh forgotten as an episcopal see. The churches of Lichfield and Lichfield were now acknowledged as joint heads of the Bishopric of north-western Mercia.⁴ The dissolution of the monasteries swept away Coventry; modern developments have even removed the city into another state, and the old home of Ceadda is now again, as it was in the earliest times, the only seat of his successors.

But these three changes, made by the immediate orders CHAP. XIX. of the Council of London, were not the only changes of the kind which were made during this reign and the following one. First of all, Remigius, the monk of Fécamp, the Bishop of Dorchester, the man of small stature but of lofty soul,¹ removed the seat of his episcopal rule to the lordliest spot within his diocese. He forsook the old home of Birinus ^{Remigius translates the see of Dorchester to Lincoln.}
1085. by the winding Thames, guarded by its Roman dykes and looking up at the mighty hill-fort of Sinodun.² He placed his church and throne among yet prouder relics of early times,³ side by side with the castle which was already rising to curb the haughty burghers of wealthy and famous Lincoln.⁴ He there founded his chapter after the same model as that of York and the other great secular churches of the time, that of Rouen, we are told, being his special and immediate model.⁵ He founded the usual dignities with twenty-one prebends, a number which was afterwards largely increased by the Bishops who followed him. He also

¹ Will. Malma. Gest. Pont. 313. "Quod eo jocundius erat, quia ipse pro exiguitate corporis pene portentum hominis videbatur. Luctabatur excelle et foris eminere animus, eratque

Gratior exiguo veniens e corpore virtus;

quem ideo natura compegitse putaretur, ut sciretur beatissimum ingenium in miserrimo corpore habitare posse." So Henry of Huntingdon, De Mundi Cont. Ang. Sac. ii. 695. "Erat siquidem statura parvus sed corde magnus colore fuscus sed operibus venustus."

² Henry of Huntingdon (Scriptt. p. 212 b) gives his reasons; "Quum episcopatus ille major omnibus Anglie a Tame ad Humber duraret, molestum visum est episcopo quod in ipso termino episcopatus sedes esset episcopal. Displicebat etiam quod urbe illa modica erat, quum in eodem episcopatu civitas clarissima Lincolniæ dignior sede episcopal videbatur."

³ See above, p. 212.

⁴ Flor. Wig. 1092. "Remigius, qui, licentia regis Willielmi senioris, episcopalem sedem de Dorcaceastrâ mutaverat ad Lindicolinam." So Gervase, 1654.

⁵ Gir. Camb. Vit. Ep. Linc. Ang. Sac. ii. 415. "Constitutæ vero ecclesiæ et stabiliter collocatæ juxta ritum Rothomagensis ecclesiæ, quam sibi in singulis quasi exemplar elegerat et præficerat, canonicos viginti et unum statim adhibuit, datis præbendi," etc.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

ted his diocese into seven archdeaconries,¹ answering to shires, or pairs of shires, of which his vast diocese was : up. But, in filling the chief places of his church, he s wholly to have favoured his own countrymen. In a of his dignitaries and Archdeacons, given by one who known them all, there are only two who can by any bility be English.² While Remigius was thus build- and organizing his church of Lincoln, Herfast of Ham translated the see of the East-Angles to Thetford, town so famous and so unlucky in the Danish wars.³ next successor but one was the famous Herbert, who left behind him so mixed a character and so ambiguous rname, and who stands charged with buying the prick of William Rufus, and of obtaining the abbacy te New Minster for his father in the like simoniacal on.⁴ In after times he repented, confessed his sins at e, and came back to do great things in his own diocese. removed his see yet again. He chose as his dwelling

began the vast minster which yet remains, whose size and CHAP. XIX.
stateliness struck men with amazement even in that day of
great works, and he filled it with monks diligent in the
practice of all the virtues of their order,¹ and whose rules
and customs followed those of the famous house of Fécamp.²
Lastly, but not till the Great William was no more, another
foreign Bishop was found to undo the work of Gisa in the
Bishoprick of Somerset. John, a learned physician from John of
Tours,³ was the successor of the reforming Lotharingian. Tours
[1088-
1122]
He, like Peter at Lichfield, despised his little city at the foot of Mendip. He swept away the works of his predecessor, and left the canons of Wells in the poverty from which his predecessor had raised them. He then moved his throne to the abbey of Saint Peter at Bath; the line of independent Abbots was merged in that of the Bishops; and John himself ruled both as spiritual and as temporal lord in the old Roman town which had beheld the crowning of Eadgar the Peaceful.⁴

In another Council held at Winchester, in the year following that which decreed the translation of the bishopricks, a variety of canons were passed, some of which must be taken in connexion with the great ecclesiastical movement which was going on throughout Europe. We must never

¹ Will. Malma. Gest. Reg. iv. 339. "Quis in illius facti laudem digne perget, quod tam nobile monasterium episcopus non multum pecuniosus fuerit, in quo nihil frustra desideres, vel sedificiorum sublimium specie, vel in ornamentorum pulchritudine, vel in monachorum religione et ad omnes sedulâ caritate." William has much to say about the change in Herbert, which he oddly compares to that of Curio. He remarks that he endowed his monastery with lands that he had himself bought, not with lands of the Bishoprick. The name Losinga appears in the Chronicle, 1094, without explanation, under the form of "Herbearde Losange."

² See the letter of Herbert to Roger Abbot of Fécamp in the collection of his letters published in the series called *Scriptores Monastici*, p. 69.

³ On John of Tours, see Gest. Pont. 194; Historiola, 22. I have spoken more fully of Bath and Wells matters in my History of the Church of Wells, p. 35 et al.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 626.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

t that, while Lanfranc ruled at Canterbury, Hildebrand at Rome. We shall presently see that, in some most important points, the Primate of all Britain had fallen away from that rigid standard of perfection in Roman eyes which had been reached by the monk of Bee.¹ Still the ecclesiastical legislation of Lanfranc is the legislation of Hildebrand, slightly modified and with a little of its overbearingness softened down. The two main objects of the

Pope, two objects which in his idea could hardly be asunder, were the subjection of the civil to the ecclesiastical power, and the establishment of the clergy as a strict order, animated by one universal corporate spirit, cut off from those ties of citizenship and kindred which bind men together in earthly bonds. The great means intended was absolutely to forbid marriage to the clergy of grade. An exaggerated reverence for virginity had been growing up in the Church from the beginning, and it reached its full height when Eadward was deemed a saint in real or supposed breach of his first duty as a King.

Rome in a considerably milder shape. In England and in other Teutonic lands, no less than in the Churches of the East, the habit of clerical marriage had taken far too deep root to be got rid of in a moment. Lanfranc set to work warily. He drew a distinction which was afterwards drawn again in a modified shape in the days of Queen Elizabeth. The parochial and the collegiate clergy were not treated exactly according to the same measure. The canons of cathedral and other capitular churches were first dealt with. Of the prevalence of marriage among this class we have already seen several instances.¹ The practice was of course the greatest of all obstacles in the way of those reforming Bishops who sought, sometimes to replace their canons by actual monks, sometimes to bring them under the intermediate rule of Chrodegang. To the capitular clergy then marriage was absolutely forbidden, without reserve or exemption, and those who were already married were called on to separate from their wives. The decree of the synod on this head is brief and pithy, "Let no canon have a wife."² So in the days of Elizabeth, when the marriage of the clergy was neither allowed nor forbidden, but winked at, the parish clergy were let alone, but wives and children were not allowed to appear within either cathedral closes or academical colleges.³ So now a milder rule was applied to

13), and by the Saint Alban's writer followed by Matthew Paris in his greater work (ed. Wats, 9), but by Matthew Paris himself in the *Historia Anglorum* (i. 18) the theological argument is left out. See Milman, iii. 118. Lambert (1074, p. 163 of the lesser Pertz) tells us how the decrees were received in Germany, and how "vehementer infremuit tota factio clericorum, hominem plane hæreticum et vessani dogmatis esse clamitans." The chief argument was that Hildebrand's rule was fit only for angels and not for men, and that the German clergy were men and not angels.

¹ See especially the account of the canons of Rochester in p. 367; and on Waltham compare vol. ii. p. 441.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 367. "Decretum est ut nullus canonicus uxorem habeat."

³ See Queen Elizabeth's order prohibiting the residence of women in colleges, printed in *Archbishop Parker's Correspondence* (edit. Parker

Frequency
of clerical
marriage
in England.

Distinction
made by
Lanfranc
between
parochial
and
capitular
clergy.

Marriage
absolutely
forbidden
to Canons.

Analogy in
Elizabeth's
reign.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

parochial clergy than that which was brought to bear upon their collegiate brethren. Vested interests at least were respected. It was distinctly ordered that the married clerics who were scattered up and down the country in towns and villages should not be called on to leave their posts.¹ This relaxation of the edicts of Gregory showed a practical good sense of Lanfranc and those who acted with him, but it amounted to giving up the point as a matter of principle. If, as Hildebrand taught, no saving grace could be bestowed by the ministrations of a married priest, a large part of the people of England were doomed to without valid sacraments for years to come. The more distant future indeed was carefully provided for. The priests who were not already married were strictly forbidden to marry, and the Bishops were no less strictly enjoined against ordaining married men.² And other rules were laid down with regard to the marriages of the laity, which seem to show that the Danish custom,³ or some

¹ *Concilium de Lodiensi 473 admodum. Monachorum Regule.*

MARRIAGE OF PRIESTS FORBIDDEN.

to the new legislation by which William had separated the ecclesiastical and temporal courts.¹ It was ordained that no priest in town or country should have any burthens laid on his ecclesiastical benefice other than the living had been charged with in the days of King Eadward.² Such a provision might well be needed to protect English priests alike against Norman Bishops and against Norman patrons.

Another ordinance denounced excommunication, with its attendant temporal penalties, against all who should neglect any summons which cited them to appear in the newly established courts of the Bishops.³ The cause of *Æthelric*, the deposed Bishop of the South-Saxons, of which we have heard more than once without any very clear account of its *Æthelric* nature, was now finally heard and decided.⁴

It is worthy of special notice that, soon after this important synod, within the course of the same year, Lanfranc, again accompanied by Thomas of York and Remigius of Dorchester, paid a visit to the threshold of the Apostles. ^{Lanfranc, Thomas, and Remigius go to Rome. 1076.}

They would doubtless report to Pope Gregory the acts of the synod at Winchester, how it had been found impossible to carry out the Roman decrees in their fulness, and how the perverseness of the stiff-necked islanders had made some relaxation of their strictness unavoidable. But, at that particular moment, Hildebrand himself might well be willing

¹ See above, p. 387.

² Concilia, i. 367. "Statutum est ne aliquis clericus civilis vel rusticus de beneficio ecclesiae aliquod servitium reddat preter illud quod fecit tempore Regis Edwardi."

³ Ib. "Laici vero, si de crimine suo accusati fuerint, et episcopo suo obedere noluerint, vocentur semel, et iterum, et tertio; si post tertiam vocationem emendare noluerint, excommunicentur; si autem post excommunicationem ad satisfactionem venerint, forisfacturam suam, quæ Anglice vocatur *oferynnes* seu *lahslile*, pro unaquaque vocatione episcopo suo reddant." On *lah-slile* and *oferynnes* see Schmid's Glossary. Good examples of the latter will be found in p. 146 of Schmid in the Laws of *Æthelstan*.

⁴ See above, p. 363.



THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

rechase the allegiance of the Crown and Church of England by allowing the parish clergy of England to keep wives for life. It was the great year of synods and the year when the two swords clashed with all their force, the year when the sun and moon of the Christian world strove eagerly to eclipse each other, when the successor of Augustus took upon him to depose the successor of Peter, and when the successor of Peter took upon him effectually to depose the successor of Augustus.¹ At a moment the presence of the three English prelates was doubly welcome; it was a sign that, whatever storms might vex the Church in Italy and the Teutonic Kingdom, the Island Empire at least and its mighty sovereign remained in their allegiance to the mother and mistress of all churches. Lanfranc, Thomas, and Remigius appeared at Rome, not to pay a mere ecclesiastical homage, but in the character of ambassadors from the King of the English.

They were, as they well might be, received with all honour by the Pope and the Senate of Rome,² as lovers of

Bishops were thoroughly successful. They brought back CHAP. XIX.
to William the confirmation of certain privileges which his Ancient
predecessors on the English throne had enjoyed before him, privileges
and for which he stooped so far as to ask the Papal approval.¹ confirmed
to William.

What these privileges were we should have been glad to learn. William, as a matter of fact, always exercised the right of investiture in all its fulness. Can it be that the right which was so sternly denied to the King of Germany and Italy was formally allowed to the ruler of the other world beyond the sea?

The three Bishops came back to England by way of Normandy, but they did not reach even Normandy till the next year. We should gladly learn where and how they spent their winter, for that winter was the winter of Canosa.²

However that may be, in the course of the next year they Jan. 25,
came back to the dominions of the prince whose throne 1077.

stood firm while the thrones of Pope and Cæsar were rocking to and fro. As if in gentle mockery of the storms elsewhere, that year was in Normandy a year of peace, specially given up to ecclesiastical ceremonies. The King-Duke, his Queen, their sons Robert and William, the Primates of Canterbury and Rouen, and a crowd of prelates of less degree, took part in a series of dedications of cathedral and monastic churches.³ The episcopal churches of Evreux and Bayeux were among the minsters now hallowed.⁴ Two

dederunt, sūaque sic largitate cum facundiā gemināque scientiā mirabiles Latiis visi sunt." We already hear the voice of Thomas of London and of Matthew Paris.

¹ Ord. Vit. 548 D. "Papa clerusque Romanus . . . privilegia que per eos petierat [Guillelmus Rex] antecessoribus suis olim concessa libenter annuerunt."

² See Lambert, 1077, p. 257 of the smaller Pertz.

³ Ord. Vit. 548 D. "Tunc basilicæ plures in Normaniā cum ingenti tripudio dedicate sunt, ad quas Rex et Regina cum filii suis Roberto atque Guillelmo [the English Aetheling was perhaps left in his own island] et ingenti frequentiā optimatum et populorum affuerunt." Cf. above, p. 92, * and vol. ii. p. 210.

⁴ Ib. On Odo's work at Bayeux, see vol. ii. p. 209.



THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

r ceremonies followed in which the Primate of Britain
a nearer personal interest. The minster of Saint
hen, the work of William, the home of Lanfranc, now
1 ready for consecration.¹ The rite was done in the
ence of William and Lanfranc, and the stones on which
gazed are there to bear witness to this day. And yet
her rite, in a spot still more dear, called for both the pre-
e and the personal ministrations of the English Primate.
minster of Bec, the work of the still living Herlwin,
next to be hallowed. And there, in the home which
beheld his first conversion, the monk whom Herlwin
welcomed to the fold, the prior whose learning had
Bee one of the wonders of the world, now came in all
pomp of the Patriarch of the lands beyond the sea, to
w the church which the friend and guide of his youth
at last brought to perfection. He knew not perhaps
he came also to hear the *Nunc dimittis* of the man
e simple virtues stand in such strange yet pleasing

Church into closer dependence on the see of Rome. But, while William wore the Crown which he had won, there was no fear lest the most devout among the royal sons of the Roman Church should ever degenerate into her abject slave. Not a jot of the supremacy which had been handed on to him from his predecessors would the Conqueror wittingly give up. In the very year when Lanfranc, with the authority of William, was calmly decreeing that Lichfield should yield its episcopal rank to Chester, Gregory, without the authority of his sovereign, was decreeing that no Bishop or Abbot should receive his ring and staff from any temporal lord.¹ Such thunderbolts might hurl the lord of Germany and Italy from his throne ; against the lord of Normandy and England they were harmless. Not a trace is seen of any attempt on Gregory's part to seek any change in the law of England by which the prelates of England received the badges of their office from the royal hand.² What King Eadward had freely done King William went on doing no less freely. William was throughout his reign the favoured son of the Roman Church. He did not absolutely reach perfection in the eyes of Gregory, but he came so much nearer to it than other princes that he deserved to be treated with special tenderness. Something was to be allowed to a King who neither destroyed churches nor sold them, who made laymen pay tithe and made priests forsake their wives, and who refused all invitations to join in any schemes contrary to the interests of the Holy See.³ One of Gregory's first

¹ See the words of the decree in Abbot Hugh's Verdun Chronicle (Pertz, viii. 412) ; "Si quis deinceps episcopatum aut abbatiam de manu aliquius laice personae suscepit, nullatenus inter episcopos vel abbates habeatur," &c. Compare also the later decrees of 1078 in p. 422.

² On the practice T. R. E. see vol. ii. p. 116. So in 1091, Orderic (698 A) records the investiture of a Norman abbot by Duke Robert at Windsor "per baculum pastorale, ut eo tempore moris erat." But the custom comes out nowhere so strongly as in the history of Saint Anselm.

³ Ep. Greg. vii. 5, ap. Labbe, *Concilia*, x. 281 ; Jaffé, *Mon. Greg.* 478.

E ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

n his accession was to profess his special affection illiam, and at the same time to exhort him to a more al payment of the money due to the Church of .¹ Later in his reign, Gregory thought it needful bound to William, by help of the usual metaphors comparisons, how far the power of Pontiffs stood above power of Kings.² But no serious dispute ever arose en two men each of whom could respect the other, ach of whom knew that the other could be useful s purposes. Once only Gregory went too far, and he found that the loyal son of the Church was not

Anglorum, licet in quibusdam non ita religiose sicut optamus se tamen in hoc quod ecclesias Dei non destruit [the New Forest was not heard of at Rome] neque vendit, et pacem justitiamque in suis moderari procurat, et quis contra apostolicam sedem, rogatus a am inimicis crucis Christi pactum inire, consentire noluit, presby- xores, laicos decimas quas detinebant, etiam juramento dimittere t, ceteris Regibus se satis probabiliorem ac magis honorandum .. Unde non indignum debet existimari potestatem illius mitius standam atque membra militaria insula subditarum et

WILLIAM REFUSES HOMAGE TO GREGORY

prepared to be its slave or its vassal. Even then did not ask that William should give up the right of investiture, though he made a claim which was bolder still. At some time in William's reign of which we do not know the exact date, a Legate from Rome, Hubert ^{mn} of whom we have already heard, had come to England on ^m two errands. He again demanded a more regular payment of the Peter-pence. And he made a far more daring demand; he asked that the King of the English should profess himself the man of the Bishop of Rome.¹ Some vague notion that such a profession was due may well have floated in the minds of Popes and Cardinals ever since Alexander had sent the ring and banner to bless the invasion of England.² But whatever external claims Gregory ventured to assert over the Kingdom of England, they were wholly external claims. He claims a suzerainty over the realm, but he makes no claim to control the lawful powers of King and Witan in its internal government. The answer of William was short and simple, and breathed in its fulness that spirit of deference to precedent which has ever been the life and soul of English law. The money he would pay; his predecessors had paid it. Owing to his absence in Gaul, it had been for three years irregularly gathered; he therefore bound himself to see that all arrears were faithfully paid in. But the claim of fealty ^{He refuses} was another matter; that he had never promised and his ^{fealty.} predecessors had never paid.³ But he craved the prayers

Answer of
William;
its appeal
to English
precedent.

¹ Epp. Lanfr. 10 (Giles, i. 32). "Hubertus, legatus tuus, religiose pater, ad me veniens ex tua parte, me admonuit, quatenus tibi et successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, et de pecunia quam antecessores mei ad Romanam Ecclesiam mittere solebant melius cogitarem."

² See vol. iii. p. 322.

³ Epp. Lanfr. 10. "Unum admisi, alterum non admisi. Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio." He then goes on to promise the more regular payment of the money. The date of the letter is not clearly

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

e Pontiff; he was ready to show to Gregory the same
tion and obedience which he had ever paid to the
iffs who had gone before him.¹

hen we read this memorable letter, we are struck with
alm daring of the man who could thus at once brave
refute the mighty Hildebrand without a word of
itening or railing, without a word that the Pontiff
elf could look on as undutiful or irreverent. The
le dignity, the crushing logic, of these few words of
iam the Great form a marked contrast to the foul
nnies and wild invectives which the partizans of Pope
Caesar were hurling at one another in other lands.
to Englishmen the letter has another and a deeper
est. It shows how thoroughly William held himself
ive stepped into the position of the Kings of whom
rofessed himself to be the lawful successor. He claims
heir rights, but not more than their rights. What
paid he will pay; what they never paid he will never

RELATIONS BETWEEN GREGORY AND LANFRANC

the time of this memorable correspondence, Lanfranc rebuked by Gregory for lack of reverence to the Apostolic See, and the words of his answer seem to show that the Primate of all Britain was charged with having on the strength of the dignity of his see and its jurisdiction from the common centre, set himself up independent of the Bishop of Bishops. It is certain also that Lanfranc professed that he would advise the King to make a different answer from that actually made, but that the King refused to listen to his counsels.² But it is also certain that Lanfranc's language is as guarded as language can be. In professing his devotion to the Pope, he makes no promise of unlimited submission, but simply of a legal obedience bounded by the canons.³ So too he leaves it perfectly vague what the advice which he gave to William really was, and for further information he refers the Pontiff to the King's own letters and messages.⁴ Language like this addressed to a Pope, and that Pope Hildebrand, certainly suggests that Lanfranc's feelings went along with the King and not with the Pontiff, and that, if he in any sense advised William to yield to Gregory's demands, the advice was purely formal advice, given merely to enable Lanfranc to tell Gregory that he had given it.⁵ So much of double-dealing

¹ Epp. Lanfr. 11 (Giles, i. 32). "Litteras . . . suscepi, in quarum fere omni contextu paternâ me dulceducere reprehendere studiasti, quod, in episcopali honore positus, sanctam Romanam ecclesiam vosque ob ejus reverentiam minus diligam quam ante honoris ipsius susceptionem diligere quondam solebam. . . . Ego, teste conscientiâ meâ, in memetipso intelligere non possum, quid vel corporalis absentia, vel locorum tanta intercapedo, aut ipsa qualiscumque honorum sublimitas in hac parte vindicare sibi quidquam prevaleat, quin mens mea præceptis vestris in omnibus et per omnia, secundum canonum præcepta, subjaceat."

² Ib. "Domino meo Regi suggesti, suad, sed non persuasi."

³ "Secundum canonum præcepta" in the extract just above.

⁴ Epp. Lanfr. 11 (Giles, i. 32). "Cur autem voluntati vestre omnifariam non assenserit, ipsemet vobis tam verbis, quam litteris innotescit."

⁵ See Hook, Archbishops, ii. 141.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

plied in conduct of this kind is certainly not inconsistent with the ecclesiastical morality of the time. In the letters, both of them later than the joint visit of two Archbishops and Remigius, Lanfranc is severely rebuked by Gregory for failing to appear at the threshold of the Apostles. In the first letter it is implied that the message came from the King, and Lanfranc is bidden to all means for bringing William to a better frame of mind.¹ In the second letter Lanfranc is charged with having repeated invitations to appear at Rome, and even threatened with suspension from the episcopal office if he does not appear within the current year.²

¹ The letter is given in Labbe, *Concilii, xii. 450*; Jaffé, *Monumenta ana, 366*, where it is referred to March 25, 1079. Gregory complains of Lanfranc's not often coming to Rome ("venire ad nos non multum fraternitas tua"), and then uses this remarkable language about him: "Certissime compertum habemus, adventum tuum vel metus ejus scilicet quem inter ceteros illius dignitatis specialius semper us, vel maxime tua culpa nobis negavit. Et te quidem, si vel pri-

LANFRANC'S CONDUCT IN THE SCHISM

But it is not at all clear that either the rebuke or threat had the effect of bringing the English Primate to the foot of the papal throne. And it is even more important to note that, when the right of Gregory to his see was again called in question, when King Henry had given him a successor in the person of Wibert or Clement¹ and had received the Imperial Crown from the Pontiff of his own making, Lanfranc again uses the most cautious language, and declines to commit himself either way. England, he tells a correspondent, had neither rejected Gregory nor acknowledged Clement; the matter had still to be examined; both sides had still to be heard and a decision had to be come to after hearing them.² Meanwhile he declines to join his correspondent in any disrespectful language towards Gregory or in any extraordinary praises of Clement.³ On the other hand, he cannot believe that the Emperor—he does not deny him the title—can have taken so weighty a step without good reasons, or that he can have won so great a victory without the manifest help of God.⁴ It is plain

periculum inobedientiae incurrire non erubueris, quod est quasi seclusus idolatrie, testante beato Samuele, a beati Petri gratia scias te procul dubio removendum, et ejus auctoritate omnino feriendum; ita videlicet, ut si infra praefixum spatium ad nos non veneris, ab omni sis officio episcopali suspensus."

¹ Sigebert, 1079 (Pertz, vi. 364). Otto of Freisingen (*Annals*, vi. 36), in recording the appointment of Wibert, gives a general picture of the times which is well worth turning to.

² Epp. Lanfr. 65 (Giles, i. 80). "Nondum enim insula nostra priorem refutavit, nec utrum huic obedire debeat sententiam promulgavit. Auditis utrimque causis, si ita contigerit, perspicacius quid fieri oporteat provideri valebit."

³ Ib. "Non probo quod Papam Gregorium vituperas, quod Hildebrandum eum vocas, quod legatos ejus spinulosos nominas, quod Clementem tot et tantis praconii tam propere exaltas."

⁴ Ib. "Credo tamen quod gloriatus Imperator sine magna ratione tantam rem non est aggressus patrare, nec sine magno auxilio Dei tantam potuit victoriam consummare."

The national Chroniclers show just the same feeling as Lanfranc and William with regard to the several claimants of the Papacy. See the language of Florence at the end of his entry under the year 1091, where he

E ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

oth the Cæsar and the Pontiff of the island Empire
lly made up their minds to hold their own, and that
e obedience which Rome was likely to win from
m, or from Lanfranc under William's rule, did not
yond a decent ceremonial reverence.

act there was no time when the royal supremacy in
s ecclesiastical was more fully carried out than it
t the days of the Conqueror. If William was pre-
tly Defender of the Faith, he was no less pre-emi-

Supreme Governor of the Church throughout his
ions. In all causes and over all persons was that
nacy asserted. Alongside of all that we hear of
m's zeal and piety, we hear another voice com-
ig of his aggressions on ecclesiastical privileges,
f the new customs which he brought over from
andy for the more complete subordination of the
astical state to his will.¹ On that will, we are told,

WILLIAM'S ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY

consent, and that no papal letters or bulls were to have any force or currency in his realm, unless they were first seen and approved by himself.¹ When the Archbishop summoned a national Council, its decrees had no force until they were confirmed by the King; it might almost seem that no matters could be even debated without the royal licence.² Nor did William allow any of his barons or officers of state to be excommunicated or subjected to any ecclesiastical censure without his consent.³

All these things are complained of as innovations on earlier English practice. And in a certain sense they were so. The supremacy of William was not greater in extent than the supremacy of Eadward, but it was exercised in a different way. Under the native English Kings the Church and the State of England had been absolutely the same thing;⁴ decrees in temporal and spiritual matters were made by the same authority; Kings, Earls, and Bishops were elected and deposed by the same all-ruling assembly. Under William all things were tending towards a separation between the ecclesiastical and the temporal power. The Archbishop now held his Synod as a body distinct from the great Gemot of the realm. It almost necessarily followed that the King should assert a distinct

The King's confirmation needed for the decrees of Synods.

The King's officers not to be excommunicated without his leave.

How far these were innovations.

The supremacy exercised in a new way by William. Changes consequent on the separation of jurisdictions.

¹ Eadmer, Hist. Nov. 6. "Non ergo pati volebat quemquam in omni dominatione sua constitutum Romanæ urbis Pontificem pro Apostolico, nisi se jubente, recipere, aut ejus litteras, si primitus sibi ostense non fuissent, ullo pacto suspicere."

² Ib. "Primatem quoque regni sui, archiepiscopum dico Cantuariensem seu Dorobernensem, si coacto generali episcoporum concilio praesideret, non sinebat quidquam statuere aut prohibere nisi que sue voluntati accommodata et a se primo essent ordinata."

³ Ib. "Nulli nihilominus episcoporum suorum concessum iri permettebat ut aliquem de baronibus suis seu ministris sive incesto sive adulterio sive aliquo capitali crimine denotatum publice, nisi ejus precepto, implacaret aut excommunicaret aut ullâ ecclesiastici rigoris pena constringeret." The practical effect of this stretch of the secular power would probably be very different under William the Conqueror and under William Rufus.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 367.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

arity over ecclesiastical matters in a shape which gave the aspect of an external, and even a hostile, power. In sense it was a novelty for the King to control the affairs of a distinct ecclesiastical body, or distinctly to express his personal will in ecclesiastical matters. The proposed changes of William became matters of fierce debate during the days of his son onward. But all of them became part and parcel of the law of England. The supremacy established by William was essentially the same as the supremacy which was striven for by Henry the Second, and at last established by Henry the Eighth. But it is difficult to see the weak point of his policy. William, like other great rulers, established a system which he himself could work, but which smaller men could not work. Stronger and weaker Kings evils showed themselves, and under his rule had no place. Under a weak King a distinct ecclesiastical body could assume a degree of independent power which it could not assume in earlier

men were corrupted by the temptations of their position. CHAP. XI
 Against Thomas of York and Osmund of Salisbury we must set prelates like Robert of Chester¹ and Thurstan of Glastonbury,² and we must not forget that Lanfranc himself did in some degree tread in their ways in the matter of Saint Augustine's.³ Lanfranc never became a naturalized Englishman, like Osbern of Exeter; he did not advance so far in the same path as Thomas of York. Perhaps his character, hard if lofty, his devotion to interests spread over a field far wider than the isle of Britain, hindered him from ever thoroughly throwing himself into any purely local or national position. His destiny made him first Norman and then English, but we may suspect that he never heartily put on either character. In his eyes Normans and English alike were simply instruments for carrying out designs in which Normandy and England seemed but as small specks on the globe. An Italian born, a lawyer of the Empire, a devotee of the Papacy, he brought with him into England a contempt for the barbarous islanders. That contempt he never got over, even when his position drove him to throw aside his former devotion to Rome, and to appear in some sort as the champion of England. The man who could defend the rights of our island,⁴ of its King, and of its Primate, himself showed, in his own dealings with Englishmen, too much of the spirit in which his creature had plucked down the tombs of the English Abbots of Saint Alban's.⁵ His favour to the monks, combined with his sterling personal virtues, won him the veneration of all English writers, except those who belonged to foundations, like York and Saint Augustine's, with which he had been actually at war.⁶

¹ See above, p. 417. ² See above, p. 389. ³ See above, p. 408.

⁴ Mark the words "insula nostra" in the letter of Lanfranc quoted in p. 435. In the next chapter we shall find him speaking of "nos Angli."

⁵ See above, p. 395.

⁶ See above, pp. 350, 408.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

n admiring monk of his own house has left a tale
word which shows how little reverence the stranger
he felt for the holiest of his native predecessors, and
he was brought to a more worthy frame of mind by
a stranger more righteous and better than he. We
for a moment go back to the old home of Lanfranc,
the house which in that generation might seem the
nursery of English Metropolitans.

The long life of the founder and first Abbot of Bee¹
at last ended. Herlwin had at last raised a church
of the fame of his house, and his most renowned
the Primate of all Britain, had performed the
rite of its hallowing.² The next year after this com-
pletion of his labours Herlwin went to his rest,³ and his
successor as Prior of his house, the holy Anselm of
Canterbury. The English possessions of the abbey caused the
abbot, in the first year of his appointment, to visit
England, and of which fourteen years later he was to become
the chief chanancer.⁴ He had much intercourse with the

ANSELM IN ENGLAND.

divine and the philosopher; the ecclesiastical stood face to face with the saint. The wisdom no doubt, but still hard and worldly, will guide Churches and kingdoms in troublous times by the boundless love which took in all God's creatures, whatever race or species. The talk of the two friends on the ecclesiastical state of England.

unused to the habits and usages of his country was bent upon novations in England. His doubts as to the martyrdom of Aelfheah. Difference of Italian and English feeling.

on changing many things, some, our Englishman of Lanfranc. tells us, for good reasons, others simply of his own arbitrary will.¹ Amongst other things, the Italian Primate took on him to doubt as to the holiness of some of the English saints and martyrs.² A native of a Lombard city, used to fellow-citizens but not to fellow-countrymen, familiar with the local strife of city and city but not with the national struggles of a whole people, Lanfranc doubtless found it hard to understand the feeling which, in the minds of Englishmen, made religion and patriotism but two sides of the same thing, and which gave the honours of martyrdom to men who died in fight against the heathen invader. Even the reverence paid to the holy Aelfheah was unintelligible to him. Aelfheah might have been a saint; Lanfranc could not bring himself to look on him as a martyr. He had not died for the faith of Christ; he had only died rather than pay a sum of money which could not be raised save by doing wrong to his people.³ In the eyes of Lanfranc, the lawyer and ad-

¹ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, i. 5. 42. "Erat Lanfrancus adhuc quasi rudis Anglus, nequamque sederant animo ejus quedam institutiones quas repererat in Anglia, quapropter quum plures de illis magna fretus ratione, tum quedam mutavit solâ auctoritatis sue deliberatione."

² Ib. "Angli isti inter quos degimus instituerunt sibi quedam quos colerent sanctos. De quibus quum aliquando qui fuerint, secundum quod ipsemet referunt, mente revolvo, de sanctitatis eorum merito animum a dubitate flectere nequeo."

³ Ib. 43. "Hunc [Elfegum] non modo inter sanctos verum et inter martyres numerant, licet eum, non pro confessione nominis Christi, sed

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

strator, it was no martyrdom to die, not for faith for charity, not for a theological dogma but for teousness and mercy. He laid his doubts before the er of dogmatic theology, and from him he learned that na did not come before righteousness. If Christ was a, He was also righteousness; it was as holy a thing ie for righteousness as to die for truth.¹ The Baptist , not on behalf of a theological proposition, but on l of the eternal laws of right and wrong.² So did heah. He died for righteousness as John died for h, for the truth which he spoke forth at his own peril.³ the judgement of Anselm, the English Primate was ue a martyr as the Forerunner of the Saviour.⁴ Lan- c, with a noble frankness which redeems his earlier adices, confessed his error, and declared himself con- ed. Saint *Ælfheah* retained all his honours,⁵ and still keeps his place in the English Kalendar. The who thus defended the cause of the English martyr himself to sit in his seat, and thence to rebuke sin

Lanfranc, with all his great qualities, lived and died among us as a stranger. His worthier successor, from the moment when he first set foot on our land, won the rank of an adopted Englishman by standing forth as the champion of the saints of England. Stranger as he was, he has won his place among the noblest worthies of our island. It was something to be the model of all ecclesiastical perfection; it was something to be the creator of the theology of Christendom; but it was something higher still to be the very embodiment of righteousness and mercy, to be handed down in the annals of humanity as the man who saved the hunted hare¹ and stood up for the holiness of Ælfheah.

Looked at, not from a purely English but from a more general point of view, the primacy of Lanfranc, that is, the ecclesiastical administration of William, was certainly a time of advance and reform. The standard of the English Church, intellectual and moral, was, in a cosmopolitan aspect, undoubtedly raised. In a strictly national point of view, the case is quite different. The foreign prelate might be, as a rule, a man of higher culture than his English predecessor, but he could not have the same sympathy with his flock and with their subordinate pastors. And the reforms of Lanfranc were purchased by much of wrong and hardship in particular cases. We are significantly told that the outrages of Thurstan at Glastonbury did not stand alone.² And, though William's hands were undoubtedly clean from all stain of simony,³ yet even

moral as well as ecclesiastical offences. See his discourse with William Rufus in Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 24.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 25.

² Ord. Vit. 523 D. "Conventio et profectus fiebat inter commissos greges et archimandritas hujusmodi, qualis inter lupos et bidentes sine defensore solet fieri. Quod facile probari potest ab his qui interfuerunt in Turstino Cadomensi et conventu Glestoniensi."

³ We may, I think, fairly accept the statement of William or Orderic in the death-bed speech (658 C); "Ecclesiasticas dignitates nunquam venum

Two-fold aspect of Lanfranc's administration.

Points of reform.

Dark side of his changes.

The foreign Prelates.

Disposal of ecclesiastical offices.

E ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

reign, and still more in the reigns of his sons, ricks and abbeys were turned into the rewards of temporal service.¹ This is an evil which will ever befall every Church whose offices carry with them enough spiritual wealth and dignity to become objects of royal ambition. And this evil would assume its worst form when services done to the King would command mean services done against the people. Men complain that prelates were hurled from their seats at the will, with small attention either to natural justice or forms of the canon law. The English Abbot—² he inmate of a Norman monastery who speaks—sat aside to make way for one who was not an Abbot tyrant.² In such a state of things one man at least of the conquering race was found to denounce the opinion of England and her native Church and to refuse himself all share in her spoils. This was Wimund, a monk of the abbey of Saint Leutfred,³ who crossed over at William's bidding but who returned

land and share in the rich benefices which were falling CHAP. XIX.
to the lot of others.¹ Wimund turned away from temptation, but he did not turn away in silence. Like the Elias of either dispensation, he dared to speak the truth before princes. Pressed by the King to accept some rich bishoprick or abbey, he spoke out his mind before William and his lords. The learning of Wimund was famous; yet we need not believe that he gave the illustrious assembly a complete sketch of universal history, from Nabuchodonosor to Rolf, to prove that kingdoms are not eternal, and that the power of this world often passes speedily away.² But we seem to hear his genuine words when he says that God hates robbery for burnt-offering, and will not accept those who make oblations of the spoils of the poor.³ He asked by what law he could be justified in holding a place of authority among men of whose tongue and manners he was ignorant.⁴ With what face could he bear rule among men whose friends and kinsfolk his countrymen had slain with the sword, or had deprived of their heritage and condemned to banishment, to unrighteous imprisonment, or to intolerable slavery?⁵ He bade them search the scriptures, and see whether there was any law by which the Lord's flock ought to receive their shepherds

He refuses
preferment
in England.

His speech
before
William.

Here rebukes
the oppres-
sors of the
English
Church and
nation.

¹ Ord. Vit. 524 A. "Regio jussu accersitus, pontum transfretavit, et oblatum sibi a Rege et proceribus regni onus ecclesiastici regiminis omnino repudiavit."

² The speech, whether his own composition or Wimund's, is given at length by Orderic, 524-526. Leaving out these parts, which are merely one of the usual displays of irrelevant learning, the speech is thoroughly worthy of the occasion, and we may hope that it fairly represents the substance of what Wimund really said.

³ Ib. C. "Dicit enim scriptura, 'Immolans ex iniquo, oblatio est maculata.' Et paulo post; 'Qui offert sacrificium ex substantia pauperum quasi qui victimat filium in conspectu patris sui.'"

⁴ Ib. B. "Omnibus vigili mente perlustratis, non video quā lege digniter
praeesse valeam illorum cuneo quorum extraneos mores barbararamque
locutionem neocio."

⁵ Ib. "Quorum patres carosque parentes et amicos occidistis gladio, vel exasperatos opprimitis exilio, vel carcere indebito, vel intolerabili servitio."



THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND

the hands of conquering enemies.¹ How could an order whose profession it was to forsake the world to give up all worldly wealth, become a sharer of the spoils which had been won by war and bloodshed? He trembled as he looked on England lying before him, one vast spoil, and he shrank from the touch of death as from a burning fire.² He went on to warn his king and his nobles of their danger. He reminded them that none of his fathers had worn a royal crown; that the kingdom had come to him by no hereditary right, but by the gift of God and the favour of Eadward, judge of the *Ætheling* Eadgar and of others who were dearer than himself to the royal stock.³ He spoke of judgment and punishment. He bade them think of the judgment to come, lest the prosperity of this world should lead them to forgetfulness and gnashing of teeth in the next. For he would go back to Normandy; he would leave the kingdom of England to those who loved the rubbish of this world.

enjoyment of his favour.¹ But baser hearts were filled CHAP. XIX. with wrath at the man who had preferred the poverty of the monk to the wealth of the Bishop, who had denounced courtiers. the conquest of England as robbery, and had charged every foreign Bishop and Abbot who held an English prelacy with the crime of robbery in his own person.² Some time later, the metropolitan throne of Rouen became vacant by the death of Archbishop John.³ William, consulting the better part of his nature, offered the vacant post to Wimund. But the baser spirits whom Wimund had rebuked clamoured against him, though against a man of such virtue and learning they had nothing to say beyond the convenient charge that he was the son of a priest.⁴ Rather than become a subject of strife, Wimund determined to forsake his country, and obtained leave of his Abbot Odilo to visit foreign lands.⁵ Beyond the bounds both of Normandy and England, he found patrons who could appreciate his merit, and offers of preferment which he could accept with a good conscience. Gregory the Seventh raised him to the rank of Cardinal; Urban the Second bestowed on him the archbishopric of Aversa. There, in a Norman city founded on Italian soil,⁶ he at Aversa by

Death of
John Arch-
bishop of
Rouen.
1079.

William
offers the
see to
Wimund.

Oppo-
sition of
Wimund's
enemies.

Wimund
declines
the Pri-
macy and
goes into
Italy.

He is made
Cardinal
by Gregory,
and Arch-
bishop of
Aversa by

¹ Ord. Vit. 526 A. "Admiratus Rex cum proceribus suis insignis monachi constantiam, supplex ac devotus impedit ei decentem reverentiam, et competenter honoratum jussit eum remeare in Neustria."

² Ib. "Auditum est passim . . . quod ipse monachile pauperiem deditiis episcoporum præposuerit, et quod obtentum Anglie in presentia Regis et optimatum ejus rapinam appellaverit, et quod omnes episcopos vel abbates qui, nolentibus Anglis, in ecclesiis Anglie prælati sunt rapacitatis redarguerit."

³ See above, p. 96.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 526 A. "Æmuli ejus, quos idem vituperaverat, ne archipresul fieret quantum potuerunt impedierunt. In tanto viro nil objicendum invenerunt, nisi quod filius esset presbyteri." See above, p. 354.

⁵ Ib. B. "Ille ab omni avaritia purgari volens, et inter exteriores paupertate premi inter subs dissensiones fovere malens."

⁶ Ib. "Hæc urbs tempore Leonis IX. Papæ a Normannis qui primo Apuliam incoluerunt constructa est."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

found a place where he could undertake the care of the
of men without putting his own soul in jeopardy.¹
While such men as Wimund were to be found among
priesthood of Normandy, it is with delight that we
find at least one equally noble assertor of truth and
cousiness among her gallant chivalry. Herlwin did
stand alone in practising the highest Christian virtues
at the harness of the Norman warrior.² In English
the noblest of the men who followed William must
be Gulbert of Hugleville, the son of that valiant
and who had fought so well for his Duke in the
ish of Saint Aubin.³ A kinsman of William, he had
ied Beatrice of Valenciennes, who is described as a
woman of the Duchess Matilda.⁴ The ties of loyalty
kindred had led him across the sea in the following
s cousin and sovereign. He led his men to William's
lard; he fought by his side against the English axes;
ured in all the toils by which England was brought
William's hand.⁵ And when the last man of

like Herlwin, he waged the harder strife of living in the CHAP. XIX.
world the life of a Christian man. Content with their own, Gulbert and Beatrice spent the rest of their days in prayer and almsdeeds, and left behind them a name worthy of higher honour than most of those whose renown is more widely spread.¹

Such were the main results of the ecclesiastical administration of William, carried out by the acute and far-seeing statesman whom he had called from his cell at Bec to be the sharer in his counsels on both sides of the sea. We have now to go back and to take up the general history of William's reign, from the time when he could first be said to be really master of England to the time when his fortunes began to fade away into the gloom of his later days.

Gulbertus, Rege multas in Anglia possessiones offerente, Neustria repetit, legitimâque simplicitate pollens de rapina quidquam possidere noluit. Suis contentus aliena respuit."

¹ Ord. Vit. 606 D. "Cum religiosa conjugè . . . diu vixit, et eleemosynis ac orationibus aliisque bonis operibus usque ad finem laudabiliter studuit." See more of his good works in 604 C, D, 605 A.



CHAPTER XX.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.¹

1070—1076.

PACE of about three years and a half from the time of his first landing at Pevensey had made William of England. The event of the fight of Senlac gave possession of the south-eastern portion of the kingdom, after about a year of comparative peace, two years of ceaseless warfare, beginning with the campaign against

by his authority. The Church was as much under his command as the State; he hurled Bishops from their bishopricks, and Abbots from their abbeys,¹ and appointed whom he would in their stead. He was fully King; he was perhaps more truly King than any King who had gone before him. No King had ever had the whole land, and those who bore rule in every corner of it, so thoroughly under his control. The process by which William had gained his power was harsh and wrongful; it had inflicted unutterable wretchedness on the whole land; parts of the land it had turned into a wilderness. The way in which his power was used was systematically stern, occasionally cruel. But the kingdom which he had won gained in the end from his winning of it. It was William's conquest and William's rule which fixed for ever that England should remain a kingdom one and indivisible.

From this time then whatever opposition William had still to face took the form of revolts or insurrections. Those who now fought against him were no longer striving to keep something which they still had; they were striving to win back something which they had lost. Their right so to do I should be the last to dispute. The right to resist an oppressive, above all a foreign, government is the groundwork of all freedom. It is undoubtedly a right to be exercised with the greatest caution, and only in the extremest cases. A hopeless revolt, where success is impossible and where failure only increases oppression, is undoubtedly a crime. But we must remember that many an enterprise which seems hopeless to men who look at it calmly from a distance does not seem hopeless to those who are engaged in it. And we must also remember that in the eleventh century men's local feelings were at least as strong as their national feelings. An

¹ Chron. Petrib. 1087. "Biscopas he sette of heora biscoprice and abbodas of heora abbodrice."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

rise which was wholly hopeless as an attempt to
William out of the land was not necessarily hopeless
attempt to win back the independence of some par-
district. From our point of view we should look
lasting dismemberment of the kingdom as a greater
ian its misgovernment at a particular time. We
argue that to assert a precarious independence
particular district could lead only to making the
ge of the whole land yet heavier. The men of the
th century did not look at matters in this light.
would have been best pleased to shut out the stranger
every corner of the land. But failing this, it was
ir eyes a worthy object to rescue any corner of the
rom his grasp. From their own point of view then,
en who, in the cause of England, revolted against
m are as worthy of English sympathy as those who
earlier stage withheld him. But we must bear in
the historical difference between their several posi-

to arrange them in several well-defined groups. There is the revolt of the fen country, which has made the name of Hereward immortal. Partly contemporary with this, and closely connected with it, are the renewed troubles in Northumberland and Scotland. We then cross the sea to trace the revolt of Maine, and its recovery chiefly by English arms. We lastly come to the abortive conspiracy which led to the great personal crime of William's reign, the execution of Waltheof.

Revolt of
the Fen-
land.

1070-1071.
Troubles
in North-
umber-
land and
Scotland.

1070-1072.
Revolt of
Maine.

1074.
Fate of
Waltheof.

1075-1076.

§ 1. *The Revolt of the Fen Country.*

1070-1071.

We must now go back to the last stage of William's great northern campaign. The Danish fleet under Earl Osbeorn and Bishop Christian was, by the agreement with William, allowed to pass the winter in England and to plunder the coasts.¹ It was stretching this licence to the uttermost when the Danes appeared in the waters of Ely in the month of May.² The people of the district at once flocked to them, believing that they would win the whole land. The Chronicler speaks of those who joined them as the English folk of all the Fenland; but the Danish blood was strong in those parts, and we can quite understand that here, no less than in Yorkshire, the followers of Christian and Osbeorn would be welcomed as countrymen.³ We hear nothing of Edgar or his cause; the impression which the story gives us is that the men of the Fenland were ready to receive

Osbeorn
and Chris-
tian at Ely.
May, 1070.
The men of
the fen
country
join them.

Kingship
of Swegen
probably
designed.

¹ See above, p. 318.

² The plunder of Peterborough, presently to be spoken of, took place on June 2. The first appearance of the fleet in those parts would therefore doubtless be in May.

³ Chron. Petrib. 1070. "þa comen into Eliȝ Christien þa Densce biscoop and Osbeorn eorl, and þa Densce huscarles mid heom, and þet Englisce folc of eall þa feonlanades comen to heom, and wendon þet hi sceoldon winnon eall þet land."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

n as King.¹ At this moment we hear for the first time of one whose mythical fame outshines all the names of his generation, and of whom the few historical notices which we possess give us wish that details could be filled in from some source rather than legend. Suddenly, without preparation or introduction of any kind, we find ourselves face to face with the renowned but shadowy form of Hereward. With him has fiction been more busy.² One tale, the wild-all, has made the famous outlaw a son of the great Leofric. Romancers probably did not stop to think what was to make him a brother of *Ælfgar*, an uncle by marriage of King Edward and of King Harold.³ In truth, nothing whatever is known of his parentage; there is no more evidence for making him the son of an unknown Leofric of Bourne than there is for making him a son of the renowned Earl of Mercians. Both the voice of legend and the witness of the great Survey agree in connecting Hereward with

another fact with which the legendary versions of his life CHAP. XX. have been specially busy. Hereward, at some time it would seem before the period of his exploits, had fled from his country.¹ But the date and cause of his flight, whether he had drawn on himself the wrath of Eadward, of Harold, or of William, is utterly uncertain. On such a foundation His legend-
ary travels
and adven-
tures. as this a mighty superstructure could not fail to be piled up. The banished hero is of course carried into various parts of the world, and he is made to work various wonderful exploits, possible and impossible. In one tale he encounters in Northumberland a mighty bear, who, it is plainly insinuated, was near akin to Earl Siward and his son Waltheof.² In another he is brought across a native prince of Cornwall, whose name Domesday has forgotten to record among the long list of English land-owners who held the West-Welsh peninsula in the days of King Eadward.³ But Ireland and Flanders were such common resorts of English exiles that the tales which carry Hereward into those countries have distinct likelihood on their side. And if any one chooses to believe that he came back from Flanders in company with a Flemish wife, such a belief in no way contradicts history. But leaving fables and guesses aside, we know enough of Hereward to make us earnestly long to know more. There is no doubt that he defended the last shelter of English freedom against the might of William. His heart failed him not when the hearts of the noblest of the land quaked within them. Our most patriotic Latin annalist adorns his name with the standing epithet with Historical
notices of
Hereward.

¹ See Appendix MM.

² No smaller pedigree can be inferred when we read (*Chron. Ang.-Norm.* ii. 7) of "illum maximum ursum qui aderat, quem incidi ursi Norweye fuisse filium, ac formatum . . . pedes illius et caput ad fabulam clavorum affirmabant, sensum humanum habentem, et loquaciam hominis intellecticem, ad doctum ad bellum; cuius igitur pater in silvis fertur pueram rapuisse, et ex ea Biernum Regem Norweye genuisse." (See vol. i. pp. 420, 521, 768.) The editor remarks, "locus est corruptissimus."

³ See above, p. 171.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

he adorns the name of Harold,¹ and our native chronicler records his deeds in words which seem borrowed from the earlier record of the deeds of Ælfred.²

The authentic narrative does not tell us in what relation Brand stood to the movement on the part of the fens, of which Ely was the centre. Neither can we make out the exact position of Abbot Thurstan of Ely and his monks. Thurstan was the friend and nominee of Harold,³ but the legend which represents him as active in the plot has probability on its side; but nothing can be said with certainty. Our authentic accounts at this stage deal less with the monastery of Ely than with the not far distant monastery of Peterborough. The death of Brand, the abbot who had succeeded the patriot Leofric, has been only recorded,⁴ as well as the appointment of his successor in the Easter Gemót of the past year. He was indeed a stranger, but his Norman name Turold,⁵ a form of Danish Thorold, is a name which is still familiar in

was tyrannical, and the story runs that William picked him out, as being more of a soldier than a monk, as the fittest man to rule the great house of Peterborough, now that it was threatened by Hereward and his fellow outlaws in the fens.¹ In conformity with his character, he is now described as coming at the head of an armed force of Frenchmen to take possession of his monastery.² He had reached Stamford, when he heard of the state in which he was likely to find the house over which he was set to rule. In the eyes of English outlaws or patriots, a monastery under the command of a Norman Abbot, especially of an Abbot who came surrounded by a foreign military force, was looked on as part of the enemy's country.³ One of our few notices of Hereward's earlier life sets him before us as one who was not specially remarkable for respect towards ecclesiastical property,⁴ and his feelings against the foreign prelate would doubtless be still more bitter, if there is any truth in the tale that he was himself the nephew of the late English Abbot Brand.⁵ The news came to the monks of Peterborough that a motley force, made up

He comes
with an
armed force
to Stan-
ford.

June 1 ?
1070.

Hostile
feelings of
the neigh-
bourhood.

Hereward
heads the
outlaws

quemdam Fiscannensem monachum, qui eum magnis damneruerat obsequiis, viventi Brihtico intrusit. Verumtamen postmodum rem perperam factam intelligens, dolensque se ambitione festinantis circumventum, dono abbatie de Burhunâ exsulans damnum consolatus est."

¹ Will. Malm. Geest. Pont. 420. "Idem Turoldus, dum tyrannidem in subjectos ageret, ad Burh a Rege translatus est, abbatiam opulentam, sed tunc quæ a latrunculis, duce quodam Herewardo, infestaretur, quia inter paludes sita erat. 'Per splendorem' inquit 'Dei, quia magis se agit militem quam abbatem, inveniam ei comparem, qui assultus ejus accipiat. Ibi virtutem suam et militiam experiar, ibi pœlia proludat.'"

² Chron. Petrib. 1070. "He wæs cumen þa into Stanforde mid calle hisse Frēncisce menn."

³ This feeling is plainly set forth in the words with which the Chronicler brings in his notice of the appointment of Turold; "þa herdon þa munecas of Burh æegen þæt heora agene menn woldon hergon þone mynstre . . . þæt wæs forðan þæt hi herdon æegen þæt se cyng," &c..

⁴ See Appendix MM.

⁵ So the false Ingulf in Gale, p. 70; Gesta Herewardi, Chron. Ang.-Norm. ii. 39.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

laws, of their own men, and of the Danish allies, coming to harry the monastery. This, says the writer, was Hereward and his gang.¹ This is the first mention of Hereward's name in authentic history, but it is evident which shows that his name was already well known at Peterborough. While the gang was on its march, sent churchward, Yware by name, acting by the command of the monks,² took out of the minster such books and other moveable articles as he could, to preserve them from robbery. He then before daybreak sent word to the abbot, asking for his peace and protection, and telling him that the outlaws were coming.³ This was not the first time to stave off or to soften the coming attack. The abbot had now fair ground for looking on the monks as friends to the national cause, and for giving out that whatever they themselves did was done as good service to the country itself, which was betrayed by its present inmates.⁴ In the morning the outlaws came with many ships, and a monk at first strove to keep them from entering the

their way through the Bolhithe Gate, the southern gate of CHAP. XX. the monastery, and the monks now sought for their peace and protection.¹ But it was too late. The whole band, outlaws, Danes, and vassals, whether loyal or rebellious, burst into the minster. They climbed up to the great rood and carried off its ornaments of gold;² they climbed up the steeple, and carried off the gold and silver pastoral staff³ which was there hidden.⁴ Shrines, roods, books, vestments, coined money,⁵ treasures of every kind, were carried away to the ships and were taken to Ely. The monks were all scattered abroad—an act which seems to be specially attributed to the Danish allies—all save one sick brother in the infirmary.⁶ This fact seems at once to speak well for the health of the brotherhood, and to mark the respect which even the outlaws showed to buildings and persons that might specially claim their forbearance. Presently came Abbot Turold with a hundred and sixty armed Frenchmen. The enemy had already set sail, and he found only the one sick monk, and the empty church standing in the midst of the blackened ruins of the monastery. But the brethren gradually came together again, and divine service was again begun in the minster after ceasing for one week.⁷

Turold
reaches
Peter-
borough.
June 2.

Divine
service
restored.
June 9.

¹ Chron. Petrib. 1070. “þa comen hi þurh fyre in æt Bolhiðe geaste, and þa munecas comen heom togeanes, beaden heom grīð.”

² Ib. “Ac hi na rohten na þing, geodon into þe mynstre, clumben upp to þe halge rode, namen þa þe kynehelm of ure Drihtnes heafod, eall of smēate golde, namen þa jet fotspure þe wæs underneðen his fote, þet wæs eall of read golde.”

³ See vol. ii. p. 437, for the hallowing of this steeple.

⁴ Chron. Petrib. u. s. “þæt hæcce þe þær wæs behid, hit wæs eall of gold and of seofre.”

⁵ The Chronicler specially mentions “swa manega gersumas on sceat.” Something had perhaps escaped the pillaging of last Lent.

⁶ Chron. Petrib. u. s. “Beleaf þær nan butan án munec; he wæs gehaten Leofwine Lange; he læi seoc in þa sacreman in.” “Secre man” it is written by Mr. Earle.

⁷ Ib. “And þus se abbot Turolde com to Burh, and þa munecas comen

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

this point the Chronicler places a reconciliation between the two Kings, William and Swegen.¹ But we may suppose that nothing really happened beyond some further negotiation between William and Osbeorn, and perhaps the bribe to the Danish Earl. At all events, soon after their exploit at Peterborough the Danes sailed away from Ely, and, after showing themselves for two days on the Thames, they sailed towards Denmark,² laden with wealth which the faithless vassals of Saint Peter had been compelled to carry away from his minster. But, as the tale of the Danes' conduct implicitly implies, their sacrilege was not to go unpunished. They were in the midst of the sea a mighty storm arose, and drove the ships hither and thither, some to Flanders, some to Norway, some to their own shores of Denmark. These last landed at a King's town whose name seems to have been unknown to our Chronicler. The treasures of Peterborough, including the precious staff, were placed in the church of the town, but, through the

was banished from Denmark on account of the bribe which he had taken from William.¹ A spiritual censure also fell upon the English offenders. Bishop Æthelric, seemingly from his prison at Westminster, put forth a ban against all who had any share in the plunder of Peterborough.² It is hard to see on what principle of canon law a Bishop without a diocese could claim to exercise any such authority. But the long sojourn of Æthelric at Peterborough may have been felt to give him some kind of control over the house and its belongings. His censure of the offenders may even have been required by William as an act of policy; it certainly would have a deeper effect on the minds of the men of the Fenland than any censure put forth by Abbot Turold or Bishop Remigius.

CHAP. XX.
Osbeorn
banished
by Swegen.
Bishop
Æthelric
excommuni-
cates the
plunderers
of Peter-
borough.

After this exploit, which the most zealous patriotism can hardly bring itself to look on as glorious, we hear nothing of the doings of the revolted English during the remainder of the year or during the following winter. Our only notice belongs to quite another part of England. Eadric the Wild, the hero of the western march, now made his submission to the King.³ This event is mentioned immediately after the retirement of the Danish fleet, and in

Eadric the
Wild sub-
mits to
William.
June—
August,
1070.

¹ Flor. Wig. 1070. "Imminente autem festivitate S. Johannis Baptiste comes Esbernus, cum classe quae in Humber flumine hiemaverat, Danemarciam adiit; sed frater suus Rex Danorum Suanus, illum, propter pecuniam, quam contra voluntatem Danorum a Rege Willelmo accepserat, exlegavit."

² Chron. Petrib. 1070. "þa herde Ægelric biscoop þet geseogon, þa amansumede he ealle þa men þa þet yfel daede hæfden don." The Worcester version would seem to place the excommunication before the plundering, and to make it refer to some earlier wrong done to Æthelric himself personally; "And man hergade þet mynster set Burh, þet waron þa menn þe se biscoop Ægelric ær amansumade, forþon þe hi namon þer eall þet he ahte."

³ Flor. Wig. 1070. "Vir strenuissimus Edricus, cognomento Silvaticus, cuius supra meminimus, cum Rege Willelmo pacificatur." The submission of Eadric is placed between the departure of Osbeorn in June and the consecration of Lanfranc in August.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

way which might suggest that the two things were in some way connected. Perhaps Eadric thought that, with the failure of Danish help, all hope for England had passed away, and that there was nothing to be done but to make what terms he could with the Conqueror. For the next four accounts, though not easy to reconcile, are comparatively full, and the Norman account is decidedly more creditable to William than the English. And the general troubles of this year seem to be spoken of as the beginning of a new and worse state of things, a state of greater wretchedness for the conquered.¹ The centre of insurrectionary or patriotic movement was the Isle of Ely. It is therefore almost certain that the Isle had been taken by the insurgents ever since the appearance of the Danish fleet in those waters in the summer of the year before. No part of Britain could be more easily defended. Before the great works of drainage which have changed the course of the rivers and wholly altered the face of the country, the Isle of Ely was strictly an island. It is a



only means of approach were the roads of Roman and CHAP. XX.
earlier date, roads which, in such a country, necessarily
took the form of causeways. The great Akeman Street
led straight to Ely from William's newly-built castle of
Cambridge,¹ while another road, of uncertain date, led from
his other fortress of Huntingdon,² itself connected with
Cambridge by the Roman *Via Devana*. But the main Approach
approach was not by either of these great roads, but at a point called Aldreth.³
to the Isle
Aldreth.
point called Aldreth, a corruption of the name of the patron
saint *Æthelthryth*, where the ancient course of the Ouse,
now shallow indeed, is crossed by a causeway and bridge.⁴
As the causeway cuts through what seems to be a British
site, the camp which bears the strange name of Belsar's
Hill, it can hardly fail to be itself of Roman work.⁴ It
was here that the Isle was most accessible to an enemy,

only a part, is given by Orderic (537 D), but it is copied from the Life of Saint Guthlac by Felix of Crowland, whom Orderic has oddly confounded with Felix Bishop of the East-Angles (537 A), who died in 647 (Beda, ii. 15; iii. 30) in the century before Guthlac lived. The extract is given in Wright's *Biographia Britannica Litteraria*, i. 248. "Est in mediterraneorum Anglorum Britanniae partibus immensa magnitudinis acerrima palus, quae a Grontæ fluminis ripis incipiens, haud procul a castello quo dicunt nomine Gronte, nunc stagni, nunc fracti, interdum nigris fusis vaporibus et laticibus, necnon crebris insularum nemoribus intervenientibus, et flexuosis rivigarum ab austro in aquilonem mari tenuis longissimo traxit protenditur." An Old-English version, said to be by *Ælfric*, follows, which begins thus, "Ys on Bretone lande sum fenn unmestre mycelynysse þet on-ginneð fram Grante ea naht foer fram þere cestre ȳ ylcan nama ys nemned Grantecaster." The remarkable thing is that Camboritum, which in Beda's day was still "a waste chester" (see above, p. 311), is spoken of as if it were an actual town. Felix and Beda were contemporaries, but Felix must have been the younger man, and it is just possible that the town may have been set up again before he wrote.

¹ See above, p. 221.

² See above, p. 222.

³ On Aldreth causeway, see *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, p. 49. In the *Gesta Herewardi* (57) the place is called "Abrehede . . . ubi minus aquis et palude precegitur [insula]." In the *Ely History*, 229, it is "Alrehethe, ubi aquæ insulae minus, late sunt." The bridge, when I was there, looked very much as if it had been broken down by Hereward and not mended since.

⁴ See *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, 49.



THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

the course of the river was further protected by a
sway forming an angle with that by which the bridge
approached.¹ Within the Isle then, in a position as
if in its own way as if it had stood on the height of
Norfolk or Lincoln, the revolted inhabitants of the fen dis-
persed, most likely with Hereward as their chief, had stayed
out interruption during the winter. In the course
of the next year an altogether new turn was given to
things. The force of the outlaws was strengthened, if
strengthened it was, by the accession of several men of
higher rank and renown from other parts of England.

While the conquest of Northern England was going on,
Wine and Morkere, whose treason had blighted the first
attempt at resistance within their own earldoms, were
lying in William's court in a character which we may
not pleasure that of guests, prisoners, or hostages.² At
any rate they felt dissatisfied with their condition. Bad men,

Eadwine tried to reach the friendly court of Scotland,¹ but he was slain on his way thither. The English account simply says that he was basely slain by his own men.² The Norman version is fuller. Three English traitors, three brothers, followers of the Earl and admitted to his special favour, betrayed him to the Normans.³ In what part of England he was overtaken we are not told, but it must have been somewhere not very far from the coast, as an unusually high tide hindered him from crossing a river.⁴ This description would suit many spots in his own former earldom, and still more in that of his brother. It is therefore in vain to guess where Eadwine's last passage of arms may have happened.⁵ At the head of twenty horsemen the Earl gallantly withstood the attacks of a party of Normans, till he was slain, as it would seem, by the hands of the three traitors.⁶ They brought his head to William, hoping of course to win his favour, but, as such traitors have usually been dealt with from the days of David onward, their reward was outlawry instead of honour.⁷

Thus died the Earl of the Mercians, the grandson of really refers when he says (521 B) that Eadwine "sex mensibus a Scottis et Guallis vel Anglis auxilia sibi quæsivit;" but he wrongly places the wanderings and death of Eadwine after the surrender of his brother. The six months may possibly help us to a date for Eadwine's revolt—six months before the surrender of Ely in October.

¹ Flor. Wig. 1071.

² Chron. Petrib. 1071. "Eadwine eorl wearð ofslagen arhlice fram his agenum mannum." The Worcester Chronicle and Florence leave out the adverb.

³ Ord. Vit. 521 B. "Interea tres fratres, qui ei familiares precipuique satellites erant, Normannis eum prodiderunt."

⁴ Ib. "Ad hoc facinus exuestatio marina Normannos adjuvit, quæ ad rivulum quemdam Eduinum morari coegit, eique fugam penitus ademit."

⁵ On the question whether Eadwine ever entered the Isle of Ely, see Appendix NN.

⁶ Ord. Vit. 521 B. "Tres fratres . . . ipsi eundem cum xx. equitibus toto nisu sese defendantem occiderunt."

⁷ Ib. C. "Proditores, qui pro favore illius ei caput domini sui deferebant, severus in exsilium expulit."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

ic and Godgifu, the brother-in-law of Harold. The
ian who records his death waxes eloquent on his high
his personal beauty, his piety, his bounty to the clergy
he poor.¹ The news of his death, we are told, caused
throughout all England, not among the English only,
mong the Normans and French, who wept for him as
comrade or a kinsman.² Of the feelings of the royal
n who, like so many other royal maidens, had been
the sport of her father's policy, we hear nothing.
am himself—it is the last of his acts recorded by his
ryrist—shed tears over Eadwine's lifeless head.³ All
may be; Eadwine doubtless had many winning
nal qualities, and knew how to make himself the
ent and darling of a court. But all this does not
e him from the guilt of betraying every cause which
dertook, and breaking his faith to every lord to whom
ighted it. Those were days in which men both drew
sheathed their swords somewhat hastily; they were

has peopled the Camp of Refuge, as it has been romantically called, with a crowd of persons who undoubtedly were not there. We hear of Earl Eadwine, notwithstanding his death, of Archbishop Stigand, notwithstanding his imprisonment at Winchester,¹ of Abbot Frithric of Saint Alban's, whose name at once plunges us into an atmosphere of myth.²

Legend of the Camp of Refuge.

But there is no doubt as to the presence of Morkere,³ of the Northumbrian Thengn Siward Barn,⁴ and of Æthelwine Bishop of Durham, who left his shelter in Scotland to share the dangers of his countrymen.⁵

Presence of Siward Barn and of Bishop Æthelwine.

And there can be little doubt that the life and soul of the defence was Hereward himself. Though we cannot

venture to accept a single detail of his legendary history

as matter of historical fact, yet the mere abundance of such details shows the impression which he made on the popular imagination.

His legendary prominence makes it pretty certain that, even if Hereward was not the formal leader of the defenders of the Isle, it was on the strength

of his heart and arm that the hopes of the defence mainly rested.

And one of those incidental notices which, in the history of these times, often prove so much, shows that

the spirit which was kindled by the revolt of the Fenland spread itself into shires far away from Peterborough and

Ely. A party of the valiant men of Berkshire, tenants of Saint Mary of Abingdon, set forth to join the new

champions of England. They were surprised on their

march by a body of the King's troops, and underwent

Unsuccess-
ful march
of the
Berkshire
men.

¹ See above, p. 332.

² See Appendix KK.

³ Chron. Wig. 1072, Petrib. 1071. "And Morkere mid scyfe gewende to Helig, and þær com Ægelwine bisceop and Sigward Barn, and fela hund manna mid heom." Florence (1071) adds, "*Herewardus vir strenuissimus, cum multis aliis.*" Simeon (1071. 89 Hinde) adds of Æthelwine and Siward, "*de Scottiis renavigante illo ad venerant.*" The account of Orderic (521 A) must be taken for what it is worth; "*Rex Guillelmus . . . fraudulenter inclitum comitem Morcarum in Eliensi insula conclusit, sibique confederatum et nil mali machinantem vel suspicantem obseedit.*"

⁴ See above, p. 21.

⁵ See above, p. 335.



THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

is punishments for their rebellion.¹ The one instance of zeal which happens to be recorded was doubtless the only instance that happened; we may be sure that brave or desperate men from various parts of England had joined in the defence of the spot which now alone truly England. And, if legend is allowed to count anything, none of the warlike guests of Saint Æthelred showed greater zeal in the common cause than the ecclesiastic indwellers of her island. Monks and warriors slept by side in the refectory; the chief leaders were seated with a place at the table of the Abbot; while arms of war hung from the walls and the roof, that comrades, lay and spiritual alike, might at once spring into harness at any call of sudden need.² Everything was fair for a long defence; men might deem that, though most of the land might submit to the Norman, yet the Isle of Ely might long remain independent English land.

It is even possible that, here and there, an outlying British settlement may have lingered on to the days of William, and that Hereward, as well as Eadric on the other side of England, may have found allies among the descendants of those whom his fathers had displaced. In after days the land which had thus sheltered the last relics alike of British and of English independence sheltered the last relics of the party which had fought for the freedom of England by the side of Simon of Montfort.¹ But a remnant of this kind, holding a spot like the Isle of Ely, could never be more than a community of outlaws. It was not even as if any substantive and considerable part of the country, a land like Northumberland or the *Wealh-cyn* or the whole of East-Anglia, had contrived to retain its independence. A district of this kind might have kept a real political being and a real national existence, just as Wales and Scotland did. But the independence of the Isle of Ely could have meant nothing more than a constant *guerrilla* warfare in its own neighbourhood, and a constant source of discontent and suspicion through the rest of the kingdom. We admire, we sympathize with, the followers of Hereward and the followers of the younger Simon; but, in the general interest of England, we can hardly lament that their efforts were not crowned with success.

One thing is plain, that William looked on the revolt of the Fenland as something which needed all his energies of craft and force to put down. He called forth both

referred in vol. i. p. 429, certainly seems to point to the existence of British robbers in the Fenland as late as the time of Cnut. The English tenants of an oppressive Danish Thengn are made to say, "Quousque alienigenæ istius vitam donandam gratis Britonibus latronibus continuis noctium excubiis ad nostrum dedecus et damnum conservamus!"

¹ The holding of the Isle of Ely by Simon's followers is mentioned by all the historians of Henry the Third; see for instance Rishanger, 44, ed. Riley. The royalist Wikes (Ann. Mon. iv. 204, 207) has of course many hard words for the patriots.

The Isle
defended
by the
followers of
Simon of
Montfort.
1266-1268.

Political
hopeless-
ness of
the strug-
gle.



THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

and a fleet, which last must have been chiefly
d by English sailors.¹ Legend speaks of William
rren, the husband of the King's step-daughter, as
a leading part in this expedition. His chief object
avenge his brother Frederick, who is said to have
slain by Hereward at an earlier time.² We also
much of Ivo Taillebois, who has become one of the
prominent figures in the legendary history, and who
s in the Survey as the owner of large estates in
ighbouring land of Holland.³ Romance endows
ith the marriage and heritage of the mythical Lucy,
ng-lived and often-wedded daughter of Earl Ælfgar,
.erefore, according to one version, the niece of Here-
himself. History shows that there is so much of
in the myth that Ivo really had a wife, certainly
daughter of Ælfgar, but still of English parentage,
n Norman lips was spoken of as Lucy, much as
th the daughter of Malcolm had her name changed

as a bitter enemy of the monks of Crowland;¹ it is more certain that the priory of Spalding counted him among its benefactors.² And an incidental passage of the Survey shows us that the one Norman who must ever claim most interest in the eyes of Englishmen was among the assailants of the last stronghold of independent England. William Malet, who had borne the body of Harold to his first burial³ and who had been the prisoner of the Danes after the taking of York,⁴ had escaped or had been redeemed from his captivity, and now came to fight and die in the marshes of Ely.⁵ Thus much is handed down to us in the great record; but romance, so busy with the names of other actors, Norman and English, has perversely forgotten to hand down to us a single tale of the deeds or the fate of the *compater Heraldus*.

Our authentic narratives describe William as attacking the Isle on both sides, bringing his ships to bear on the eastern side, while he made his assault on the western by means of a bridge.⁶ The legendary accounts, utterly confused as they are as to the chronology and as to the actors, are the work of men who knew the country, and, like many other legendary accounts, they seem trustworthy as far as the geography is concerned. They thus enable us more exactly to fix the position of the operations which our soberer authorities point to more vaguely. The castle of Cambridge was, as might be expected, the royal head-quarters;⁷ but the energy of William carried him to every

¹ See the false Ingulf, Gale, 74.

² See the Monasticon, iii. 206, 215 et seqq., and the Chronicle of John of Peterborough (nearly as mythical as Ingulf himself) under the years 1052 and 1074.

³ See vol. iii. p. 513.

⁴ See Appendix W.

⁵ See the quotation from Florence in p. 470.

⁶ Hist. Eli. 237. "Rex . . . ad castrum Cantebrigiae secessit," after the defeat of the witch. Afterwards (246) the monks go to Cambridge to pay their fine.

⁷ See above, p. 268.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

at which his presence could be needed. We find one tale directing his naval operations against the part of the Isle from Brandon,¹ a town on the Ouse, the stream whose bed has in later times fed the waters of its greater namesake. Elsewhere ear of attacks made by water from Reche, a point south-east of the Isle on the famous Devil's Dyke, commanding a stream called Rechelode, which joins Brant or Cam a little above its junction with the Ouse.² But the great interest of the campaign is round the bridge or causeway which William made accessible point of Aldreth. Stones, trees, hides, materials of every kind, were employed in the work;³ especially was brought by water from Cottenham, it in the direction of Cambridge, commanding a tri of the old Ouse.⁴ Here then the chief exploits of ward and his companions are placed. He more than defeated the attempts of the Normans to enter the by the causeway,⁵ and a more wonderful tale is told

and all.¹ Tales again are told of the various disguises in which he made his way into the King's camp to spy out the hostile forces,² and of the way in which he harried the places which remained in the King's obedience.³ What amount of truth there may be in each particular story it is impossible to guess, but the places spoken of quite fall in with the more general description of the Chroniclers. We can have little doubt that the main struggle took place on the Ouse by the approach of Aldreth, and that many a gallant feat of arms was done on its dreary banks by the last champions of England.

The amount of time over which the struggle was spread is greatly exaggerated by the legendary writers, who bring the defence of the Isle of Ely into connexion with the still distant rebellion of Ralph of Norfolk.⁴ But it is plain from the authentic accounts that the reduction of the Isle was not a work of any long time, and that the whole campaign took place in the course of the year which followed the departure of the Danish fleet. Those accounts read as if the hearts of Morkere and his companions failed them when they found themselves hemmed in both by land and by water.⁵ The Norman version, on the other hand, tells of false promises held out to the Earl, by which he was led to throw himself on the King's mercy at a time when it was yet open to him either to have still defended the Isle or to have made his way out by water into the high seas.⁶ The

Length of
the defence
exaggerated
in the
legends.

Surrender
of Morkere,
Æthel-
wine, and
the rest.

¹ The story of the witch is given in the *Gesta*, 68-76; *Hist. Eli.* 234-237. In the former (75) she appears as "phthonissa mulier."

² He goes as a potter, *Gesta*, 69; as a fisherman, ib. 74.

³ *Hist. Eli.* 233. Seven men from the Isle burn Burwell.

⁴ See *Gesta*, 77; *Hist. Eli.* 239; and Appendix NN.

⁵ *Chron. Wig.* 1072, *Petrib.* 1071. "And þa utlagan þa calle on hand eodan, þæt wæs Egelwine bisceop and Morkere eorl, and calle þa þe mid heom waeron." So *Florence*, 1071; "Illi, ubi se viderunt sic esse conclusos, repugnare desistebant."

⁶ *Ord. Vit.* 521 A. "Versipelles inter eos nuntii discurrerunt, et dolosam conditionem nequiter pepigerunt, scilicet ut se comes Regi redderet, eum-

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

egend, which is clearly wrong in bringing both ne and Morkere into the Isle, and still more wrong king both of them escape,¹ is probably right in ting the surrender of the Isle to the treachery of the and monks, whose patriotism failed them when n seized on all the lands of the monastery beyond rders of the Isle itself.² At all events it is certain he greater part of the defenders of Ely came into n's hands. They were dealt with as he thought

According to William's constant rule,⁴ no life was but at Ely, as at Alençon, the Conqueror did not to inflict punishments which to our notions might ore frightful than death itself. Some were shut up horrible prison-houses of those days; others were l to go free after their eyes had been put out or their cut off.⁵ Morkere himself, to judge from the English ts, surrendered himself to the King's mercy. Ac- ; to the Norman version, he surrendered on a promise

to the realm if Morkere were allowed to remain at large. CHAP. XX.
 In either case, he was put in ward, but as he was entrusted
 to the keeping of Roger of Beaumont, it may be that the
 dungeons and fetters of which we hear are only a figure of
 speech.¹ He remained a prisoner in Normandy all the rest His mo-
 of the days of the Conqueror, and was allowed but a single mentary
 moment of freedom at his death.² release.
 1087.

The like bondage, the like momentary glimpse of freedom, Imprison-
 was the fate of Siward Barn.³ In the case of Bishop
 Æthelwine earlier services may have been allowed to count
 against his later enmity. He was simply committed to
 the care of Abbot Ealdred of Abingdon,⁴ and we have seen that this kind of custody did not involve any special
 hardship.⁵ He reached the abbey, it would almost seem, Imprison-
 about the time when the tenants of the house were
 making their gallant but vain attempt to carry help to
 the defenders of Ely.⁶ Their fault was visited on their lord the Abbot, who was first imprisoned in the castle of Wallingford, and was then, like Æthelwine himself, transferred for the rest of his life to the milder custody of Bishop Walkelin at Winchester.⁷ The King then granted the

¹ Ord. Vit. 521 A, B. "Rex metuens ne Morcarus injurias sibi et compatriotis suis nequiter illatas ulcisceretur, et per eum aliquae seditiones in regno Albionis implacabiles orientur, illum sine manifesto reatu vinculis injectit, omnique vitâ suâ in ergastulo coercuit et cautela Rogerii oppidanis Belmontis mancipavit."

² See Flor. Wig. 1087.

³ Ib.

⁴ See Appendix EE. So the local History of Abingdon (i. 485, 493); "Talibus tentatis quum diversi ordinis et dignitatis viri se commissuerint, tum episcopus Dunelmensis quoque, Ægelwinus nomine, inter eos qui capti sunt inventus, et Abbendeniam missus, in captione ibi ad susse mortis degens diem obiit."

⁵ See above, p. 383.

⁶ The passage quoted in p. 33 follows immediately on the last extract.

⁷ Hist. Mon. Ab. i. 486. "In illorum etiam dominum, id est, abbatem Ealdredum, qui et Birchwinus dictus est (binomius enim erat), Regis imimicitia est perlata, adeo ut absque dilatatione, ejus præcepto, apud castellum Walingfordense in captione poneretur. Aliquanto autem post tempore a

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

of Abingdon to a Norman monk from Jumièges, who bears the singularly English-sounding name of Ælfric or Æthelhelm.¹ His task was a hard one, and one which he seems to have had to trust about equally to his tongues and to Norman swords. The King's men were always doing damage to the house by exactions of various kinds, in notwithstanding which the eloquence and knowledge of certain of his English monks stood him in stead.² On the other hand, the necessities of the King and the revolts and conspiracies which were still here going on—especially, we may be sure, in so hot-hearted a district as Berkshire—made it unsafe for an Abbot to go about without a military guard.³ And also to send men to take a share in the defence of his newly-built castles of Oxford, Wallingford, and Windsor,⁴ moreover to provide for the defence of his own monasteries. The arms of soldiers from beyond sea⁵ were therefore

locum eductus, in manu Wintoniensis episcopi Walchelini servandus
fuit, et quoniam manutinere non posset, vivit." In the other version is a

as needful to him as the legal subtleties of Godric the monk CHAP. XX. and Ælfwine the priest of Sutton. At first he simply hired mercenaries;¹ afterwards, when things had got rather He grants more quiet and when military tenures were being generally out land on introduced among the occupants of ecclesiastical property, military tenures.

the lands which had been formerly held of the abbey by English Thegns on an English tenure were granted out to Norman knights on a tenure strictly military.² This Illustration of the process, which went on at other places as well as Abingdon, growth of marks a stage in that gradual advance of feudal ideas in Feudalism. England which has been sometimes mistaken for the formal enactment of a Feudal System. As for Abbot Adelelm, he continued to play a certain part in public affairs during the rest of William's reign. His prisoner, the deposed Bishop Death of of Durham, died in the year following his first imprisonment.³ His successor was neither Norman nor English, ^{Aethel-}^{1072.} but one of that intermediate class whom both Harold and William found it convenient sometimes to favour. He was Walcher Bishop of Lotharingian of Lüttich,⁴ in whose appointment we may perhaps discern the influence of Harold's surviving Durham. sister. He was consecrated at Winchester, but by the ^{1071-1080.}

¹ Hist. Ab. ii. 3. "Primo quidem mercenariis in hoc utebatur."

² Ib. "His sopitis incursibus, quum jam Regis editio in annalibus annotaretur quot de episcopiis, quodve de abbatiis ad publicam rem tuendam milites (si forte hinc quid causse propellendæ contingere) exigentur, eisdem donativis prius retentis, abbas mansiones possessionum ecclesie pertinentibus inde delegavit, edito cuique tenore parendi de suse portionis mansione." Then follows the passage about the Thegns who died at Senlac, quoted in p. 33. Among these military tenants were doubtless the kinsfolk of whom the writer of the Appendix complains.

³ See above, p. 475.

⁴ "Genere Lotharingus," says Florence, 1072. Simeon (1071. 89 Hinde), more definitely, "de clero [mark the monk's view of things] Leodicensis ecclesiae," and adds, "Invitatus namque ab ipso Rege venerat ad illum, prosapia clarus, honestus moribus, divine ac seculari scientiae gratia præditus." To the same effect in Hist. Eccl. Dun. iii. 18, where he is said to be "de gente Hlothariorum"—it is pleasant to see so old a form of the name abiding—and it is noticed that "ab ipso Rege eligitur."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

of his own Metropolitan.¹ The Lady Eadgyth was at the ceremony, and as the Bishop-elect, a man of stature, with white hair and a rosy countenance, was set before his consecrators, the Lady, reminded perhaps of outward presence of her departed lord, exclaimed, "We have a goodly martyr." Later events caused words of the widow of the saint to be looked on as prophecy.²

monks of Ely—so runs the local history or legend—were punished as they deserved for their treason. The bodies of Thurstan and his companions as far as Warwick bear their submission to the King.³ There can be no doubt that they did submit, and that their submission quenched the hopes of the defenders of the Isle. A pictorial tale describes William as coming to Ely, as entering the city, but as not daring to draw near to the shrine of the virgin patroness of the spot. He was too well aware of the wrongs which he and his had done to the patrimony

broken in upon by Gilbert of Clare, who asked whether CHAP. XX.
they could not dine at some other time, when King William
was himself present in the minster.¹ They left the board
and rushed into the church; but the King was gone.²
His work had been done even in that short visit. He had A castle
marked out the site for a castle within the monastic precinct, built at
on the one spot in that flat region which can even by courtesy
claim the name of a hill, and he had already given orders
for its building by the work of men pressed from the three
shires of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Bedford.³ Aldreth Aldreth
too, the key of the Island, was to receive a garrison of garrisoned.
foreigners faithful to the King.⁴ Meanwhile the monks
followed William to Wichford, a place at a short distance
from Ely on the road to Aldreth. There, by the interces- Fines laid
sion of Gilbert, who had aroused them in the refectory, on the
Abbey. they were admitted to an audience. With some difficulty
they were allowed to purchase the King's peace by a fine
of seven hundred marks of silver—no bad interest for the
one mark of gold which the King had offered to Saint
Æthelthryth. On the appointed day the money, raised by Spoliation
the sacrifice of many of the ornaments of the church, was of the
church

¹ Hist. Eli. 246. “O miseri et recordes, num alia vice prandere non
liceret, dum Rex apud vos est et in ecclesia consistit?” On the importance
of the dinner-hour in monastic revolutions, see above, p. 409.

² Ib. “Quo dicto, relicta mensa, ad ecclesiam omnes cucurrere, sed
Regem non invenere.”

³ Ib. 245. “Ipse autem, praesidio intra septa monachorum delocato, et
qui id opus conficerent de Cantebriis, Huntedonis, et Bedefordis comitatu
constituit, et electis militibus quos de Gallia traduxerat commisit.” This castle “intra septa monachorum” can hardly be the castle described in the
Gesta Stephani (63), which we should rather look for at Aldreth; “Est Eli
insula delectabilis, grandis et populosa, terrâ fertili et pascuosa focunda,
stagnis et paludibus immeabiliter undique circumincta, nec nisi in una sui
parte itineribus pervia, ubi et limae arctissimus viam strictissimam in
insulam dirigit, castellumque, in medio limine ex antiquo mirifice in ipsis aquis
infixum, totam insulam unum et inexpugnatum efficit castellum.”

⁴ Hist. Eli. 245. “Similiter castello de Alrehede [al. Aldreheth] fidelibus
Gallis munito, viâ regressus est quâ intravit.” This would take him by
Wichford.



THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

ght to the King's officers at Cambridge. But, alas, though some fraud of the moneyers, the coins were found to be of light weight.¹ William was wroth; his peace could be refused to them altogether. At last his forbearance was purchased by a further fine of three hundred pounds, the raising of which involved the loss of ornaments more holy and precious than those which had been already sacrificed.² The deposition of Abbot Thurstan was first discussed in William's councils;³ but in the end he was allowed to retain his office till his death three years later, when another raid was made on the precious things of the monastery.⁴ The next Abbot, Theodwine, a Norman monk from Jumièges, brought about the restoration of the lost goods. After a short incumbency of three years Theodwine died, and the affairs of the monastery were again administered for a time by a monk named Erey, who was afterwards removed to the abbey of

1. Eli. 246. "Dolo nummulariorum dragma fraudata minus recti-

Malmesbury.¹ In his day a final settlement of the rights and property of the abbey was made, and the record of it gives us another of those glimpses of the jurisprudence of the age which seem to bring us specially near to whose acts we are studying. In a court of five shires presided over by Bishop Odo, among them of which we discern many English, the liberties of the use of Saint Æthelthryth were finally settled and confirmed by writ of the King.² A new phase in the history of the abbey now begins; the next Abbot, Simeon, the brother of Bishop Walkelin of Winchester, began the building of a new church. Of that church the massive and stately transepts still remain, a worthy portion of that wonderful pile which, raised soon after Simeon's day to cathedral rank, came gradually in vastness of scale and variety of style to surpass all the existing episcopal churches of England.³

¹ On Theodwine—a very English sounding name—and Godfrey, see Hist. Eli. pp. 248–251.

² Hist. Eli. 251. Four Abbots appear, Baldwin of Saint Edmund's, Wulfwold of Chertsey (see above, p. 385), Ulfcytel of Crowland (of whom more below), and Ælfwold of Saint Benet of Holm, once Harold's guardian of the East-Anglian coast (see vol. iii. p. 729). Ælfwold, so John of Oxenedes (293) tells us, on account of his favour with Harold, "a Willermo Conquestore non parva sustinuit discrimina." Yet he kept his place into the days of William Rufus, and died Abbot in 1089, having been appointed by Eadward in 1064. Among the lay names—"plurimi milites probati Francigenæ et Angli"—besides "vicecomites Picot, Eustachius, Radulfus, Walterus," two at least of whom are well enough known, we find "Vicecomites Harduinus, Wido, Winer, Wihumer, Odo, Godricus, Norman, Coluein, Godwinus." Could there have been so many English Sheriffs in 1080? The holding of high office by Godric of East-Anglia, of whom we shall hear more in the fifth volume, and Coleswegen of Lincoln (see above, p. 218) is not unlikely.

³ The King's writ is given in Hist. Eli. 252. The "barones" there mentioned are Bishop Geoffrey, Abbots Baldwin, Ælisi (doubtless Æthelsige of Ramsey), and Wulfwold, Ivo Taillebois, Peter of Valognes (see above, p. 213, and Hist. Ev. 58), Sheriff Picot, and some others with Norman names. This throws great doubt on the English Sheriffs.

⁴ On his work, see Hist. Eli. 253. There was much disputing about his accepting the benediction from Remigius. Compare about Battle, above,

He re-
covers the
lands of the
Abbey.
men 1080.

Simeon,
born 993?
Abbot
1082–1094.
Beginnings
of the
present
church.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

uch were the results of the short revolt and defence of the Isle of Ely, as far as concerns the highest in rank among its defenders. But there were stouter hearts shut within the Isle than those of Bishop Æthelwine and Morkere. All else had yielded; the King, we are told, and all his host had entered the Isle and had come near to the abbey as Wichford,¹ when Hereward, with small band of comrades like-minded with himself, dismissed submission. Untouched and unhindered, they made their way, in the ships which they kept ready armed and ready, to the open sea in the neighbourhood of the East-saxon Wells.² With his escape from the Isle the career of Hereward ends, but legend goes on to tell how he still led the life of an outlaw, how he still remained a terror of the Normans, and from the wood by his beloved ancestral home at Bourne harried at pleasure the lands of nine shires, as far as the distant town of Arwick.³ The abbey of Peterborough, under its Norman

Abbot, was an object of his special hatred. Turold, it is said, was once made prisoner and was driven to redeem himself at an incredible price;¹ and we hear of a second raid on the monastery itself, unless indeed this is simply the earlier one moved by the licence of legend out of its proper place. As to the end of the hero, reports differ. The two chief versions agree in marrying him to a rich Englishwoman named Ælfthryth, who had made her own peace with the King and obtained his peace also for her husband or lover.² In one tale, after some further exploits and the refutation of some slanderous charges, he wins William's favour, and dies quietly in the King's peace.³ Another version gives his life a more tragic end. The French poet, who gives the fullest account of his later days, represents William as practising towards him nearly the same policy which earlier in his reign he had practised towards other Englishmen whose power and influence he dreaded. William on his first voyage to Normandy took with him the chief earls and prelates of England,⁴ and we shall presently see Eadric of Herefordshire, now reconciled

Holland as separate shires, are mentioned. The others are Northampton, Cambridge, Leicester, Huntingdon, and Warwick. I presume that the Hyde writer mixed together these more inland exploits of Hereward with the defence of Ely, when he said (295) that "Herewardus tentans rebellare, conducta undique validâ manu, mediterranea Anglia loca, in quorum paludibus delitescebat, die et nocte cœde et rapina complebat." The mention of Warwick also, which we should hardly have looked for, must be taken in connexion with the Domesday entries about Hereward in that shire.

¹ *Gesta*, 84. But who can believe in a ransom of thirty thousand pounds?

² The story, as told in the *Gesta*, is clearly made up of two distinct versions. The name Ælfthryth, in the corrupt form "Alfred," comes from Gaimar.

³ This version is found in the *Gesta*, 89-98. The whole story thus winds up; "Herewardus igitur, miles insignis et in multis locis expertus et cognitus, a Rege in gratiam susceptus, cum terris et possessionibus patris sui multis postmodum vixit annis, Regi Wilhelmo fideliter serviens ac devote compatriotis placens et amicis; ac sic demum quievit in pace, cuius anime propitietur Deus. Amen."

⁴ See above, pp. 77-79.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

William, accompany the King in his expedition
1st Scotland.¹ It was another instance of the same
y when William, if I rightly understand a somewhat
ult passage, took Hereward with him among the
ishmen who helped to win back the revolted county
aine.² In this version, as in the other, it would seem
the English hero had really won the favour of the
nan King, nor is William himself charged with any
le dealing towards Hereward after his submission.
the King's peace could not make him safe against
violence and treachery of smaller men. He still re-
ed exposed to the hatred of men of the conquering
men perhaps who had suffered from his prowess, men
l events whose deeds were as lawless as any of his own
ng his days of outlawry. He had to keep watch within
without his house, and to plant guards when he was
is meals. Once his chaplain *Aethelward*, on whom
duty fell, slumbered at his post. A band of Normans

to his knees. A Breton knight, Ralph of Dol, a retainer, CHAP. XX. it would seem, of the despoiler of Godric's widow,¹ now rushed on him, but Hereward, by a last effort, once more wielded his buckler with deadly effect, and the Englishman and the Breton fell dead together.² Another Norman, Asselin by name, now gave the last stroke; he cut off the head of the English hero, and swore by God and his might that so valiant a man he had never seen, and that, if there had been three more in the land like him, the Frenchmen would have been slain or driven out of England.³

Such is the tale, a tale worth the telling; but all that Notices of certain history can say is that a Hereward, most likely him in Domesday. the hero of Ely, appears in Domesday as a holder of lands in the shires of Worcester and Warwick under Norman lords.⁴

We are again reminded of the fate of Harold (see vol. iii. p. 498), and of that of Patroklos, II. xvi. 8οβ;

. . . δπιθεν θὲ μετάφρενον ὅξει δουρὶ^λ
δμων μεσσηγὴ σχεδόνειν βάλε Δάρδανος ἀνῆρ,
Πανθοῖδης Εύφορβος.

¹ Gaimar, Chron. Ang.-Norm. i. 26;

“C'il out à non Raol de Dol,
De Tuttebire estoit venuz.”

Tutbury was the castle of Henry of Ferrers. See above, p. 36.

² Gaimar, u. s.

“Ore sont amdui mort abatuz
Et Ereward et li Breton.”

³ Ib.;

“Mès Alselin le paroccist.	Que onques si hardi ne fut trové;
Cil de Ereward le chef prist,	Et s'il eust éu od lui trois,
Se jura Dieu et sa vertu,	Mar i entrassent li François;
Et li autre qui l'ont véu	Et s'il ne fust issi occis,
Par meinte foiz l'ont fort juré,	Touz les chaçast fors del pain.”

This version seems to be followed by the Hyde writer (295); “Post multas denique cædes atque seditiones, multa pacis federa cum Rege facta et temerarie violata, quādam die cum omnibus sociis ab hostib[us] circumventus miserabiliter occubuit.” Cf. the death of L. Siccius in Livy, iii. 43.

⁴ On the lands of Hereward, see Appendix MM.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

. *The Affairs of the Welsh and Scottish Marches.* 1070—1074.

last notices of Northumberland left Gospatric d to the earldom over the desolated land of the Bernicia.¹ Of the spiritual chief of the district, Æthelwine of Durham, we have heard as leaving a shelter in Scotland to share the perils of the defenders , and as at last dying in ward in the distant monastery of Lindisfarne.² At York Thomas of Bayeux was beginning a career of ecclesiastical reform which has won him an honourable place in local history.³ But the earldom of his metropolitan city was the head now came even more readily to an end by the revolt and imprisonment of Tostig. No Earl of southern Northumberland, of Deira or Yorkshire, was ever again appointed; an Earl of York of the next century, one of the shadowy earls of the time of Stephen,⁴ cannot be looked on as a successor

The rebellion and death of Eadwine, like the rebellion and imprisonment of Morkere, brought the earldom of Mercia to an end as well as that of Deira. It was probably at this time that the great earldoms on the north-western border towards Wales were finally settled.¹ The earldom of Hereford, held by William Fitz-Osbern, had been formed within the earldom of Harold, but Eadwine probably kept his nominal jurisdiction over Chester and Shrewsbury till his last revolt.² These two important border districts were formed into earldoms which had more of the character of separate principalities than it was the usual policy of William to allow. Chester, the final conquest of the great Northern campaign, was, as we have seen, first entrusted to the King's step-son, the Fleming Gerbod.³ But the new Earl was soon tempted to take a part in the wars of his own country, where he suffered a long imprisonment.⁴ His English earldom seems to have been looked on as vacated by his absence. It was now granted to Hugh of Avranches, the son of Richard, the grandson of the traitor Thurstan.⁵ The dignity, as held by him, was clothed with special privileges. All the land in the shire, with the exception of that held by the Bishop, belonged to the Earl in the first instance,⁶ and its actual possessors held it of

CHAP. XX.
End of the
Mercian
Earldom.

Earldom of
Hereford
under
William
Fitz-
Osbern.
1067-1071.

Earldom of
Chester
under
Gerbod.
1070-1071.

Hugh of
Avranches
Earl of
Chester.
1071-1101.
State of
the County
Palatine.

¹ I think we may infer this both from the probability of the case and from the expressions of Orderic (521 D), the beginnings of his perfectly independent narrative after the loss of William of Poitiers; "Rex Guillelmus, dejectis, ut diximus, Merciorum maximis consulibus, Eduino scilicet interfecto et Morcaro in vinculis constricto, adjutoribus suis incitatae Angliae regiones distribuit." He goes on to speak of the earldoms, reckoning however that of William Fitz-Osbern, in which he is doubtless wrong.

² See above, p. 179.

³ See above, p. 316.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 522 A. "Cestram et comitatum ejus Gherbodo Flandrensi jamdudum Rex dederat, qui magna ibi et difficultia, tam ab Anglis quam a Gallis adversantibus, pertulerat." Of his share in the Flemish troubles we shall hear in the fourth section of this Chapter.

⁵ Ib. "Interea Rex Cestensem consulatum Hugoni de Abrincis, filio Ricardi cognomento Goz, concedens." See vol. ii. pp. 203, 288.

⁶ Domesday, 262 b. "In Cestrescire tenet episcopus ejusdem civitatis de

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

as their lord. In Cheshire proper therefore there were King's Thegns, nor any immediate tenants-in-chief of Crown of any kind, nor were any lands held by the King himself in demesne. But in certain outlying dependencies of the shire we find a different state of things. In those days Lancashire did not exist as a shire; its northern portion formed part of the vast shire of York, while its southern portion, described in the Survey as the Land between the Mersey and the Ribble, had been Crown land under King Eadward, and was held under him by a crowd of petty Thegns, who, by the nature of their tenures, used to have been raised but little above the rank of slaves or even of serfs. These lands had been granted by William to a younger son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who took his father's name, and who, from a marriage with a bride brought from beyond the Loire, was known as Roger the Poitevin.¹ At the time of the Survey they were again held by the King. Robert of Rhuddlan also, King Eadward's armour-

ROBERT OF RHUDDLAN.

sounding title of North Wales, the boundaries of which was perhaps discreet not to define more exactly.¹ With these exceptions, the whole of the Cheshire of the Survey, a district much larger than the present shire, formed what may be fairly called a principality in the hands of the Palatine Earl. If the privileges of the Earls of Chester had not been exceptional, if all the earldoms of England had been of the same nature as theirs, England could never have remained an united kingdom, but must have split in pieces like France and the Empire.² But it is plain that William allowed these exceptional privileges only on the exposed frontiers of his kingdom, where it was specially needful to strengthen the hands of the local rulers. The Earl of Chester had to wage a constant war Hugh's wars with the Welsh,³ and in this work Earl Hugh found an able helper in Robert, who bears the title of Marquess in its primitive sense, as one of the first Lord Marchers of the Welsh borders.⁴ On the site of King Gruffydd's palace of Rhuddlan, the palace which was burned by Harold as the earnest of his great Welsh campaign,⁵ a castle and town arose,⁶ from which the Marquess Robert carried on for

of the
Palatine
Earls.

Robert of
Rhuddlan's
wars with
the Welsh.
1073-1088.

The
castle of
Rhuddlan.

¹ Domesday, 269. "Rotbertus de Roelent tenet de Rege Nortwales, ad firmam pro xl. libriss, praeter illam terram quam Rex ei dederat in feudo et praeter terras episcopatus." Presently we read, "Omnis alia terra est in silvis et moris, nec potest arari."

² See vol. i. p. 292.

³ Ord. Vit. 522 A. "Qui [Hugo] cum Roderto de Rodelento et Roderto de Malo-passu, aliisque proceribus feris multum Guallorum sanguinem effudit." The second of the two Roberts has left his name to the town of Malpas.

⁴ Ib. 670 A. "Robertus princeps militie ejus et totius provincie gubernator factus est." He is directly after called "bellicosus Marchio" and "Robertus Marchisus," "Marchisus audax."

⁵ See vol. ii. p. 467.

⁶ Ord. Vit. 670 A. "Decreto Regis oppidum contra Guallos [guerris] apud Rodelentum constructum est, et Roberto, ut ipse pro defensione Angli regni barbaris opponeretur, datum est." Domesday, 269. "Hugo comes tenet de Rege Roelend. Ibi T. R. E. jacebat Englefield, et tota erat wasta. Eduinus comes tenebat. Quando Hugo comes recepit,

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

ten years a constant warfare with his British neighbours.¹ Last, in the year after the death of the Conqueror, the Earl of Rhuddlan was himself cut off by the arms of another Welsh chieftain.² His chief, Earl Hugh, survived his valiant tenant many years. Of him our chief authority draws a most unfavourable picture.³ He resembled the great King Edward in whose stead he ruled only in his personal corpulence⁴ and in his love of war and hunting; in his nobler qualities he had no share. Given up to excess of every vice, he left behind him a large spurious offspring of both sexes;⁵ and we are told that he was at once greedy and covetous, but never liberal. Yet he was always surrounded by an army, rather than a household, of knights, clerks, and especially of noble youths, whom he loved to make the

liter erat wasta. Modo habet in dominio mediatis castelli quod Rother de Roelent tenet de Hugone comite mediatis ejusdem castelli et sic;⁶ and again, "In ipso manerio Roelent est factum noviter castellum, liter Roelent appellatum [some castles, like Rougemont at Exeter, bore

partakers both of his toils and of his wealth.¹ In his CHAP. XX. devotion to the sports of the field he laid waste his own lands, and he paid more regard to hunters and falconers than to either the priest or the husbandman.² Against this assemblage of vices it may be a small matter to set that he put monks instead of canons in the church of Saint Werburh,³ and rebuilt the minster, where he himself in his He be-
last days put on the monastic garb,⁴ and where portions of comes a monk and dies.
his work still remain. Yet one would think that there must, after all, have been some good thing in the man who, His friend-
at least in his later days, chose the holy Anselm as the Anselm.
physician and guardian of his soul.⁵

To the south of the Palatinate of Chester lay the other great earldom which was held by Roger of Montgomery.

Roger of
Mont-
gomery,

¹ Ord. Vit. 522 A. "Hic non dapsilis, sed prodigus erat; non familiam secum, sed exercitum semper ducebat." In the other account (598 A) we read, "Huic maxima semper adhaerebat familia, in quibus nobilium ignobiliumque puerorum numerosa perstrepebat copia. Cum eodem consule commemorabantur viri honorabiles clerici et milites, quos tam laborum quam divitiarum gratulabatur esse suarum participes."

² Ib. "Ipse terram suam quotidie devastabat, et plus auxipibus ac venatoribus quam terre cultoribus vel oculi oratoribus applaudebat. Erat in militia promptus, in dando nimis prodigus, gaudens ludis et luxibus, nimis equis et canibus aliquique hujusmodi vanitatibus." This picture is curiously borne out by Domesday. In 263 b we read of the former small estate of a free Englishman, "Wasta fuit, et est modo in foresta comitis;" in 269, "Hanc silvam habet comes in foresta sua positam;" and, more emphatically than all, in 268 b, "Harum xx. hidarum omnes silvas habet comes in foresta sua positas. Unde maneria sunt multum pejorata." The entry also "aira accipitris" seems to occur more commonly on Hugh's lands than in other parts of the Survey.

³ See above, p. 312. Orderic (671 A) makes the curious remark that "Deo monachorum gregem inter belluinos cœtus nutriebat."

⁴ Ord. Vit. 787 B. "Hugo Cestrensis comes in lectum decidit, et post diutinum languorem monachatum in cenobio quod idem Cestrense construxerat suscepit, atque postriduum, vi. Kal. Augusti, obiit."

⁵ Eadmer, Vit. Ans. ii. 1. "Adjuratus ab Hugone Cestrense comite multisque aliis Anglorum regni principibus, qui eum animarum suarum medicum et advocatum elegerant." Orderic also (598 A) speaks of the Earl's chaplain, Gerald of Avranches, whom he describes as a man of great piety and learning, who often rebuked the vices of the Earl's following, he does not say of the Earl himself.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

am's earlier conquests had given him his reward in South, in the possession of Chichester and of that of Arundel which, raised before King William into England, is held to have kept to this day the virtue of bestowing the rank of Earl upon its.¹ Besides these southern estates, Roger, after the Morkere, received as a further grant the earldom of shire, with the peninsular town of Shrewsbury² as capital. In that town and shire he held rights only extensive than those which Earl Hugh held in Chester shire. In Shropshire there were no Crown lands no King's Thegns; all the land, except what was by ecclesiastical bodies and by a very few Norman rs, was held by the Earl and his men.³ Of Earl r a far better character is handed down to us than of other chiefs at Chester and Hereford, but it must be in mind that the writer who gives it to us was by an hereditary attachment to his memory.* It is on the other hand that the English heroes of

speak of, the devastation of several houses from unknown CHAP. XX. causes, and the establishment in the town of French burgesses, who seem not to have been subject to the same taxes as their English neighbours, had greatly lessened the tax-paying power of the borough ; yet the same tribute was exacted which had been paid in the days of King Eadward.¹ At the same time the burgesses of Shrewsbury might rejoice that they were in less evil case than their brethren in other towns whose tribute was actually raised.² And Influence of his successive wives. Possibly the two pictures given us of Earl Roger may in some degree be explained by the influence for evil and for good of his two successive wives. For his first wife, it will be remembered, he had the heiress of Belesme, the cruel Mabel.³ She at last met with the reward of her misdeeds. Murder of Mabel. In her town of Bures by the Dive the Countess was reposing 1082. herself after her bath,⁴ when she was slain by four brothers, the sons of Robert of Jaugy, who were among the many whose inheritances she had taken away by wrong and robbery. The murderers fled ; they were pursued by Mabel's son Hugh. But they had warily broken down the bridges, and made their escape into Apulia. The future fortunes of Hugh, the eldest of the murderers, set before us the place in Europe which was held by the King of the English and Duke of the Normans. From Apulia Hugh fled to Sicily ; from Sicily to the court of the Eastern Cæsar ; but even there he feared the arm of William. The King's messengers,

¹ Domesday, 252. "Dicunt Anglienses burgenses de Scropesberie multum grave sibi esse quod ipse reddunt totum geldum sicuti reddebatur T. R. E., quamvis castellum comitis occupaverit li. masuras et alii l. masure sint vastæ, et xlivi. Francigenæ burgenses teneant masuras geldantes T. R. E., et abbatis quam facit ibi comes dederat ipse xxxix. burgenses olim similiter cum aliis geldantes."

² See above, pp. 162, 200, 216.

³ See vol. ii. p. 194.

⁴ The story of the death of Mabel is told at length by Orderic (578 B). The chief murderer, with his brothers, "noctu ad cameram comitis accessit, ipsamque in municipio super Divam, quod Buris dicitur in lecto post balneum deliciantem, pro recompensatione patrimonii sui ense detruncauit."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

hose sent by the kinsfolk of the murdered woman, seeking him everywhere, and offering rewards for his capture. He could be safe only beyond the bounds of England. He fled to the infidels of Asia; he learned their law and their tongue, and purchased his restoration to English society by a second treason against his new allies.¹ The death of his cruel helpmate, and the virtues of his second wife, Adeliza the daughter of Everard of Blois, of the noblest blood of France,² wrought, we are told good upon the character of Roger of Montgomery. Formerly a bountiful benefactor of monks in Normandy,³ he became in England a still more renowned patron and Förderer.

It is this last character of Earl Roger which indirectly connects him with one of our most valuable authorities for the history of these times. Among his followers was Turgis the son of Constantius, a priest of Orleans. He became Earl's chaplain and confessor to whom he gave a

name of Orderic;¹ another bore the French name of Everard, while the youngest was called after the saintly Benedict, the father of Western monasticism.² The young Orderic received his name from the priest who baptized him in the church of Ettingsham near the Severn.³ At the age of five years he learned the first rudiments of letters from the priest Siward, his maternal kinsman, in the church by the gate of Shrewsbury which was then or afterwards held by his father.⁴ And, if we take his own words literally, his education was so strictly English that he did not understand the native tongue of his own father.⁵ At the age of ten years, the young Orderic, called in religion Vital,⁶ was sent as a tender exile, as he calls himself, from the furthest parts of Mercia, to serve God in a monastery beyond the sea.⁷ This was that famous house of Ouche or Saint

CHAP. XX.
Birth of
Orderic.
February
16, 1075.
His Eng-
lish educa-
tion.

Sent to
Saint
Evroul.

1085.

¹ The truer English form of the name would be *Ordric*, like the Abbot of Abingdon mentioned in vol. iii. p. 743, and *Ordricus* is the form in his own text, but his editors seem to have established the use of the longer form, analogous to the received forms of the names *Theodoric* and *Frederick*.

² See below, p. 499.

³ Ord. Vit. 548 A. "Apud Ettingesham in ecclesia Sancti Eatte Confessoris, que sita est super Sabrinam fluvium, per ministerium Ordrici sacerdotis sacro fonte rematus sum." So again 924 A, where he adds, "mihi ejusdem sacerdotis, patrini scilicet mei, nomen indidisti."

⁴ Ib. 924 A. "Quum quinque essem annorum, apud urbem Scobesburiam scholam traditus sum, et prima tibi servitia clericatus obtuli in basilica sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum. Illic Sigurdus insignis presbyter per quinque annos Carmelitis Nicostata literis docuit me, ac psalmis et hymnis aliisque necessariis instructionibus mancipavit me." In 548 A it stands thus, "Siuuia[...]do nobili presbytero literis erudiendis a genitore traditus sum." I presume that this Siward is the same as "Siwardus consanguineus" spoken of before. He must have been a kinsman of Odelerius' English wife.

⁵ In 924 C he says that, when he reached Normandy, "linguam, ut Joseph in Ægypto, quam non neveram audivi." The Normans are "exter," but they show him no little kindness.

⁶ Ib. "Nomen Vitalis pro Anglico vocamine, quod Normannis absonum censebatur, mihi impositum est."

⁷ In 547 C he is "de extremis Merciorum finibus decennis Angliena
huc adactus, barbarusque et ignotus advena;" in the next page, "de
Anglia in Normanniam tenellus exsul, ut sternu Regi militarem, destinatus
sum;" and again in 924 C, "decennis itaque Britannicum mare transfretavi,

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

England, which owes no small part of its fame to his presence in its walls. There he spent the rest of his days, reading the acts of Norman saints and Norman heroes, never losing the feelings of an Englishman, never forgetting his love for the land in which he was born.¹ His personal history of Orderic is one which deserves closest attention. Nothing shows more clearly how soon foreign settlers in England mingled with the natives, how soon their sons came to look upon themselves Englishmen. The father of Orderic indeed, a Frenchman in the strictest sense, would not be open to any suspicion which were distinctively Norman. But Normans and Frenchmen, both speaking the tongue of the conquerors, formed one class as distinguished from the conquered English, and, if there be anything in blood, a man from Orleans, whether his descent were Roman, Gaulish, or even Frankish, was much further removed from Englishmen than a man from Bayeux or Coutances. Yet this foreign priest clearly identifies himself with the English people, and with the English language.

ENGLISH FEELINGS OF ORDERIC.

We may remark also that, though Orderic often makes use of the common phrases of abuse towards the married clergy and their wives, though he lets us know that to be ^{ga} the son of a priest was looked on as a disqualification for ^m ecclesiastical dignities,¹ yet he speaks of his own birth and his own parents without any feeling of shame. It is clear that Odelerius was a father of whom no son had need to be ashamed, and it is equally clear, from the position which he held and the influence which he exercised, that his neighbours, French and English, did not look on his married household as a matter of reproach. He was the right hand Earl Roger man of Earl Roger in his pious undertakings, and it was founds at his suggestion that the great abbey of Shrewsbury first Shrews- bury Abbey at arose. The town which formed the capital of Roger's his sug- earldom was a very stronghold of the secular clergy. At ggestion. the time of the Conquest Shrewsbury contained no monastery, but several well-endowed foundations of secular canons stood within its walls.² The ordinary process would have been to drive the seculars out of one of these churches, as Earl Hugh did at Chester,³ and to call this process a new foundation. Instead of this, Odelerius offered his own church as the groundwork of the new foundation.⁴ The wooden building was then the smallest 1083.

¹ See above, p. 447.

² The possessions of the churches of Saint Mary, Saint Michael, Saint Chad (Ceadda), Saint Alkmund (Ealhmund), and Saint Julian are all recorded in Domesday (252 b, 253). Of Saint Mary's, and the curious story about one of its canons, we have already heard; see vol. ii. p. 550. The land there spoken of had, by the time of the Survey, come into the hands of Earl Roger, and it is added, "Vasta est et vasta inventa est;" and of one possession of Saint Alkmund we read, "Comes Rogerius abestulit ecclesie." Otherwise none of these foundations seem to have been touched by the Conquest. Those of Saint Mary and Saint Chad remained independent collegiate churches down to the Dissolution. Saint Julian and Saint Michael seem (Mon. Angl. viii. 1464) to have got attached to the College of Battlefield founded by Henry the Fourth.

³ See above, p. 491.

⁴ Orderic (581 C) says that the monastery was founded "in fundo patris mei," evidently meaning the church of Saint Peter in which his father was

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

last esteemed of the churches of Shrewsbury; but the
le sanctuary had been already marked out for great
s by the prophetic voice of Saint Wulfstan, when he
arrived at Shrewsbury in the course of his visitation
diocese of Lichfield or Chester.² The promise was
ed, and the despised church beyond the river began
w into the great minster of Shrewsbury. The Earl
his vow before the altar of Saint Peter, and made his
y the symbolical offering of his gloves.³ The abbey
ally arose in the Foregate of Shrewsbury,⁴ but the

So in Domesday (152 b) we read, "In Scirupsberie civitate fuit [the
tense marks the work as still going on] Rogerius comes abbatum,
a deficit monasterium [mark the vague use of the word as applied to
h charta; see vol. i. p. 424; vol. ii. p. 671] Sancti Petri, ubi erat
a civitatis." So in the foundation charter (Mon. Angl. iii. 519)
peaks of his foundation as being made "in suburbio civitatis Saloppe-
n ecclesie sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, que antequam
lata erat." The local history printed in the Monasticon (iii. 518) is
same effect, and it presently adds, "locis illis in quo superadicta
fundata est fuit de hereditate ejusdem militis, cui nomen Si-

endowment which it received from its founder seems not to have been magnificent.¹ Odelerius himself was, according to his means, a more bountiful benefactor than the Earl.

He commended all that he had to the new monastery,² and both himself and one of his sons became monks within its walls.³ The house however was always spoken of as the work of the Earl. He placed in it an Abbot and monks from his own monastery of Saint Martin of Seez,⁴ and there, seven years after the death of the Conqueror, himself became a member of the house which he had founded, and, after a monastic career of three days, died and was buried with the honours of a founder and a brother.⁵

Shrewsbury however was not the only place in his earldom where Earl Roger appeared as a benefactor of monastic bodies. Wenlock in Shropshire had been in early times the seat of a house of nuns founded by the holy Mildburgh, one of those virgin saints of royal birth in whom independent England had been so fruitful.⁶ The house, destroyed by the Danes, was, in some shape or other, restored by the

Gifts of
Odelerius.

Roger
brings
monks
from Seez.

His death
and burial.

Early
history of
Wenlock.

quod nos lingua Gallica *ante portam* dicimus." The place is still called the Abbey *Foregate*.

¹ Ord. Vit. 581 B. "Terris ac redditibus mediocriter locupletavit." So Will. Malm. Gest. Pont. 305; "Scrobbesberiense recens est omnino, a Rogerio comite de Monte Gomerico constitutum. Ibi monachos locavit ex Sagio, angusto prorsus victu et amictu, sed qui has scrummas spe future mercedis letis animis parvipendant."

² Ord. Vit. 580 D. He first promises to spend fifteen pounds ("libras sterilensem") on the buildings of the monastery, and then follows one of those curious grants or commendations with a reservation, of which we have seen so many. We read that "quod promiserat ex integro complevit."

³ Ib. 581 B. "Datis ducentis libris argenti Deo Benedictum filium suum ibidem obtulit, et ipse post obitum Rogerii Comitis monachile schema suscepit." He was then sixty years old.

⁴ See the charter, Mon. Angl. iii. 519. (See Will. Gem. vii. 22; Neu-
stria Pia, 577.)

⁵ Ord. Vit. 581 B.

⁶ Will. Malm. Gest. Pont. 306; Gesta Regum, i. 76, fl. 216, where we read of the wonderful discovery of her burying-place at the time of Earl Roger's foundation.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

y of Earl Leofric;¹ and now under Earl Roger the place of Saint Mildburgh became a monastery of the *canons regular*, an order which had been lately introduced into England, and whose first-fruits were then rising in the foundation of William of Warren and Gundrada at ² .²

the cares of Earl Roger were not devoted wholly to ecclesiastical concerns. The position of his earldom involved constant dealings with his Welsh neighbours, and the later Earls of the house of Leofric the relations between Wales and Mercia, whatever we say of those between Wales and England, had commonly been friendly.³ The new Earls of the Mercians of the House of Montgomery⁴ deemed it their business, now that England was conquered, to complete their work by the further conquest of Wales. The Welsh princes were ever fighting among themselves, and the Norman Earls, as English Earls on the border had done before them, not uncommonly

constantly at war with his dangerous neighbours. Chief among his followers was Warren the Bald, the husband of his niece Aimeria, who commanded at Shrewsbury,¹ and his own son Hugh, who, as the Welsh Chropicles witness, carried his wasting arms as far as the lands of Ceredigion and Dyfed.² But the chief border possession of the House of Montgomery was that to which they transferred the name which they had themselves borrowed from the ancestral hill in the land of Lisieux.³ The castle of Shrewsbury was indeed a fortress raised to curb a conquered town and district, but it was also the seat of the civil government of a ruler who seems not wholly to have lacked the wish to do judgement and justice. But the second seat of the power of Earl Roger was, no less than the fortress of William Peverel in the Peakland, a simple vulture's nest on a crag. The site on which it arose was not a conquest of the Earl's own ; it was already an English possession, and in King Eadward's days the neighbouring land had been held by three Englishmen, free from all taxes, as a mere hunting-ground in the wilderness.⁴ But when Earl Roger's fortress had crowned the height, a town arose at its base, which in the tongue of the conquered Cymry bore, from some follower of the Earl, the name of *Tre Baldwin*. But on Norman and English lips castle and town took

CHAP. XX.
Invasions
of Wales.

Founda-
tion of the
Castle of
Mont-
gomery.

Before
1072.

¹ Ord. Vit. 522 B. "Warinus Calvus, corpore parvo sed animo magno." Is this the "Warinus" the "ancestor" of the Sheriff Rainald, who gave lands to Saint Peter for his soul ? (Domesday, 254.)

² Ann. Camb. 1071. "Franci vastaverunt Keredgiaun." On this, to fill up the cup of misfortune, follows, "Menevia vastata est a gentilibus et Bangor similiter." 1072. "De Mungumeri Hugo vastavit Keredigiaun." Brut y Tywysogion, 1071, 1072. "Then, a year after that, the French ravaged Ceredigion and Dyfed. . . . Then, a year after that, a second time the French devastated Ceredigion." The Welsh word for "ravaged" and "devastated" is the same.

³ Domesday, 254. "Ipse comes construxit castrum Mungumeri vocatum."

⁴ Ib. "Adjacent lii. hidæ et dimidia quas tenuerunt Seuuar, Oalac, Azor, de Rege E. quietas ab omni geldo ad venandum eas habuerunt."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

me of their founder;¹ and, in the later division of the name of Montgomery passed from the town newly formed county. No other man among the roes could boast so truly as Earl Roger that he the land after his own name.

he south along the British border lay the lands held great oppressor, William Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Here. His tenure of his earldom was short,² and, as regards hmen, his conquests were never complete, for the son of Eadric did not take place till the dominion e of Earl William had come to an end. But on the his short reign allowed him to make some fearful s. The Norman version makes him overthrow Welsh by wholesale, Rhys, Cadwgan, Meredydd, and others e not named.⁴ The native chronicles of Wales make

castle of Montgomery appears in the Chronicle, 1095, as taken by d.

² is something very striking in the tone, half of lamentation, half

matters a little clearer. The names of all three princes appear in the Welsh history of the time, but it is the fate of Meredydd which we can most clearly connect with the arms of William Fitz-Osbern. We have seen Meredydd the son of Owen established in South Wales after the civil war in which Rhiwallon fell, and which broke up the arrangements which had been made by Harold after the fall of Gruffydd the son of Llywelyn.¹ But Caradoc the son of Meredydd

defeated
and slain
by Caradoc
and Earl
William,
1070.

Gruffydd the son of Rhydderch, the same who had destroyed Harold's house at Portskevet,² now leagued himself with the French, that is evidently with the Earl of Hereford, and their united forces overthrew Meredydd on the banks of the Rumney.³ We have here reached the beginning, though only the beginning, of that great Norman settlement in South Wales which was a few years later to make Morganwg, above almost every other part of the Isle of Britain, a land of Norman knights and Norman castles. But this work was to be done by other hands than those of William Fitz-Osbern. His career was the shortest of any among William's chief followers; it was confined to the actual years of the Conquest. It is therefore no wonder that all that we hear of him relates to his military exploits, and that he does not, like his neighbour at Shrewsbury, appear in England either as an ecclesiastical founder or as a civil ruler. We hear of his liberality, but it was a liberality shown towards soldiers only, and one of which the more discerning mind of his master did not approve.⁴ We hear of his legislation in his county of

¹ See above, p. 183.

² See vol. ii. p. 475.

³ Ann. Camb. 1070. "Maredut filius Owini a Cradauc filio Griffid et a Francis occisus est super ripam Remny." So Brut y Tywysogion to the same effect.

⁴ William of Malmesbury (Gest. Reg. iii. 256) ventures to say of him, "Siquidem . . . Willemus filius Osberni, principibus optimis comparandus fuerit, haud scio an etiam preponendus." He goes on to say, "Erat in eo mentis animositas quam commendabat manus pene prodiga liberalitas; unde

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

ord, but his only recorded ordinance is one which
ly limited the penalties for offences committed by
ers of the favoured class.¹ We hear also of at least
order-castle of his building or repairing. This is the
is of Ewias, which he granted to Ælfred of Marl-
gh, the nephew of Osbern of Hereford, but which
his day passed to King Eadward's great-nephew
the son of Ralph, after whom it still bears the
of Ewias Harold.² As Earl William had been the
t friend of William, he retained his confidence to
st. From his warfare on the Welsh border he was
away to give the help of his counsel to Queen
ia in her regency of the Norman duchy,³ and from
he went to lose his life in that Flemish warfare
ich it will be better to put off our notice until we
finished the survey of our own island.

In the West we turn again to the North. Our best
ity for Northern affairs describes King Malcolm —

William had withdrawn from the wasted lands of York and CHAP. XX. Durham, for another attack on a land which seemed already to have been given up to utter ruin. He passed through Cumberland, still part of his own dominions, into Teesdale,¹ and thence into Cleveland, and thence again northwards He ravages Cleveland and Durham. into the patrimony of Saint Cuthberht. The little that the Normans had left was now devoured by the Scots; men lost all that they had, and some of them lost their lives as well;² churches were burned along with the men who had taken shelter in them.³ Malcolm had reached the mouth of His the Wear, and was there riding backwards and forwards, ravages at Wear-mouth. enjoying the sight of the sufferings which his followers were inflicting on the wretched English,⁴ and above all the destruction of the church of Saint Peter by fire.⁵ While he was thus engaged, two pieces of news were brought to him. The ships which bore the English exiles from conquered York had put in at the haven of Wearmouth.⁶ They seem to have tarried a while with the Danish fleet,⁷ but if they had accompanied them in all their doings along the Eadgar and his sisters reach Wear-mouth.

¹ Sim. Dun. 1070, p. 87. "Per idem tempus infinita Scottorum multitudo, ducente Malcolmo Rege per Cumbreland traducta, versus orientem divertens, universam Tesedale et ejus finitima loca ultra citraque feroci vastavit depopulatione."

² Ib. "Depopulata Clyvelande ex parte, repentinâ depopulatione occupat Heortternysse, indeque per terras Sancti Cuthberti ferociter discurrens, omnes omnibus rebus, nonnullos etiam ipsis privat animabus."

³ Ib.

⁴ Ib. "Quum circa ripas fluminis equitaret, deque altiori loco suorum crudelia in miseros Anglos facinora prospiciens, tali spectaculo animos et oculos pasceret."

⁵ Ib. "Tunc et ecclesiam Sancti Petri Apostolorum principis in Wermutheflammâ suorum, ipso inspectante, consumpsit."

⁶ Ib. "Nuntiatum est illi clitonem Eadgarum suasque sorores, regis stirpis puellas decoras, pluresque alios prædivites de suis sedibus profugos in illum portum applicuisse navibus."

⁷ At least we have nowhere else to put them during the winter of 1069. Most likely they stayed with the fleet as long as it kept in the Humber, and parted company with the Danes as soon as they sailed towards Ely. This is in fact implied in the words of the next extract.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

to coast, we should most likely have heard of it. At vents, ships drew near to the haven of Wearmouth, ng the Etheling Eadgar, his mother Agatha, his sisters Margaret and Christina, along with Siward Barn, Mærle- en, and others, who were once more seeking a shelter e court of Malcolm after the final ruin of their hopes ngland.¹ They could hardly have looked to find their ded host in the very act of ravaging their own country; his savage occupation in no way lessened his friendly ings towards them. In his eyes perhaps England was dy so wholly the kingdom of William that the friend adgar was bound to deal with it as with the land of an iy. The man who was feasting his eyes with the ruin earmouth hastened to show all courtesy to the guests were entering its haven. He met them in person; he them his fullest peace, and bade them dwell in his i as long as it might please them.² They sailed owards Scotland; he went on with the harrying Northumbria. Few while he was still at W-

Bamborough.¹ That post he held as his head-quarters, CHAP. XX. strengthening himself against any attack, and ever and anon making vigorous sallies against the invaders.² When Malcolm's increased cruelties. the news of Gospatrix's inroad into Cumberland was brought to Malcolm at Wearmouth, he was filled with wrath, and issued orders, such as we may be sure that William never gave, and which remind us of the worst deeds of the apostate Swegen³ and of the heathen invaders before him. From that day forward none of English race were to be spared ; the remnant that the Norman had left were to pay for the exploit of their Earl by death or by hopeless slavery.⁴ The word was given, and it was carried out to the letter by the ruthless marauders to whom it was addressed. The old men and women were slaughtered, as our local informant puts it, like swine for the banquet.⁵ The Scots are even charged with renewing one of the most fiendish cruelties of the heathen Danes, that of seeking their sport in tossing little children on the points of their spears.⁶ Young men and maidens, and all who

¹ Sim. Dun. 1070, p. 87. "Inter has Scottorum vastationes ac rapinas Gospatricus comes . . . accitis auxiliatoribus strenuis atrocis depopulatione Cumbreland invadit. Peracta cæde et incendio, cum magna præda revertitur, seque cum sociis in munitionem Babbanburch firmissimam conclusit."

² Ib. "Ex quâ sepius prorumpens vires hostium debilitavit."

³ See vol. i. p. 357.

⁴ Sim. Dun. 1070, p. 88. "Auditis ille (quum adhuc fiammâ suorum ardentem Sancti Petri ecclesiam spectaret) quæ Gospatricus in suæ fecerat, vix præ furore seipsum ferens, jussit suis ut nulli Anglica gentis ulterius parcerent, sed omnes vel necando in terram funderent vel captivando sub jugum perpetua servitutis abducerent."

⁵ Ib. "Senes et vetule, alii gladiis obtruncantur, alii, ut porci ad eum destinati, lanceis confodiuntur."

⁶ Ib. "Rapti ab uberibus matrum parvuli in altum sâre projiciuntur, unde recidentes lancearum acuminibus excipiuntur hastilibus confertim solo infixis; hâc crudelitate pro ludorum spectaculo delectabantur bestiis crudeiores Scotti." Of this particular form of cruelty we hear again in the invasion of the Scots under David in 1138, when it is specially attributed to the savages of Galloway ; see *Æthelred of Rievaulx*, X Scriptt. 341 ; Hen. Hunt. Scriptt. p. Beedam, 222. Simeon adds the curious reflexion, "Sic



THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

of age and strength to be useful in slavery, were sent in fetters to the land of bondage.¹ Many sank through fatigue, some of them never to rise again; those in life was left found no pity, but were driven on all the more unsparely by the ruthless bidding of Malcolm.² So, we are told, was Scotland filled with English slaves of either sex. There was not a village, there was not even a house, so poor but an English captive was there to be found in thraldom.³

While Malcolm was thus making his fearful march southwards, rich with the human spoil of England, the English exiles had reached his land in safety by sea. To what at least of the party it was only a momentary shelter. King Edward and Bishop Æthelwine soon left Scotland to seek the fortunes of their countrymen among the fens of Fife.⁴ But the Ætheling and his family paid Malcolm a short visit, and one of the company was now at last persuaded to accept the land of refuge as a lasting home.

Scottish King with the sister of the English Ætheling was CHAP. XX.
 now not long delayed. Malcolm's first wife, Ingebiorg, the widow of Thorfinn,¹ the mother of the two young Earls who had tarried with the Norwegian fleet at Riccall,² must have been removed in some way, and for Margaret's sake we may hope that she was removed by death rather than by divorce.³ But the eagerness for the match was wholly on Malcolm's side. He indeed might well be bent on such an alliance. Margaret was indeed a banished wanderer; but both her personal merits and the splendour of her descent set her far above such wives as the Kings of Scots had hitherto taken to share their thrones. None of Malcolm's predecessors had ever had the chance of wooing a bride whose fathers were the whole line of West-Saxon Kings, and whose mother's kin went up to the Cæsars who bare rule over Rome.⁴ But both the sisters of Eadgar were inclined to a religious life. Christina we shall see again as the stern Abbess of a famous English monastery, and Margaret's prayer at this time was to serve the mighty Lord through this short life in pure maidenhood.⁵ She herself, her brother, and all her companions, at first utterly refused to hearken to the King's suit. But the love of Malcolm was not to be withheld.

Malcolm
seeks
Margaret
in mar-
riage.

Question
as to his
former wife
Ingebiorg.

Margaret's
refusal
and final
unwilling
consent.

¹ See vol. iii. p. 345.

² Ib. pp. 350, 358, 376.

³ See Appendix U.

⁴ The English Chronicler descants with evident pride on Margaret's doubly royal kindred; "Of geleafullan and æðelan cynne heo wæs asprungon; hire fæder wæs Eadward æðeling, Eadmundes sunu kynges; Eadmund Æbelreding, Æbelred Eadgaring, Edgar Eadreding [it should be *Eadmunding*], and swa forð on thaet cynecynn, and hire modor cynn gæd to Heinrice casere, þe hæfde anwald ofer Rome." Henry the Second ought to be meant; but some of the reflected glory of Henry the Third seems to be thrown back on him.

⁵ Chron. Wig. 1067;

"þæt heo on mægðhade
Mihtigan Drihtne
Mid lichoman licre heortan

On þisan life sceortan,
On clænre forhæfednysse
Cwéman mihte."



THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

ealt with her brother till he said Yea ; for in truth
irst not say otherwise, seeing they had come into his
r.¹ In fact the marriage-vow of Margaret to Malcolm
; to have been plighted as unwillingly as the homage
of Harold to William. But the results in the two
were widely different. It was a good day indeed for
olm and for Scotland when Margaret was persuaded
nstrained to exchange the easy self-dedication of the
er for the harder task of doing her duty in that
of life to which it had pleased God to call her.
 Margaret became the mirror of wives, mothers, and
ns, and none ever more worthily earned the honours
aintship.² Her gentle influence reformed whatever
d to be reformed in her husband,³ and none laboured
diligently for the advance of all temporal and
ual enlightenment in her adopted country.⁴ The
of Malcolm played a part not wholly unlike the part
d by the earlier wives of Æthelbert and Eadwine, an

changes in various points where the traditions of the CHAP. XX.
 Scottish Church still differed from the received practice of
 Western Christendom.¹ She became the correspondent of
 Lanfranc,² and her life was written by the holy Prior and
 Bishop Turgot.³ And, to turn from the personal and
 ecclesiastical aspect of the marriage to its historical and
 political side, no royal marriage was ever more important
 in its results for both of the countries concerned. It was
 through Margaret that the old kingly blood of England
 passed into the veins of the descendants of the Conqueror;⁴
 it was in her daughter, the heiress of her virtues, that the
 green tree began to return to its place.⁵ And in the land Impulse
 of her adoption the mission of Margaret was to put the given to
 finishing stroke to the process which was fast making English
 influences in Scotland. in Scotland.
 Scotland English. The Kings of Scots had already learned
 that their English earldom of Lothian was in truth the
 most valuable portion of their dominions. Malcolm's

¹ From the words of the Chronicler one might almost have thought that Margaret had to work on a heathen bridegroom, just like her Frankish and Kentish predecessors. And certainly, to judge from what we have seen of him on his Northumbrian raid, Malcolm would seem to have been personally a far more unpromising subject than *Ethelberht* or *Eadwine*. In the Chronicles Malcolm is "vir infidelis;" Margaret is sent "jone kyng gerihtan of þam dwelande peſe, and gebégean hine to beteran wege, and his leode samod, and alegcean þa unþeawas þa seo þeod sær beeode." On the nature of these "unþeawas," see Mr. E. W. Robertson, i. 149. His whole account of Malcolm and Margaret should be read. See also Innes' Scotland in the Middle Ages, 86 (though an unheard-of exploit is there attributed to Margaret's father), and Burton's whole chapter beginning i. 378.

² See the letter of Lanfranc to her, Giles, i. 59, but it contains no historical information. He sends to her a certain Goldewinus, who from his name may be supposed to be an Englishman.

³ The Life of Margaret by Turgot, printed in Mr. Hinde's edition of Simeon, is one of the most interesting pieces that we have as a personal and ecclesiastical biography, but it throws little light on the marriage as a mere piece of history.

⁴ The descent of the Conqueror's sons from *Ælfred* seems to have been forgotten. See vol. i. p. 24; ii. p. 301.

⁵ See vol. iii. p. 11.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

rn in England, his close relations with Siward and g, doubtless helped on the spread of English influences otland.¹ And the coming of Margaret and the Eng- exiles who followed in her train finally settled the er. Lothian, and the neighbouring lands which, like soon became as English as Lothian, became, as I said the beginning of this work,² the historical Scotland. Kings of Scots who sprang from Malcolm and Mar were Englishmen, speaking English, often bearing ish names,³ ranking as the highest among English s,⁴ and not wholly without hopes of the English n. Just at the moment when England became in measure French, Scotland became thoroughly English. Celtic portion of northern Britain became, like the e portion of southern Britain, a troublesome appendage h it cost much pains to keep in even nominal allegi-

The Scotland so formed, the kingdom of Dunferm- and Edinburgh, remained an English state, speaking

widely different as was the sister of Henry the Eighth CHAP. XX.
from the sister of Eadgar Ætheling—completed the work
which the earlier marriage began. In three generations,
after exactly the space of a hundred years, the descendants
of the second Margaret contrived to place themselves by a
pretended¹ hereditary right on the throne which the imme-
diately descendants of the elder Margaret had striven in vain
to win. 1603.

The next year, probably the year of the marriage of 1071.
Malcolm and Margaret, was the year of the revolt and
re-conquest of the Isle of Ely. William was fully occupied
in that quarter till a late stage of the autumn,² and no
step could at once be taken to revenge the Northumbrian
inroad of Malcolm. All that we hear of the North during Walcher
takes pos-
session of
the see of
Durham.
April 3,
1071.
the year which was so busy in the East is the reception
of the new Bishop of Durham, the Lotharingian Walcher,
in his diocese. The King's English favourite, Eglaf the
Housecarl, and other men of note, led the new prelate as
far as York. He was there met at the King's bidding
by Gospatrick, the Earl of his diocese, and was led to his
cathedral city, where at Midlent he took possession of April 3,
1071.
the chair of Saint Cuthberht,³ the first man of foreign
birth who had sat there since the days of the Scottish
missionaries in the first infancy of the Northumbrian
Church.

During the former part of the next year William's William's
expedition
against
Scotland.
August 15,
1072.
presence was needed in his own duchy,⁴ but in the autumn
his hands were free, and in the month of August he set
forth against Scotland with a mighty force both by land
and sea.⁵ He went at once to avenge the special wrongs His mo-
tives.

¹ See Growth of the English Constitution, pp. 221–226.

² See above, p. 478.

³ Sim. Dun. 1071 (89 Hinde). On Eglaf or "Eilaf Huscarl," see above, p. 304.

⁴ See below, § 4.

⁵ Chron. Ab. 1073, Petrib. 1072. "Her Willelm cyng hedde scipfynde

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

This kingdom had suffered at the hands of Malcolm,¹ so assert in a practical shape his claim to the Imperial
so of his predecessors over the whole Isle of Britain.² thing else was now lacking to the perfection of William's
quest. England was his own; the subjugation of the
ss Britons might be left to the Earls of the border;
the subjugation of the greatest vassal of the Empire,
only vassal of undoubted kingly rank, was an enter-
which called for his own presence and for his full

The fleet was sent to beset the whole coast,³ while
himself set forth with the land army. Among his
wing came Eadric the Wild, the hero of Hereford-
who had been received to the King's peace about
years before.⁴ We are not told whether Eadric's pre-
was the result of his new-born loyalty, or whether
as called on to follow William into Scotland as Here-
was perhaps called on to follow him into Maine.⁵
ll events, it is plain that the position which Eadric
in William's host was outwardly at least one of high

the Old-English kingly house ; he might be the protector of Eadgar, the husband of Margaret ; but just at that time Englishmen would be far more likely to look on him simply as the last and most brutal ravager of North-humberland, and they might look on William as, for the nonce at least, the avenger of that great wrong. Never would Englishmen be so ready to acknowledge William as their lawful King as when he was about to lead them forth against the old enemy of England. Men to whom it was pain and grief that William should be King of the English would, now that he was King of the English, be ready to do him loyal service in asserting the rights of the English Crown over its foreign vassals. Men might for a moment forget Senlac and York and Ely, as they followed the standard of a King who might seem to be leading the hosts of England to another Brunanburh.

But the Scottish campaign of William was not destined William in Scotland. to be marked by any special feat of arms. His march might pass for a repetition of the march of Cnut, thirty-five years before.¹ Whatever resistance William met with he easily overcame ;² but there is nothing to show the No armed Norman, any more than the Danish, Conqueror had to opposition. assert his rights over Scotland at the expense of a pitched battle. William marched through Lothian, the English earldom held by the Scottish Kings ; he crossed the Forth,³

¹ See vol. i. p. 444.

² I presume, with Lingard (i. 466), that this is the meaning of the difficult words of the Chronicles, "and he þer naht ne funde þes þe heom þe betere (bet, Petrib.) wære." But see Thorpe, ii. 179.

³ This seems to be Mr. Earle's explanation (*Parallel Chronicles*, 348, 349) of the other difficult passage which goes just before in the Chronicles, "and his landfyrd æt þem gewæde inn ledde," or in Worcester, "himsylf mid his landfyrd ferde inn ofer þe wæs." The words of the Waverley Annals (Ann. Mon. 292), referred to by Mr. Earle, and which, as usual, translate the Peterborough Chronicle, are "exercitum suum per terram apud Scodwade introduxit." "Inn ledde;" William was not "inn," he had not reached the genuine Scottish realm, till he crossed the Forth. So

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

found himself in the proper Scotland. He pressed through the Celtic lands over which, under the gentle rule of Margaret, civilization was just beginning to find itself. He came near to the broad estuary of the River Tay, the stream which flows down from the wilder northern mountains, the home of the unmixed and unconquered Celts, and mountain rampart of that land fringes the distant landscape at the furthest point to which William's mission of conquest led him. This was at Abernethy, the more or less hereditary spot of that name, a spot said to have once been a dwelling-place of the Pictish Kings, but which is now a village, though still keeping the name of a burgh. The town lies on the slope of a low range of hills looking down on the wide Tay and on the loftier hills beyond it, its houses cluster round a structure which has but one parallel within the Isle of Britain. The round bell-tower, in shape, it may be, borrowed from distant Ravenna, but endowed with a distinctive character of its own, had been

still stands, its upper portion seemingly rebuilt soon after CHAP. XX. William's day, but with the lower part of its primitive fabric still untouched, at the spot where William and Malcolm met face to face. The King of Scots came to Abernethy, and, under the shadow of the old Scottish tower, he became the man of the Conqueror, now, like the Kings who had gone before him, not only King of the Angles and Saxons, but Lord of the whole Empire of the Isle of Albion. As the elder Malcolm had bowed to Cnut, so the younger Malcolm now bowed to William. The vassal was received into the peace of his lord, and he gave hostages for his good faith, the young Duncan, his son by the dead or forsaken Ingebiorg, being among them.¹

Malcolm becomes the man of William.

No further details are given; it is indeed said in one version that Malcolm did some kind of homage to Robert

Malcolm gives his son Donald as a hostage.

Chronicles (Johnstone, 143), "Hic [Kenneth, Eadgar's Kenneth] est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino," gives the date of the foundation of the church and tower of Brechin. The Brechin tower is purely Irish; at Abernethy the upper part, which has plainly been rebuilt, shows Norman touches.

¹ Chron. Wig. 1073, Petrib. 1072. "And se cyng Melcolm com and grīðede wið þone cyng Willelm, and gislas sealde, and his man wæs." That Duncan was one of the hostages appears from Chron. Petrib. 1092, where we read of him, "swa swa his fæder hine urees cynges fæder ær to gisla gesæald hæfde." Compare Florence, 1087. Florence cuts the formula of submission shorter, but adds the place; "Rex Scottorum Malcolmus, in loco qui dicitur Abernithici, occurrit [Willelmo] et homo suus devenit." So Will. Malms. Gest. Reg. iii. 250; "Malcolmus, antequam ad manus veniretur, se dedidit." Æthel. Riev. X Scriptt. 340; "Bellicosus ille Malcolmus deditio factus est noster." Yet to become the man of a lord is not a Roman *deditio*. Mr. Robertson (i. 137, ii. 401), on the strength of the account in Florence, 1091, tries hard to make out that Malcolm simply did homage for twelve lordships in England and a pension of twelve marks in gold. Mr. Burton (i. 409) looks the matter in the face, but it is odd to make Florence borrow from Æthelred. But I have to thank Mr. Robertson for sending me to the passage bearing on the matter in the Ulster Annals, 1072, Johnstone (69). In the version of Johnstone the King's son—doubtless Duncan—is made to be among the hostages, but in the Latin text in O'Conor, iv. 343, it appears thus; "Franci profecti sunt Albaniam, et abstulerunt Regem Albanie secum obsidem."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

William's successor;¹ but it may be doubted whether there is much more to be believed than the Yorkshire tradition that William required that the Scots should give up their ancient practice of eating human flesh.² We shall perhaps be nearer the mark, if we guess that among the terms of peace was a demand on William's side that Eadgar should be no longer sheltered in Scotland. We next hear of him in Flanders, two years later, when he was still out of the King's peace;³ and no other time or cause for his removal from Scotland seems so likely. William had thus gained every formal point, and he had doubtless really made a deep impression on the Scottish King and his subjects by his arms and by his personal presence. The scene at Abernethy was the crowning day of William's reign. He was for a moment undisputed lord, without having moved his tongue against him, from the Orkneys to the Angevin march. The Bastard of Falaise, Duke of Normandy, and more than King, gave the law, not only at York and at Winchester, but at Dunfermline and at Lan-

as his pledge of sworn brotherhood to Tostig.¹ William CHAP. XX. no doubt knew as well as any man that it would be so. But he had no motive or excuse for tarrying any longer within the dominions of his northern vassal. The Lord He returns of all Britain, having received the homage and the hostages to England. of the Scottish King, turned his face southward and came back to England with his host.²

The march of William from Scotland was marked by Legendary accounts of important events in the history of Northumberland. A his march. legendary tale, recording one of the usual ecclesiastical miracles, enables us to trace out part of his course. He He reaches came back by the site which had been the Pons *Ælii* of Pons *Ælii*, Roman days, and which was to become the great haven of Monk- chester, or Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In William's day the Roman name on-Tyne. had been forgotten, and the beginnings of the New Castle did not arise till a later stage of his reign. The place was known by the less famous name of Monkchester.³ The Roman bridge too had vanished, and those wonderful works of modern skill which carry one of the great highways of Britain over the broad stream of Tyne had as yet no later forerunner. The stream was high, and crossing by any means was impossible.⁴ The tale goes on to tell how William was obliged to tarry on the left bank of the river,

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 383, 457.

² Chron. Wig. 1073, Petrib. 1072. "Se cyng ham gewende mid ealre his fyrdē."

³ This story comes from a life of Saint Oswine published by the Surtees Society in their volume of *Miscellanea Biographica*, 1838. It begins in p. 20; "Quodam tempore quum Rex ille victoriosissimus Willelmus, qui Normannis Angliam in manu forti subjugavit, cum exercitu valido a Scottiā revertetur, circa locum qui nunc Novum Castellum dicitur, quondam vero Monecestre dicebatur, fixit tentoria super Tynam fluvium."

⁴ Vita Oswini, 21. "Contigerat enim tunc temporis fluvium ipsum adeo esse derivatum ut transvadari nusquam posset, nec pontis qui modo cernitur adminiculo pateret transitus. Hujus igitur necessitatis occasione, Rex inibi nonnullam fecerat moram."



THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

how his followers, used to live by rapine,¹ plundered country round, and especially sacked Tynemouth, e such stock of food as was left after two harryings been carefully stored up.² After this third scourge fallen on the unhappy land, William made his way urham. He there began the building of the famous , designed in this case, not as the dwelling of or Earl, but as a place where the foreign Bishop had been sent as a shepherd over the turbulent land ernicia might be in safety against the attacks which id to look for from his hostile flock.³ Thus arose the fortified palace of the episcopal princes of Durham, ndrous change indeed from the hermit cell of Aidan Cuthberht, or even from such a dwelling as may have ed the lowlier state of Ealdhun and Æthelwine. am probably built only what was necessary for the te's defence; the most striking part of the vast and d pile is perhaps the pillared chapel of William of Carilef, the successor of the Bishop now established

who had indeed harried Northumberland and mutilated his prisoners at Ely, but who had at least abstained from taking the lives of his most dangerous enemies. Bishop Walcher was saying mass, and the King was present in the minster, minded at once to carry out his ungodly purpose.¹ Straightway, on the November day, he was smitten with an intolerable heat. He rushed from the church, he forsook the costly banquet which had been made ready for the festival, and rode with all speed, but with what object is not very clear, as far as the banks of the Tees.²

Of such a tale as this it is not easy to see the ground-work. William was not a scoffer; the work of jeering at English saints was more in the line of his Abbots;³ and no man was less likely to order a massacre after the fashion of a Babylonian despot. Another tale is, to say the least, better conceived. William designed to violate the privileges of Saint Cuthberht by laying an unusual tax on the men of his patrimony. His instrument in this evil work was one Randolph, in whom we may safely see the famous Flambard.⁴

He designs to tax the Bishopric.

His agent Randolph (Flambard?).

At a later time (see Florence, 1104) some doubts as to the body of Saint Cuthberht were raised by "quorundam incredulitas abbatum."

¹ Hist. Eccl. Dun. iii. 19. "In ipsa Omnia Sanctorum festivitate predicto episcopo missam celebrante, Rex quum id quod animo conceperat jamjamque perficere vellet."

² Ib. "Festinans de ecclesia exire, relictisque quod ingenti copia preparatum fuerat convivio, equum confestim ascendit, et quoque ad Tessam veniret in cursum urgere non cessavit."

³ See above, p. 395.

⁴ Hist. Eccl. Dun. iii. 20. "Post tempus aliquod quemdam vocabulo Ranulphum illo miserat, qui ipsius Sancti populum Regi tributum solvere compelleret." Randolph Flambard appears by that name in Domesday in the town of Oxford (154), at Middleton in Oxfordshire (157), where he appears among a list of "clericis," and in three entries in the New Forest (51), from one of which it would seem that Eadward had the credit of bringing him into England. He was by birth (see Orderic, 678 C) a son of a priest in the Bessin, and he had a brother named Osbern (Hist. Ab. ii. 23). Two of the holdings belonged to English owners T. R. E., but of one we read, "Idem Ranulfus tenuit in ipsa villa i. hidam, et pro tanto se defendebat T. R. E." I presume that he is also the Ranulfus Flamme in Hampshire (49) who

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

man appears in the next reign as the author of all evil, he ended his days as a magnificent prelate on Saint berht's throne, and atoned for his misdeeds by rearing mighty nave of Saint Cuthberht's minster. The tale how the future Bishop of Durham was enabled to bear less in his own person to the wonder-working powers of predecessor. In the night before the day on which he was to be levied, Saint Cuthberht appeared to theessor in his sleep ; he smote him with his pastoral staff, warned him that, if he did not speedily depart out of ioly region, a worse thing should befall him. When lolf awoke in the morning, he could not stir from his

He told his tale to all who came near him ; he ged himself that, if he escaped alive, he would do no wrong to Saint Cuthberht or his people. He implored aint's forgiveness and made a costly gift at his shrine. vas in vain, as long as he tarried within the forbidden ers. He was carried in a litter through the bishoprick ;

of his policy. A foreign prince who respected the privileges CHAP. XX. of Saint Cuthbert would be looked on with more kindly eyes than a native prince who disregarded them. On the other hand, we may perhaps see in both these stories signs that the frightful severities of William's rule in the North had gained him a worse name there than in other parts of the kingdom, and that he was remembered as a kind of bugbear who might be made the subject of any tale of oppression or extortion.

I turn from legend to history. Bishop Walcher now Gospatric began his episcopal reign in his new fortress side by side deprived of his Earl. with Ealdhun's minster, and it was William's pleasure to dom. November, give him a new temporal yoke-fellow. Gospatric was 1072. deprived of his earldom, on charges heavy enough in William's eyes, but which William had fully forgiven three years before. He had had a share in the slaughter of the Normans at York, and, though not present in person, he had been an accomplice in the earlier slaughter of which Robert of Comines had been the victim.¹ Whatever may have been the truth of this latter charge, there was no doubt about the former; but it was a charge which told equally against the Earl whom William chose to succeed him. William was not yet prepared again to try the experiment of sending a stranger to rule that distant and turbulent province. He bestowed the earldom of Northumberland on an Englishman, and one who, like Gospatric, came by female descent from the ancient Earls and Kings of the land. The government of Northumber- Waltheof Earl of land was given to Waltheof the son of Siward and Æthel- Northum- flæd, and it is clear that his descent was looked upon as berland. 1072-1075.

¹ Sim. Dun. 1072, p. 89. "Rediens inde [from Scotland] Willelmus Gospatricum comitatus honore privavit, imponens illi quod consilio et auxilio affuissest eis qui Comitem cum suis in Dunelmo peremerant, licet ipse ibidem praesens non fuisset, et quia in parte hostium fuisset quem Normanni apud Eboracum necarentur."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

g him at least a preference for the succession to the
m.¹ He was already Earl of Northampton and
ington, already probably the husband of the King's
Judith.² Gospatric became an exile, and flitted to
to between the two common homes of exiles, Scotland
Flanders. The old quarrel between him and Malcolm
forgotten; both were enemies of William. The Scottish
made the banished Earl a grant of Dunbar and other
in Lothian till better times should come. The better
seem to have come in the case of Gospatric, as they
in the case of Abbot Æthelsige,³ during the reign of
himself. Gospatric, though fallen from his ancient
and honours, appears in the Survey as a consider-
landowner, and his three sons, Dolfin, Waltheof, and
atri, have their place in the local history of northern
land.⁴ His successor Waltheof at once formed a close
lship with the new Bishop of Durham. Whatever
Walcher took for the soul's health of his flock,
he was ready to carry out with the strength of the

of Siward or Tostig reached him, or whether law was found CHAP. XX. too weak to strike so powerful an offender. But his crime was now to be visited on those who were guiltless of it. The old tragedy was acted over again. Thurbrand had slain Uhtred; Uhtred's son Ealdred had slain Thurbrand; Thurbrand's son Carl had slain Ealdred, and had slain him in despite of the tie of sworn brotherhood. Whether there was any such formal tie between Waltheof and the sons of Carl we know not; but they had at least fought at his side against the Norman in the great march upon York, and even a crime of their own doing might well have been forgiven to fellow-soldiers in such a cause. But Waltheof could not forgive the death of the grandfather whom he had never seen. The sons of Carl, whose estates would seem to have been left to them by William, were feasting in the house of their elder brother at Seterington in Yorkshire. A party of young men, sent across the border by The sons
of Carl
murdered
by order of
Waltheof.
1073. the Earl of the Northumbrians, came upon them, as the Normans came on Hereward, when they were thus unarmed and unsuspecting. The whole family, all the sons and grandsons of Carl, were cut off, save one son, Sumorled, who chanced not to be present, and another, Cnut, whose character had won him such general love that the murderers themselves could not bring themselves to slay him.¹ The slayers went back to their master with the spoils of

¹ The story is told by Simeon of Durham in the enlarged Florence, 1073, p. 93, and more fully in the tract *De Obsessione Dunelmi* (157); "Comes Waltheof . . . missa multa juvenum manu, avi sui interfectionem gravissimâ clade vindicavit. Erant namque filii Carl convivantes simul in domo fratris sui majoris in Seteringetun non longe ab Eboraco, quos inopinata qui missi fuerant preoccupantes sevâ clade simul peremerunt, preter Cnutonem, cui pro insitâ illi bonitate vitam permiserunt. Sumerlede, qui usque hodie superest, ibi non aderat." The writer was evidently thinking of the sons of Job. Lands held by Sumorled T. R. E. appear in *Domesday*, in Huntingdonshire, 206 b, Lincolnshire, 340 b (together with Archill, held by the Bishop of Durham), 351 b, 356 b (held by Colewegen), 371, Yorkshire, 300 b. Cnut appears as a holder T. R. E. in many places in Yorkshire and elsewhere, but there is nothing special about the entries.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

victims,¹ and the ancient crime of Carl was thused by a still deeper crime on the part of Waltheof.

§ 3. *Dealings with Ireland.*

1074—1087.

William might now fairly call himself master of the Isle of Britain. England was his immediate kingdom; Scotland had acknowledged his over-lordship; the two princes, formally the vassals of the English Crown, and of harrying the English border, were now being gradually brought into subjection by the Earls on the northern frontier. It was not wonderful if, in such a case, the same should present itself to William's mind that he should also win that other great island of the Western sea which the dominion of the Caesars themselves had reached. A most remarkable passage of the English annales shows that William did, at least in his later

Irish dominion,¹ we have hitherto had to do with Ireland as CHAP. XX. a land whence Danish auxiliaries came to the help of their countrymen in England, as the great market for English slaves, and as one of the lands where English exiles of every party were sure to find welcome. But now we see distinct signs of a wish among at least one class of the inhabitants of Ireland to place themselves under the spiritual jurisdiction of the English Primate. This move- The Danish settlers drawn towards England.

ment began among the Danish settlers in the cities of drawn towards England. the eastern coast, but it is plain that it spread from them to some at least among the native Irish. Among the Danes such a movement was natural; they were recent proselytes to Christianity, and they had of course embraced it in the form usual among the Churches of the West. They stood in fact towards the native Celtic Church in much the same relation in which the English on their first conversion had stood towards the native Celtic Churches in Britain. While strict diocesan episcopacy was Differences between the English and Irish Churches. the rule of all other Churches, in Ireland, besides the more regular tribal episcopate, imaginary Bishops without any real jurisdiction were endlessly multiplied. Such a practice would naturally seem something strange and heterodox in the eyes of the Scandinavian converts. In such a case it was natural to strengthen the ties between themselves and the Church of the neighbouring island, whose Metropolitan claimed to be Patriarch of all the nations beyond the sea. A movement accordingly began, which made the Irish Church conform in many points to the English model, even before the political conquest under Henry the Second. It began by applications made to Lanfranc by several Kings and Bishops, both Danish and Irish; and we cannot doubt that the spiritual connexion thus formed was one of the chief means by which William hoped to bring the island under his dominion without slash or blow. The Peculiar nature of Irish Episcopacy. Applications by Irish Kings to Lanfranc.

¹ See vol. i. p. 64; ii. p. 152.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

nate's first correspondent was an Archbishop whose name is variously Latinized into Donan, Donaldus.¹ The answer of Lanfranc² relates very satisfactorily to ecclesiastical matters. The death of his colleague Lanfranc brought him into a closer connexion with the King of Ireland. He was called on to consecrate the Bishop-elect Bonatus. Patrick the Bishop-elect came over

with letters from the clergy and people of Dublin, also from a potentate to whom Lanfranc gave the title of King of Ireland.⁴ In him we recognize that Godred who played a part against the King at the fight at Stamfordbridge.⁵ The Bishop was buried in London, and the English writers do not record that he made his profession to Lanfranc. Bonatus, in his letter to the King, acknowledges Lanfranc

¹ He is addressed (Ep. Lanfr. i. 54) as "venerandus Hibernie Donaldus." I presume that this is the Dunan or Donatus de Berna, Bishop of the Galls, that is of the Danes, and as Archbishop of Irish and Danes, whose death is recorded in all the Irish

faithful and orthodox son of the Roman Church, and CHAP. XX.
earnestly exhorts him to correct various abuses in his His letter
kingdom, especially the laxity which prevailed as to many to Godred.
points touching marriages and divorces.¹

Archbishop Patrick was drowned in the tenth year of Death of
his episcopate,² and his successor—Donach, Donnghus, or Patrick.
1084. Donatus—was also consecrated by Lanfranc.³ His successor Donatus
Samuel was consecrated by Anselm,⁴ and the consecration conse-
of Irish Bishops to the sees of Dublin, Waterford, and
Limerick by the hands of the English Primate occurs at
intervals up to the time of the conquest under Henry the
Second.⁵ Lanfranc had also another Irish correspondent in
a King of native blood, who plays a great part after the
death of Diarmid,⁶ and whose name is given in various
forms ranging from Toirdhealbach ua Briain to the more
easily uttered Terence O'Brien.⁷ A deep affection towards
him is professed by the English Primate,⁸ but he is

¹ Epp. Lanfr. i. 61. "In regno vestro perhibentur homines seu de propriâ, seu de mortuarum uxorum parentelâ conjuges ducere; alii legitime sibi copulatas pro arbitrio et voluntate relinquere; nonnulli suas alii dare, et aliorum infandâ commutatione recipere." Long after, in 1152, John of Hexham (X Scriptt. 279) speaks of the Irish as "gens legi nuptiarum non assueta."

² Four Masters, ii. 981; Ann. Ult. 1084, ap. O'Conor, iv. 349.

³ W. Stubbs, Reg. Sacr. Angl. 23. His death by pestilence is recorded by the Four Masters (ii. 949) under the year 1095, by the name of Donnghus Bishop of Ath Cliath.

⁴ See Eadmer, 34. He was however a monk of Saint Alban's.

⁵ After Samuel, we find (Eadmer, 36) Malchus of Waterford, a monk of Winchester, in 1096, who was recommended to Anselm by King Murchadh and his son Diarmid, Gregory of Dublin in 1121, and Patrick of Limerick in 1140. See W. Stubbs, Reg. Sacr. Angl. 24, 26, 28.

⁶ See above, p. 245.

⁷ See the various Irish Annals collected in the notes to the Four Masters, 1073, where a strange legend is told of him. The intermediate form Teragh seems to be recognized. Lanfranc addresses him as "magnificus Hiberniae Rex Terdeluacus."

⁸ Epp. Lanfr. i. 61. Patrick had spoken so highly of him "ut, quamvis vos numquam viderimus, tamquam visos tamen vos diligamus, et tamquam visis ac bene cognitis vobis salubriter consulere et sincerissime servire cupiamus." The flattery is at least well turned.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

rted to make great reforms in his realm. He is warned to get rid of the practice of irregular marriages, of simony, of the evil customs by which Bishops were consecrated. One Bishop only, and several Bishops were consecrated in the same place.¹

This ecclesiastical intercourse with Ireland forms a curious episode in the joint reign of William and Lanfranc. It should be noticed that the name of the King of the Irish is never found in any of the Primate's letters to Irish Kings and prelates. The wariness of William must have deemed it more discreet to keep for a while out of notice, till the habit of submission to the Pope of the world might lead men's minds to submit to its master also. We may be tempted to wish that William had lived two years longer to undertake a work which he had most likely have done more thoroughly than it was done by those who came after him. A conquest by William's craft, or even by William's arms, would have

§ 4. *The Revolt of Maine.*

CHAP. XX.

1073.

We must now turn for a while to William's dominions on the mainland, where we shall soon see the strange sight of French-speaking revolters against his authority brought back to their allegiance by the axes of his English subjects. But, before things came to this stage, the man who, after William himself and Odo, had played the foremost part in the conquest of England, lost his life beyond sea in a quarrel which was neither English nor Norman. William Fitz-Osbern had ever been the man whom William had most trusted, and whom he had ever chosen for those posts which called for the highest displays of faithfulness, daring, and military skill. Some danger, domestic or foreign, must have threatened the Norman duchy when William took away this trusted friend from his command on the Welsh border, and sent him to help the Duchess Matilda in her government.¹ Of revolts in the duchy itself we hear nothing at this time, but the stirrings which were soon to arise on the side of Maine, Anjou, and Britanny may have already begun to cast their shadows before them. If so, the Earl of Hereford can hardly have fulfilled the special errand on which he was sent. For he at once turned his thoughts and his energies to the opposite side of the duchy. A dispute was there raging in which the personal feelings of Matilda were doubtless deeply engaged, but in which it could hardly be said that the interests either of England or of Normandy were directly touched. Baldwin, the mighty Marquess of Flanders, whose name we have so often come across in our history, died in the year following

Fitz-
Osbern
sent to
Normandy,
Christmas,
1070.

Affairs of
Flanders.

Death of
Baldwin.
1067.

¹ Ord. Vit. 526 C. "Anno quinto regni sui Guillelmus Rex Guillelum Osberni filium misit in Normanniam, ut cum Mathilde Regina tueretur provinciam." As the fifth year of William begins December 25, 1070, his stay must have been very short. The order was probably given in the Midwinter Gemöt.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

in which his Norman son-in-law had received the crown of England.¹ He was succeeded by one of his sons, either Baldwin. It was the custom of the rulers of empires never to divide their dominions among their children. One son, at the father's choice, succeeded to the whole of his dominions, while the others might, if they chose, win settlements for themselves after the manner of the Vikings of the further North.² Either in consequence to this custom or because he had personally incurred on himself the displeasure of his father, another son of Baldwin, Robert, had left his country to seek for an establishment in foreign lands.³ He then went, like Harold Hardra, through various adventures in southern Europe. The strangest tale of all is that which tells how the Armenian guards at Constantinople offered him the empire of the East, and how the reigning Emperor, by placing guards along the rivers which gave access to his dominions, hindered the design.⁴ Thus baffled in the East, Robert took himself to lands nearer his native France.

Either by force or by persuasion he established himself in Friesland, a name which, in the geography of the time, takes in Holland and Zeeland. There he married Gertrude, the widow of Count Florence, and became the guardian of her son the young Count, a bearer of that noble Gothic name which in the Low Countries was gradually cut short from Theodoric into Dirk.¹ From his settlement in this country he won—some say through the contempt of his father—the surname of Robert the Frisian.² On the death of the elder Baldwin one version makes a war at once arise between the two brothers. The new Count of Flanders, Baldwin the Sixth, is said to have attacked Robert without provocation in his dominions, and to have fallen in battle against him.³ However this may be, it is certain that Baldwin died after a short reign, leaving his son Arnulf under the regency of his mother Richildis of Hennegau, now for the second time a widow.⁴ This was in truth the age of the ascendancy of widows. To a long list both in our own and in other lands,⁵ this story enables us to add the names of Gertrude and Richildis. But the Countess-Regent of

¹ Orderic (526 D) makes him marry the daughter of Florence. But William of Malmesbury (iii. 256) more accurately says, "patre superstite comitissam Frisiae uxorem nactus, Frisonis cognomen accepit." See Ubbo Emmius, *Rer. Fris. Hist.* (Ludg. Bat. 1616), 94; *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, iii. 5. 198. Lambert seems to stand alone in making his settlement the result of a war.

² Ord. Vit. u. s. "Flandrensis dux vehementer iratus infremuit, Freisionem eum præ irâ cognominavit et eum omnino extorrem denuntians, Arnulfum juris sui hæredem constituit."

³ Lambert tells the story of this war at great length, and gives a graphic tale how the troops of Baldwin were defeated, and how he himself died like Hasdrubal. But neither William of Malmesbury, nor Orderic, nor Siegbert (Pertz, vi. 362) gives any hint of Baldwin dying in battle, or of there being any war between him and Robert at all. See also Ubbo, p. 95; *Oudegherst, Chronique de Flandres*, 89 b; *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, iii. 5.

⁴ On Richildis, see Appendix OO.

⁵ Emma, Matilda, the two Ealdgyths (the wife of Eadmund Ironside and the wife of Harvold), Agnes of Poitiers, and Anne of Russia.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

ers soon set the whole country against her by the
ical measures of her short regency.¹ Robert the
n presently invaded Flanders, but he invaded it at
quest of a powerful party in the country, who were
tated with the misgovernment of the Countess, and
abjured all allegiance to her and her sons.² In
trait, Richildis sought for political and military help
hands of the two over-lords of the great march-
King Philip at Paris and King Henry at Lüttich.³
lf, and seemingly a sort of crown-matrimonial over-
ers and Hennegau, she offered to the Earl of Here-
and Regent of Normandy, already named by her
as one of the guardians of his children.⁴ William
Osbern felt his heart kindled at the prospect of pro-
n to princely rank and of warfare of a more brilliant
than an Earl of Hereford could wage at the expense
British neighbours. And, mature widower as he
have been, we have hints that Richildis herself, as

went forth as a true knight-errant to wage war for his CHAP. XX.
lady. He set forth with a light heart, looking on the conquest or defence of Flanders as a mere knightly sport.

At the head of ten knights only he joined the force which He joins Philip's muster with ten knights.
Philip was making ready for the defence of his cousin.¹ We know not whether we are to count among them an adventurer of equal birth and rank with Earl William himself,

over whose descent and actions a thick veil seems to be purposely thrown by all contemporary chroniclers. But it is certain that Gerbod, Earl of Chester, the son of Queen

Matilda, invited by those among his countrymen whom he had left as his representatives in his office of Advocate of Saint Bertin, obtained William's leave to take a part in the Flemish war.² The French army, strengthened by the small Norman contingent, entered Flanders. Earl William went carelessly about from castle to castle, till Robert, who had better learned the lesson never to despise an enemy, found an opportunity for a sudden and decisive attack. In the battle of Cassel the French army was utterly defeated with great slaughter; King Philip fled; the Earl of Chester was taken captive and endured a long imprisonment; the young Count of Flanders and the Earl of Hereford were slain.³

Presence of
Gerbod of
Chester.

Battle of
Cassel.
February
20, 1071.
Death of
Arnulf and
William
Fitz-
Osbern.

périt de mort violente en Flandre, où, pour l'amour d'une femme, il s'était engagé dans des intrigues politiques."

¹ Ord. Vit. 526 D. "Ille cum decem solummodo militibus Regem adiit, et cum eo alacriter, quasi ad ludum, in Flandriam accessit."

² I conceive this to be the time referred to by Orderic (522 A) when he says that Gerbod, "legatione coactus suorum quos in Flandriā dimiserat, et quibus hereditarium honorem suum commiserat, eundi citoque redeundi licentiam a Rege acceperat." The Hyde writer (296), often inaccurate but always independent, seems to place the expedition of Gerbod after the suppression of the revolt of Ralph of Norfolk. After recording the bride-ale and its consequences, he adds, "Quo tempore comes Cistrensis decepit Gerbodo, frater Gondradus comitis, Flandriamque veniens, inimicorum preventus insidiis miserabiliter periiit."

³ Ord. Vit. 526 D; Will. Malms. (iii. 256), whose account is highly picturesque. Lambert, oddly enough, does not mention the battle at all.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

ter this decisive defeat, the King of the French was to patch up a peace with the conqueror and to acknowledge his claim to the county of Flanders.¹ Meanwhile a French army was actually on the march to help the young Duke. King Henry had bidden Theodwin Bishop of Mâcon² and Godfrey Duke of Lotharingia,—son of the Emperor of whom we have already heard,³ and possessor of the doubtful privilege of being one of the husbands of the Countess,⁴—to march with the forces of the Longian Duchy to the support of Arnulf. Perhaps they waited on the way; at all events they did not enter Flanders till Arnulf was dead and till Robert had made peace with Philip. Neither Duke nor Bishop had a mind to enter on a war with France with his own resources, and accordingly went back without striking a blow.⁵ Such was the end of William's chiefest and earliest

¹ places it "Dominico Septuagesimo x. Kal. Martii," that is in 1071. Easter fell on April 24. The short *Chronicon Lyrense*, the annals of

friend. His body was carried off and borne to his own home in Normandy. Though no ecclesiastical foundation preserved his name in England,¹ two monasteries had arisen at his bidding on his Norman estates, and both of them were, as usual, enriched with English lands.² One was at Lyre, in the diocese of Evreux, where his wife Adeliza was already buried; the other at Cormeille, in the diocese of Lisieux, which was his own resting-place.³ The policy of William divided his inheritance. In rewarding his own comrades, he had been obliged to make the same men great on both sides of the sea, but he did not wish that state of things to last beyond the first generation. The Norman estates of William Fitz-Osbern passed to his eldest son William; the earldom of Hereford and all that he held in England was granted to his second son Roger, by whom, as we shall presently see, it was soon lost as the punishment of a reckless treason.⁴

The effects of the wild enterprise of William Fitz-Osbern long survived him. His intermeddling in Flemish affairs brought about a state of hostility between Normandy and

¹ I need hardly except the small and doubtful case of the Priory of Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight. Carisbrooke is not mentioned by that name in Domesday, but William Fitz-Osbern gave several churches in the island, and among them Bowcomb, by which is probably meant Carisbrooke (Domesday, 52, 52 b), to his foundation at Lyre. Carisbrooke before long (see Monasticon, vii. 1090-1091) became a cell to Lyre, but it is not clear that it was, strictly speaking, a foundation of William Fitz-Osbern.

² His successor Roger grants to Lyre lands in Gloucestershire which had been King Eadward's, "pro anima patris sui concessu regis W." Domesday, 166. In the next entry we find Lyre holding other lands by the gift of Roger of Lacy.

³ See Orderic, 527 A. On Lyre, founded about 1045, and the legend of its foundation, see Neustria Pia, 534. On Cormeille, see p. 595. Emma, the daughter of William Fitz-Osbern, the heroine of the famous bride-ale, is also spoken of as its foundress.

⁴ See Ord. Vit. 527 A; Will. Malins. iii. 255. Orderic enlarges on the grief of the Normans at William's death; "Normannorum maximum strenuitate baronem valde omnes planxerunt qui largitatem ejus et facetas atque mirandas probitates neverunt."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

country which, ever since William's marriage, had its closest ally. Robert the Frisian reigned for many years in Flanders, and he remained the firm ally of Philip of France and the enemy of William of Normandy. We find of constant warfare between the two countries, but details are given, except that William found it his best to support Baldwin of Hennegau, the brother of the slain Count Arnulf, in a series of attacks on his uncle in Flanders.¹ Later in William's reign we find Flanders and Denmark in enmity against each other. For the present we are tempted to ask, whether the warfare of William in the marchland of Gaul and of Germany had anything to do with a strange and isolated event which meets us in the German history of the year 1067. Three years after the death of William Fitz-Arnulf, King Henry was setting forth on an expedition against the Hungarians, and had advanced on his march as far as Regensburg. He was there met by the news that

again received into the King's friendship. If Hanno was CHAP. XX.
to be believed, nothing had ever passed between him and William; yet, even after his reconciliation with the Archbishop, Henry deemed the danger from England or Normandy so much to be dreaded that he took up his quarters at Aachen, and betook himself to strengthening the defences of that quarter of the kingdom against the looked-for barbaric invasion.¹

Such is the story of William's relations with Germany, Estimate
as told by the contemporary chronicler whom no incompetent judge has placed at the head of all the historians of the middle ages.² It is hard to say what amount of truth there may have been in the rumour. While William was warring on the borders of the Empire, it is likely enough that Hanno may have tried to win his help for some of his own ambitious schemes. But we can hardly think that William, with England and Normandy on his hands, really dreamed of repeating in the elder minster of the Great Charles the same crowning rite which he had already received in the minster of Eadward. And Version of
it will be well to compare this version of the tale with that which is given by the Saxon enemy—perhaps the slanderer—of Henry. In this picture it is not Hanno who calls in William against Henry; it is Henry himself who, in his despair and wrath against the Saxons, seeks for allies in every quarter. Besides nearer neighbours, he craves help of Swegen of Denmark,³ of his own uncle Duke

Henry
fortifies
Aachen
against
William.

Estimate
of the
story.

Bruno.

Henry asks
William
and other
Kings for
help.

¹ The whole story in Lambert is most curious. The parts which most concern us are where Hanno (p. 159) protests "se non ita rationis expertem vel communis commodi negligentem esse ut in ultiōnē private injurie patriam suam *barbaris* prodere velit," and where we read, a little way on (p. 161), how Henry "hoc modo reconciliatus archiepiscopo, Aquasgrani perrexit, et adversus ea, quae de irruptione *barbarorum* fama vulgaverat eam regni partem, quantum poterat, communivit." As *barbarus* literally translates *wälsch*, we may hope that William's French-speaking subjects are meant.

² Milman, iii. 168.

³ Bruno, Bell. Sax. 36. "Regem Danorum promissionis juramento

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

illiam of Aquitaine,¹ and of the potentate to whom the
rman writer, loyal to his country, if not to its King,
ll give no higher title than that of Ruler of Latin
ance.² But he also prays William King of the English
come to his help, promising that he will give him the
e help back again, should he ever need it.³ William
made to answer that he had won his realm of England
force, and that he fears lest, if he ever set foot out of it,
might never find his way back into it again.⁴ The
tual terms of the answer are impossible, as William was
ually beyond the sea, in his native duchy, at the time
hen Henry's application is said to have been made. Yet
e general sentiment is one more in character with the
nus of the Conqueror than dreams of winning for
mself the Crown of the Cæsars, a crown which assuredly
cousin had ever bequeathed to him.

Our speculations as to this curious and isolated piece
history of which none of our Norman and English

of the year of his Scottish expedition. What he did in CHAP. XX. a political or military way we are left to guess from the vague description that the lovers of peace rejoiced at his coming, while the sons of discord and those whose evil consciences accused them trembled at the approach of the avenger.¹ Peace, in the sense which the word bore in those days, was the great object of William's government; but peace meant one thing in Normandy and another in England. Queen Matilda too was deeply moved by the misfortunes which had fallen on her house and country, so that the presence of William at Rouen was called for on domestic as well as on political grounds.² But we hear nothing in detail except of his holding certain assemblies, ^{of an} Assembl. temporal and spiritual, and, as usual, the acts of the ecclesiastical Convocation are preserved at far greater length than those of the temporal Parliament. Of the latter we only hear that William gathered together the great men of Normandy and Maine, and exhorted them to the practice of peace and righteousness.³ But of the Synod ^{Synod of} Rouen, held this year by Archbishop John, we have ^{Rouen.} 1072. the acts at length, and it is worth notice that the non-resident Bishop of Bayeux left the cares of his Kentish earldom to take sweet counsel with his spiritual brethren in Normandy.⁴ The prelates also, as well as the lay nobles, received abundance of good advice from the careful nursing-^{Presence of Odo.} William's exhortations.

¹ Ord. Vit. 527 B. "Auditio undique Regis adventu, pacis amatores lætati sunt, sed filii discordie et fedi sceleribus ex conscientia nequam adveniente ultore contremuerunt." William was at Ely in October 1071 (see above, p. 478); he set out for Scotland in September 1072. We hear nothing of him in Britain between those two points, so we have the first half of 1072 for these Norman affairs.

² Ib. A.

³ Ib. B. "Cænomanensis et Normannorum majores congregavit, et omnes ad pacem et justitiam tenendam regali hortatu corroboravit."

⁴ Ib. C. 529 B. The Bishops Hugh of Lisieux, Robert of Seez, Michael of Avranches, and Gilbert of Evreux were also present, besides various Abbots. Geoffrey of Coutances is not mentioned. It might not have been safe for William, Odo, and Geoffrey to leave England all at once.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

ier of the Norman Church.¹ They presently went on
carry out the intentions of their sovereign in the form
of a series of minute and strict ecclesiastical canons. As
might be looked for under the primacy of John of Ivry,
most rigid laws were enacted against all marriage
and concubinage on the part of the clergy,² without any
relaxation of strict discipline which the milder
dom of Lanfranc found needful in England a few years
earlier.³ Still we do not hear that any inquiry was made
into the parentage of that other John, who, if not the son
of the Bishop of Bayeux, was at all events the son of the
Duke of Kent.⁴ There are other provisions touching mar-
riages among the laity,⁵ and about various minute eccle-
siastical points. But it is worth notice that the Norman
Church found it needful to put on record a profession of
orthodoxy in the profoundest mysteries of the faith,⁶

Ord. Vit. 527 B. "Episcopos et ecclesiasticos viros admonuit ut bene-
ficiantur, ut legem Dei jugiter revolverent, ut ecclesiae Dei communiter
viverent, ut subditorum mores secundum scita canonum corrigerent. et

and it passed one canon, the observance of which might be useful, however difficult, in any age, namely, that great care should be taken as to the character and qualifications of those who were appointed Deans.¹ Such were the results of the archiepiscopal vigour of the Primate John. Whether it was in this synod that his zeal provoked the party of laxity to put him in danger of the fate of the protomartyr we are not distinctly told.²

The latter part of this year was devoted by William to the affairs of Scotland and Northumberland, but in the course of the next year he had again to cross the sea to stop the revolt of that noble city and county which, next to England itself, was his most precious conquest. Since the capture of Mayenne ten years earlier³ we have heard little of Le Mans or of Maine. We have indeed heard of the zeal of Bishop Vulgrin in promoting the expedition against England,⁴ and we have seen a knight of Maine show but doubtful loyalty to the Conqueror in the crisis of the great battle.⁵ Vulgrin had now been dead four years. His successor Arnold was a Norman by birth, a native of the land of Avranches, but who had long been settled in the Cenomannian diocese, and who had held the post of Chancellor under Vulgrin and under his predecessor Gervase.⁶ On the death of Vulgrin he

Appoint-
ment of
Deans.

Revolt of
MAINE.

1063.

Arnold
Bishop of
Le Mans.

1069-1085.

¹ Ord. Vit. 528 C. "Oportet etiam ut tales decani eligantur, qui sciant subditos redarguere et emendare, quorum vita non sit infamia, sed merito preferatur subditis." I presume that this takes in both urban and rural Deans.

² See above, p. 97.

³ See vol. iii. p. 212.

⁴ See vol. iii. p. 381.

⁵ See vol. iii. p. 485.

⁶ See his Life in Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, 312*. He was brought up by his uncle Robert, "grammaticus sapiens ac religiosus," and who had been diligent "sacrorum librorum instructione seu dirutarum ecclesiarum restauracione." On his death his nephew succeeded him in his office, "et scholarum regimen . . . prudentissime gubernavit." I take the office to have been that of Chancellor of the church. Compare the father and son who held the same post at Waltham, vol. ii. p. 442.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

chosen by the clergy and people to succeed him nothing of the rights of the King of the Cenomannians, or of the rights of the King of the French.² The opposition to Arnulf's appointment came from son of the flock, who brought the same objection against him as was brought against Thomas of York, the son of a priest. But on an appeal to Rome his election was set aside by Pope Alexander;³ Arnulf was consecrated Bishop, and largely devoted himself to the work of rebuilding Saint Julian's minster.⁴ Numerous secular cares soon pressed upon him. A few months after his birth, he was a loyal subject of William, but before his election to the episcopate, the Cenomanian nobles of the whole Cenomannian land began to revolt against William's authority.

The beginning of mischief is by Norman writers ascribed to the reigning Count of Anjou. This Count, Fulk Rechin, one of the nephews and s

cut off from Angevin rule and Angevin influence.¹ But CHAP. XX. it does not appear that any party in the Cenomanian state as yet cast its eyes towards Anjou in search of a ruler or a deliverer. The thoughts of the men of Maine went back to the line of their ancient princes. The male line State of the House of Maine. of Herbert Wake-dog was extinct; no fruit had come the empty betrothal of Robert and Margaret;² but sons of the other daughters of Hugh, the other sisters of the younger Herbert, were still to be found both at their own gates and in distant lands.³ The more distant and more powerful deliverer was first appealed to; the claims of the house of La Flèche were put aside till the next generation, and the patriots of Maine, chiefs and people alike, sought their defender against the Norman yoke in Hugh the son of Gersendis and the Marquess Azo.⁴ It was perhaps the rejection of his more obvious claim which caused John of La Flèche, the husband of the third sister Paula, the father of the famous Helias, to cleave steadily to the Norman side.⁵ A few among the Cenomannian nobles took the same course,⁶ but, as a rule, the whole county revolted. The city and its immediate neighbourhood took the lead. General revolt of the County. Soldiers, citizens, peasants, joined in one patriotic impulse. The castle which held the city in bondage was stormed,⁷

¹ Ord. Vit. 532 C. There is a strange silence on Cenomannian affairs at this time in our Angevin authorities, not excepting Count Fulk himself.

² See vol. iii. pp. 199, 213.

³ See vol. iii. p. 197.

⁴ Vet. An. 314*. "Cenomannensem proceres una cum populo ab ipsius Regis fidelitate unanimiter defecerunt, et mittentes in Italiam, Athonem quendam marchisium cum uxore et filio, qui vocabatur Hugo, inde venire fecerunt." Orderic makes no mention of the application to Azo.

⁵ Ord. Vit. 533 B. "Johannes de Flecchia potentissimus Andegavorum . . . Normannis adhaerebat." On the children of John and Paula, see Orderic, 768 A.

⁶ Ib. 532 D.

⁷ Ib. 532 C. "Seditiosi cives et oppidani confines gregariique milites in exteris unanime consilium ineunt, arcem urbis et alia munimina [see vol. iii. p. 207] viriliter armati ambunt, et Turgisum de Traceio Guillelmumque de Firmitate aliosque Regis municipes expugnant et ejiciunt."

CHAP. XX. and in the joy of recovered freedom a terrible vengeance was taken on the Normans. Humfrey, the King's Senechal, was killed in the storm of the castle; of the other Normans some shared his fate, others were put in bonds or driven out of the land.¹

The city had, in the days of William's conquest, been well nigh the last part of the province to be subdued; it was now the first to assert its freedom. But presently the whole country rose. The Normans, looked on by all men as a common pest, were everywhere attacked.²

Import-
ance of
Geoffrey of
Mayenne.

Geoffrey of Mayenne, the man who had been the last to submit to William at the time of his first invasion,³ was

not likely to be wanting at such a time. He was clearly the life and soul of the movement at its present stage.

Bishop
Arnold
goes to
England;

Among the few who were faithful to William was naturally the Norman Bishop Arnold. As soon as the revolt broke out, he at once left the city, and crossed the sea to his sovereign in England.⁴ We may be led to think that it was from Arnold that William, now at the height of his power and glory in his island Empire, first heard that his noblest conquest on the mainland had fallen away from

a while driven to take up his abode in the monastery of Saint Vincent without the city, till his clergy found means to reconcile him with the citizens, and he was again allowed to fill his throne in Saint Julian's.¹

The Bishop and the citizens reconciled.

Meanwhile the first revolution was accomplished. The Marquess Azo had listened to the call of the Cenomannian nobles and people. He appeared in the land, accompanied by his wife Gersendis, the daughter of the ancient Counts, and by their son Hugh, who was called to reign over the province from which William had been driven. For a while he met with nothing but success. But little resistance was made to Azo's claims, and that little was overcome, partly by force, partly by gifts.² But the Marquess and the citizens did not long agree. His money, which he had lavishly spent, began to fail him, and he therefore began, says the local writer, to taste the fickleness of the men of Le Mans, who gradually fell away from their attachment to him.³ Azo accordingly went back into Italy, leaving Gersendis and her son under the care of Geoffrey of Mayenne.⁴ The choice of a guardian proved both personally and politically unlucky. Geoffrey, so the scandal of the time said, made himself too acceptable to the Marchioness in the absence of her husband,⁵ and it is still more certain that he showed himself quite unfit to

Disagreement between him and the citizens.

He goes back, leaving Gersendis and Hugh.

Relations of Ger-sendis and Geoffrey.

¹ Vet. An. 315*. "Quum cives sui odio Regis Anglii nequaquam eum in civitatem paterentur intrare." Compare the description of William as "Angligena Rex" in Ord. Vit. 655 D.

² Vet. An. 315*. "Cuncta regione tam vi quam muneribus adquisita."

³ Ib. "Atho marchius . . . cognita levitate Cenomannensium, quum jam, deficiente pecunia quam in eis initio copiose erogaverat, fidem quoque ipsorum erga se pariter deficere persensisset, reversus est in Italiam."

⁴ Ib. "In manu Gaufridi de Meduanâ, viri nobilis et versuti admodum ingenti, uxorem cum filio derelinques." William of Poitiers (see vol. iii. p. 209) gives Geoffrey the same epithet.

⁵ The local writer at this point says scoffingly that Geoffrey was "hujus [Gersendis] tutor et quasi maritus effectus," and further on (385) he speaks of the "illicita familiaritas quae jam inter eos male sucreverat."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

with a high-spirited people like the citizens of Le^s. He could fight manfully for his own hand; he i loyally discharge a vassal's duty to his lord; he d strive—we need not doubt, with an honest zeal—ree his country from the yoke of a stranger; but a t was now arising which struck straight at all the ns and all the prejudices of the lords and prelates of e days, and, when tried by that harder test, he fell v.

he spirit of municipal independence had never quite put out in the Roman municipalities of Gaul. In the th there can be little doubt that traditions of this kind e never extinct; and even in the North there may e been faintly abiding memories of the days when the rs of the Empire, allies or colonies of the one ruling monwealth, knew no King but Cœsar and no master the law. The rule of Cœsar and of his lieutenants may e been oppressive; the law which they administered

King and his vassals the growth of civic freedom was CHAP. XX. less perfect. No French or Norman or Aquitanian city less successful in ever reached the full rank of an independent common- France. wealth; none attained that measure of freedom which Florence and Genoa kept for so many ages, which Bern and Zürich have kept to our own day, which Massalia, Defence of Marseille the city which had once braved the might of Cæsar, so against nobly defended against Charles of Anjou.¹ But even in Charles of France and its vassal states the growth of municipal life 1262. was one of the most marked features of the next age,² and the French towns, under the name of *communes*, won Growth of the Com- for themselves a degree of local freedom which discerning munes. Kings found it their wisdom to foster, as a counterpoise to the overbearing power of the territorial nobility. Than the name of *communes* no name was more hateful and more fearful to feudal lords and feudal churchmen.³ And we have now reached the time when that name was first heard Le Mans the first *Commune* in Northern Gaul, when the two principles of municipality Gaul.

¹ On the destruction of Massalian freedom, see the Chronicle of William of Nangis, 1262; D'Achery, iii. 40. But Charles, on taking the city, beheaded a large number of the chief citizens, and the historian applauds an act done "secundum rigorem justitiae." Neither the princes nor the chroniclers of the eleventh century had sunk so low as this.

² This whole subject may be studied in Thierry's History of the *Tiers Etat*, a far more trustworthy work than the more famous one with which I have more commonly to deal. See also his account of the *communes* of Le Mans and Cambray in the fourteenth of his *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*. But one does not see what place Cambray has in a work bearing that title.

³ The words of Abbot Wibert of Nogent in his Life in Bouquet, xii. 250, are well known; "Communio autem, novum ac pessimum nomen, sic se habet, ut capite censi omnes solitum servitutis debitum dominis semel in anno solvant, et, si quid contra jura deliquerint, pensione legali emendent; cetera census exactiones quæ servis infligi solent omnimodis vacent. Hac se redimendi populus occasione suscepta, maximos tot avarorum hiatibus obstruendis argenti aggerebant, qui, tanto imbre fuso, sereniores redditi, se fidem eis super isto negotio servaturos sacramentis præbitis firmaverunt." Two generations later we find the *communio* nearer home; "communio quam vocant Londoniarum." Will. Malma. Hist. Nov. iii. 46.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

feudalism met as enemies, if not for the first time
of the Alps, at all events for the first time north
the Loire. On the old Cenomannian height, girded
the walls of Constantine and by the narrower circuit
the old Rome¹—in the city whose traditions had
nized the impersonation of municipal right alongside
the patron saint of its ancient bishoprick—in the city
which revered alike the name of Julian and the name
defensor²—the old flame had never wholly died out,
it may well have been kindled into fresh life by some
the latest visitors from southern lands. Azo, a prince,
as to rule as a prince in Maine no less than in Liguria,
the men who came in his train could tell the burghers
Le Mans that a spirit was rising in their own land
which was soon to shake the power of Marquesses and
Emperors.³ What was tried in vain at Exeter was
also at Le Mans, with more lasting, but still only
temporary, success. When the exactions of Gersendis
Geoffrey could no longer be borne, the burghers left

seem to be reading the history of an Italian republic, not CHAP. XX.
 the history of a city within any part of the dominions
 of William the Norman. The tale goes on to tell us of Alleged
 the crimes by which the new-born commonwealth dis-
 graced its freedom, crimes which, to say the least, were
 not worse than the crimes of the princes of their age. In
 one respect indeed, if it be true that the new republic sent
 men to the gallows for small offences, the hands of William
 were cleaner than the hands of his revolted subjects. But
 the man who had wrought his vengeance at Alençon and
 at Ely, who had seared out the eyes of the hostage before
 the gates of Exeter, had little reason to complain if the
 young republic did not rise in those matters above the
 standard of contemporary princes.¹ It was a saying far
 older than the days of William, that a people which has
 just won its own deliverance is tempted to be stern to
 those whom it has overcome.² We hear too of the impiety Their dis-
 of the citizens in disregarding the Church's hallowed sea-
 sons, how they took castles in Lent, and even in the holy
 week of the Passion.³ In so doing the republicans undoubted-
 ly sinned against the Truce of God; but they
 must share the blame with the kings and princes who
 kept their paschal feasts on the stricken fields of Barnet
 and Ravenna.⁴ 1471.
1512.

A great expedition followed, in which the men of the

regionis proceres, quamvis invitox, sacramentis sive conspiracionis obligari
 compellunt."

¹ Vet. An. 315*. "Conjurationis audacia innumera sceleris commiserunt,
 passim plurimos sine aliquo judicio condemnantes, quibusdam pro causis
 minimis oculos eruentes, alios vero (quod nefas est referre) pro culpa levissima
 suspedio strangulantes." The shrinking from the infliction of death
 otherwise than in battle is characteristic of the age.

² Aesch. Sept. c. Theb. 1035. τραχύς γε μέντοι δῆμος ἐκφυγῶν κακόν.

³ Vet. An. 316*. "Castra vicina diebus sanctis quadragesimis, immo
 Dominice passionis tempore, irrationabiliter succendentibus."

⁴ We may add Towton, fought on Palm Sunday in 1461, and some less
 famous Easter fights before and since.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

monwealth found how small was the worth of the so-called oaths of nobles, and how well the virtues of chivalry could agree with treachery towards the burgher and the peasant. A Cenomannian noble, Hugh by name, held the castle of Sillé, lying north-west of the city, at an equal distance from Le Mans and Mayenne. He refused allegiance to the commonwealth, and had dealt with it as an open enemy.¹ Orders were accordingly sent through the whole country for a general march against his castle. Not a word is told us as to either the political or military arrangements of the republic, but the army which set forth against Hugh was evidently a general assembly of the population of the country.² This fact suggests something better for thought. In the first moment of recovered freedom, before disputes and differences had had time to arise, the people of the country at large gladly obeyed the orders which were sent forth to them from the capital. What the Cenomannian commonwealth would have displayed

doubt, but probably in accordance with the terms of his ^{CHAP. XX.} late reconciliation, sanctified the host with his presence and ^{Presence of Bishop Arnold and his clergy.} that of his clergy. The priests of the several churches marched at the head of their flocks, carrying their crosses and banners. In this sacred array, the host, full of eager zeal, pressed on to the attack of Hugh's castle.¹ But they had an enemy among them. Geoffrey had obeyed the summons to arms; he had come with his own following, ^{Treason of Geoffrey of Mayenne.} probably from Mayenne on the opposite side of the besieged fortress, and he had pitched his camp hard by that of the civic army. But the lord of Mayenne had not come with an honest heart to fight for burghers against a brother noble. He entered into a treasonable correspondence with Hugh, and a plan of action for the morrow was agreed on between them.² In the morning the garrison of the besieged castle made a sally; the army of the commonwealth was taken by surprise, but they had time and courage left to make themselves ready for battle. Suddenly a false rumour was spread through the camp that the city itself had been betrayed to the enemy. The countrymen who had flocked to the civic standard around the banners of their own parishes at once threw down their arms and fled. The rest of the army, nobles and commons alike, soon followed their example, and the local historian gives us a graphic description of the rout. The pursuers do not seem to have been specially blood-thirsty, but crowds of the fugitives died by pressing into the rivers or crushing one another to death in the narrow paths. Men of all ranks, scattered about the fields, were taken like fawns, not only ^{Rout of the besiegers.}

¹ Vet. An. 316*. "Congregato exercitu, episcopo et singularum ecclesiarum presbyteris praeeuntibus, cum crucibus et vexillis ad castrum Siliacum furibundo impetu diriguntur."

² Ib. "Quum haud procul a castro consedissent, Gaufridus . . . ipsorum comitatu fraudulenter adjunctus, non longe ab eis castra posuit; et clam cum hostibus per internarios colloquutus, ad dissipandos conjuratorum conatus modis omnibus laborabat."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

soldiers but even by women, and it would seem that it was a female captor who made a prize of the chief shepherd of the Cenomannian Church.¹ Bishop Arnold was undoubtedly made a prisoner, and put into ward, but the son of Hugh of Sillé presently released him and let him come with all honour.

This great blow may be said to have sealed the ruin of the new-born republic. A defeat after a stout resistance might have been a strengthening discipline, but such a victory as this only cast down the hearts of the men of Mans and made them ridiculous in the eyes of their enemies. The city, says the local writer, full of sorrow and despair, was tossed to and fro like a ship without a rudder.² The Count of Mayenne no longer dared to show himself at Jans; he sent the young Hugh back to his father in Normandy, and betook himself to his castle of La Chartre on the Sarthe, close to the Angevin march.³ Gersendis remained in the city; but the scandal of the time reported that she

that is doubtless into the castle which had been built by CHAP. XX.
 William on his first entrance.¹ Hostilities followed between
 the citizens and the new-comers.² Fire, the favourite means
 of destruction, was freely used on both sides. The citizens called the neighbouring nobles to their help, and they called in one deliverer more dangerous than all in the person of Count Fulk of Anjou.³ Such a step amounted to giving up all hopes of maintaining their republican freedom; it must have been a mere measure of despair. The commonwealth was something to fight for; the native dynasty was something to fight for; but, if Le Mans was to acknowledge a foreign master, it is hard to see how the rule of Fulk promised better than the rule of William. But the help of the Count and of the nobles served the immediate purpose of the citizens. All the engineering resources of the age were brought to bear upon the besieged fortress.⁴ As in the slaughter of the Normans at Durham,⁵ the minster—where we may conceive that the works of Bishop Arnold were for a while at a standstill—narrowly escaped the flames which were used to dislodge the enemy from towers and houses in its immediate neighbourhood.⁶ Geoffrey, by connivance with a party among the besiegers, escaped by night.⁷ His followers, deceived

The citizens invite
Count Fulk.

Geoffrey
besieged in
the castle.

He escapes.

¹ The fortress is described as “quædam arx civitatis, que juxta matrem ecclesiam sita erat;” see vol. iii. p. 206. The betrayal on Sunday, “quædam die dominicâ,” was perhaps to punish the disregard of the citizens for the holy seasons of the Church.

² Vet. An. 285. “Cœpit [Gaufridus] hostiliter agere, et in perniciem civium totisnisibus anhelare.”

³ Ib. “Totius regiones proceres, et præcipue Fulconem Andegavorum comitem, subito convocarunt.” There is something strange in this mention of the Count of Anjou as if he were simply the chief among the ordinary nobles.

⁴ Ib. “Telis et diversorum generum machinis expugnantes.”

⁵ See above, p. 237.

⁶ Vet. An. 285. “Duae turriculæ eidem arcî proximæ” are specially mentioned.

⁷ The local writer is emphatic on the fears of Geoffrey; “Gaufridus

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

further succours which he had promised them, finding provisions fail, and feeling their walls quake beneath strokes of the battering engines, surrendered themselves to fortress to Count Fulk.¹ Oddly enough, from this Fulk vanishes for a season from the story. He did not hinder the citizens from taking a vengeance at once real and symbolical on the fortress which had kept them in bondage. They did not indeed, like the Northumbrians at York,² raze the whole of the hated prison-house to the ground. They at once gratified their wrath and took measures for their future safety. The inner parts of the fort were pulled down to a level with the walls of the city, but the outer walls were allowed to stand, and to form part of the public defences.³

At the prince whose works were thus overthrown was still on the march to recover what he had lost. He who the babe would not leave hold of the straw which he once clutched was not likely, as King and Conqueror,

by English valour that the land was won back to William's CHAP. XX. allegiance.¹ Stranger than all is the thought, probable at perhaps least if not certain, that the captain of the English bands com-manded by Hereward. was no other than the most stout-hearted of living English-men, even Hereward himself.² As William took Eadric to witness and share in the subjugation of Scotland, so he took Hereward to witness and share in the subjugation of Maine. We feel a kind of regret, a kind of shame, that valour which might have been used to free England from the yoke of William was used in quarrels in which England had no concern, to bring other lands under his yoke. But the same causes which enabled William to employ Motives of the English soldiers. English troops to bring other Englishmen into bondage would apply with tenfold force when they were summoned to serve the King in his wars beyond the sea. The mere love of adventure would stir up many to whom life in conquered England had become irksome. And many too, now that English prowess had been so discredited in the world, might rejoice in the chance of giving the men of the mainland a sample of what Englishmen still could do. And men to whom all who spoke the foreign tongue were the same might feel that they were in some strange way paying off their own wrong when they harried the lands of Frenchmen, even if it were in the cause of the Norman King and with Normans to their fellow-soldiers.³ The minds would be few indeed which could raise themselves to the thought that the cause of Maine and the cause of England were in truth the same.

¹ Flor. Wig. 1073. "Rex Anglorum Willelmus civitatem quae vocatur Cinomannis, et provinciam ad illam pertinentem, maxime Anglorum adiutorio quos de Anglia secum duxerat, sibi subjugavit."

² See above, pp. 483, 484.

³ Matthew Paris (*Hist. Engl.* i. 18, Madden) brings out this motive—perhaps all the more because, through a mistake of the transcriber of one of the Saint Alban's manuscripts which he followed, he read "Normanniam" for "Cenomanniam"—"Normannis vicissitudinem nacto tempore non immerito reddiderunt."

CHAP. XX. With his mixed host then, of horse and foot, of Normans and English, William set forth to win back his lost city Plan of the and province. The plan of his campaign was the same as campaign. the plan of his campaign in the same land ten years before.¹

The land wasted and the city isolated. The land was to be ravaged; the outlying towns and castles were to be taken; the city itself was to be devoured last. The amount of ravage, and the share which the English troops had in it, is emphatically dwelled on by the English Chroniclers. "The land of Mans they mightily wasted, and vineyards fordid, and boroughs burned, and mightily the land they wasted and brought it all into William's hands, and then they went home to England."²

Siege of Fresnay. Norman and Cenomannian writers give us a few more details. The campaign began by the siege of the castle of Fresnay, which shows that William entered Maine by way of Alençon. Under its walls William girt the belt of knighthood on a man who was to win an infamous renown, Robert the son of Earl Roger and of the cruel Mabel, who bore the name of Robert of Belesme, and in whom, along with the name of his mother's house, the evil deeds of his

Knight-hood of Robert of Belesme. mother and her kindred seemed to revive.³ The fields and

Surrender of Fresnay.

WILLIAM RECOVERS MAINE.

south-westwards to Sillé, the castle which had so lately ~~sur-~~ borne the attack of the republican forces. Hugh of Sillé,^{Sir} ~~sur-~~ the enemy at once of King and Commonwealth, must have of ~~t~~ fought for Fulk or for Gersendis, or perhaps only for his own hand. But the terror of William's ravages and the example of his neighbour at Fresnay warned him against any obstinate resistance. He came forth; he craved for peace and obtained it.¹ The inhabitants both of the towns and the country began to take the same course, the monks and clergy being foremost in preaching submission.² At last the host of William drew near to the city itself. He encamped by the Sarthe, and sent a message, calling on the men of Le Mans, as he had called on the men of Exeter, to avoid the horrors of a storm, to escape bloodshed and fire-raising, by a timely and peaceful submission.³ The next day the magistrates of Le Mans made their way to the royal presence. The Norman version simply tells how they brought the keys of the city, how they threw themselves on William's mercy and were graciously received by him.⁴ The local writer speaks in another tone. The interview between the King and the magistrates of Le Mans is described by a word often used to express conferences—in a word *Parliaments*—whether between prince and prince or between princes and the estates of their dominions.⁵ They submitted themselves to William's authority as their sovereign, but they received his oath to observe the ancient customs and *justices* of the city.⁶ The city surrenders
William encamps near Le Mans.

¹ Ord. Vit. 533 A.

² Ib. "Omnes oppidani ac pagenses cum clericis et omnibus religiosis pacificum Marchionem decreverunt digniter susciperem illiusque ditioni legitimæ gratanter colla submittere." It takes a little thought to recognize the King and Conqueror in the garb of a peaceful Marquess.

³ Ib. See above, p. 145.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 533 A.

⁵ Vet. An. 286. "Proceres civitatis egressi cum Rege de pace colloquium habuerunt." *Colloquium* is the word constantly used by Lambert of Herzelfeld for a Diet or Parliament.

⁶ Ib. "Acceptis ab eo sacramentis, tam de impunitate perfidie, quam

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

ns was no longer to be a sovereign commonwealth, was still to be a privileged municipality. Thus the city came a second time into William's hands without a drop of blood. After the fall of the capital, the rest of the country had no heart to hold out. The banners of the towns and districts pressed into William's camp, not in tokens of defiance, but to swell the forces of the King. He received all his suppliants graciously, and sent them to dwell and sport each man in peace under his own

ing this whole campaign we have heard nothing of the Duke of Anjou. He and Geoffrey of Mayenne both vanished from the scene after the taking of the castle by the combined forces of the Count and the citizens. But Maine was soon brought again under William's power than he could be rid of him as seeking to disturb an order of things the establishment of which he seems to have done nothing to his satisfaction. His wrath was mainly kindled against John of Montfort and the other Cenomannian barons who had

Moulins and Robert of Vieuxpont.¹ The war now took a more important form. Fulk gathered a greater host, and besieged John in La Flèche. His forces were presently swelled by a large reinforcement of Bretons, under the reigning Count. Conan, who died so opportunely on the eve of William's great expedition,² had been succeeded by the husband of his sister Hadwisa, who bore the name of Howel, the renowned lawgiver of the insular Britons. Norman and Angevin had alike been enemies of Britanny, but the wrongs received at Norman hands were the more recent, and Howel and his subjects pressed eagerly to join in the attack on William's ally.³ Again, as in Harold's march to Dol and Dinan, Norman and Englishman went forth side by side against the *Bretwealas* of the mainland. For King William summoned to his standard his subjects of all races, Norman, English, and others, and gathered so great a power that men said that sixty thousand horsemen rode forth to the war.⁴ But no war followed. The Breton and Angevin host had, if we can at all trust the geography of the story, left the siege of La Flèche for greater undertakings. It was on the older border of Normandy and Maine, in the debateable land of Bruère, that the two armies met face to face.⁵ But for once the Roman Church

¹ Ord. Vit. 533 B. We have heard of Moulins before in vol. iii. p. 137. See Stapleton, i. cxxxiii, cxxxiv, and on Vieux Pont, i. clxxii, ii. cclxiv.

² See vol. iii. p. 317.

³ Ord. Vit. 533 C. On his descent, see Art de Vérifier les Dates, ii. 897, and the pedigree in Mrs. Green's Princesses, i. 25.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 533 C. "Guillelmus Rex, ut tantam multitudinem girasse suos agnovit, regali edicto Normannos et Anglos iterum excivit, aliasque sibi subditas gentes, ut fortis magister militum, congregavit, ac, ut furunt, sexaginta millia equitum contra hostiles cuneos secum adduxit." The number seems incredible, especially as William was not likely to repeat the blunder of Ralph, and to make the English as a body serve as "equites."

⁵ The peace, according to Orderic (533 D), was made in "loco qui vulgo Blanca landa vel Brueria dicitur." This (see Stapleton, i. lxxvii) is on the borders of Normandy and Maine, in the district added to Normandy by William's conquest of Domfront. This seems to show that the Angevin

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

d in to hinder and not to promote bloodshed. A
nal priest whose name is not given, but in who
iy be tempted to see the ubiquitous Hubert, wily
chance on the spot, charged probably with some
any letters which went to and fro between Wil
ie Holy See. He and some well-disposed monks used
influence to bring about peace between the contending
s and to hinder the shedding of Christian blood.
were helped in their praiseworthy undertaking by
l of the Norman counts and nobles, among whom w
lly hear of Roger—I presume the Earl of Shrewsbury
of William of Evreux, grandson of the famous
t, Archbishop and Count.² After many efforts, the
ngers of peace at last succeeded in their good work.
of peace were agreed upon, terms which, together
the peaceful disposition of the Norman leaders, see
ow that William could not have felt very sure of
y. The rights of the Count of Anjou over Maine
virtually acknowledged, though ~~more or less~~ taken it.

arrangement with Herbert, Maine was to pass to William's CHAP. XX.
eldest son Robert, as the inheritance of his betrothed wife
Margaret. That scheme had passed away; but Robert
was again chosen as the nominal ruler of Maine. He Robert
received from Fulk a grant of all the rights over the does ho-
county which were claimed by the house of Anjou, and for mage to
this grant he performed a formal act of homage to his new
lord.¹ Each prince, unlike some renowned princes in later
times, honourably stipulated for his own adherents. John
of La Flèche and all the subjects of the Count of Anjou
who had taken the side of William were to be received to
the full favour of Fulk, and the partizans of Fulk in the
Cenomannian city and county were to be received to the
full favour of William.² Such was the Peace of Blanche-
lande or Bruère. Its terms secured William in full im-
mediate possession of Maine, but it opened a door to any
amount of future questions and cavillings. The treaty
however did secure peace between Normandy and Anjou
during the remainder of the days of William.³ But Maine
nothing could overcome the rooted dislike of the Ceno- still dis-
mannian people to the rule of the Norman. Even during
William's lifetime partial revolts took place,⁴ and, when
the great King was gone, the unconquerable hatred which
the stout-hearted city and province bore to the sway of
any foreign master showed itself under new leaders.⁵

¹ The homage seems to have been a merely formal one; "Rodbertus Fulconi debitum homagium, ut minor majori, legaliter impedit."

² Ord. Vit. 533 D.

³ Ib. "Hec nimirum pax . . . inter Regem et præfatum comitem . . . omni vitâ Regis ad profectum utriusque provincie permanxit."

⁴ See the next Chapter.

⁵ The long struggle between Helias and William Rufus is fully described by Orderic and by the local writer in the Lives of Bishops Howel and Hildebert.

CHAP. XX.

§ 5. *The Revolt of Ralph of Norfolk.*

1075—1076.

Internal
state of
England.
1072-1074.

We have but slight notices of the internal state of England during the years which were mainly taken up with the affairs of Scotland, Flanders, and Maine. But there is some reason to believe that the suppression of the revolt at Ely led to increased harshness, if not on the part of William himself, at least on the part of the Normans settled in England. It will be remembered that the time immediately following the completion of the Conquest is spoken of as a time of unusual peace and harmony between the two races, as a time when William himself, if not his followers, was trying to establish a state of things in which Norman and Englishman might sit down side by side as fellow-subjects.¹ In such pictures there is always some truth and some exaggeration. We must therefore look both for some truth and for some exaggeration in the opposite picture which is given us of the state of things immediately following the submission of Ely. We are told how the Normans, puffed up by their good luck, oppressed

Increased
oppression
of the
N

were left to weep for their shame and sorrow. In these CHAP. XX. last vague complaints we may perhaps venture to class together a variety of wrongs, ranging from unwilling marriages to actual violence. The whole picture is worthy of special study, especially when contrasted with the earlier one.¹ And, with regard to the complaints of the women, there is an independent witness from another quarter. We are told that, when the Great William first conquered this land, many of his followers, proud of their success, and deeming that they might follow their own lusts in all things, dealt according to their will, not only with the goods of the conquered, but with the matrons and maidens who came in their way. Many of them therefore took shelter in the monasteries of virgins, to shelter themselves from shame under the veil. But when more orderly times came, the question was brought before Father Lanfranc, whether women who had thus taken the veil simply to preserve their chastity were thereby bound for ever to a monastic life. The matter was debated in one of the Question as councils held by the Primate, and the more reasonable and less rigid view prevailed. Such women were to be held in high honour for the zeal which they had shown in the defence of their chastity, but the obligations of the religious life were not to be forced upon them against their wills. As the date of this one among Lanfranc's many councils is not told us, we cannot say with certainty to what time of William's reign this account refers; but we have heard something of the strict discipline which William, in the first days of the Conquest, meted out against all offenders against female chastity,² and we hear of it again in the portrait of his last years drawn by the native Chronicler.³ At no time during William's reign is increased oppression of this and of other kinds likely to have been following the fall of Ely.

¹ See Appendix PP.

² See above, p. 30.

³ Chron. Petrib. 1087.

CHAP. XX. the recovery of Ely. That revolt, the first revolt after the actual conquest of the whole country, must have greatly kindled the wrath of William and his Normans, and must have strengthened the belief which they professed to hold, that no Englishman could be trusted.¹ And it was also just at this time that William's followers in England began to be more often relieved from the restraint of his personal presence. It was immediately after the fall of Ely that William began that series of absences on the continent of which we have just seen some of the fruits. While William was holding synods in Normandy and waging war in Maine, the state of things in England must have been pretty much the same as it had been under the first regency of Odo and William Fitz-Osbern. It would indeed seem that at this time the chief power during William's absence was placed in the hands of Lanfranc,² and Lanfranc at least cannot be suspected of abetting or winking at excesses which sinned against every rule alike of morality and of ecclesiastical law. But we may doubt whether the hand of the monk of Pavia, subtle as was his brain and sage as were his counsels, would always be

Effects of
William's
absence on
the Conti-
nent.

Alleged
regency of
Lanfranc.

amount of heed which he had to give to continental affairs, CHAP. XX. connect themselves closely with all the events of this period.¹ We have heard nothing of Philip of France during the course of the war in Maine, but we may be sure that he watched the success of his mighty vassal with no small jealousy, and we must remember that, besides the hereditary rivalry between Paris and Rouen, Philip was now the firm friend of William's enemy in Flanders.¹ He now tried to raise up an enemy to William in the last representative of the Old-English kingly house. After the conquest of Maine, William came back to England, but in the next year he crossed again to Normandy,² and his constant neighbourhood probably stirred up the French King to schemes against him. Eadgar, after the marriage of his sister to Malcolm, had gone, with what object we are not told, to Flanders. The disturbed state of the country may have offered charms to an idle spirit of adventure, and Robert the Frisian was doubtless ready with a welcome for any enemy of William. From Flanders he had gone to Scotland on a visit—clearly his first visit to his sister after her marriage—when she and her husband received him with “mickle worship.”³ While at the court of Malcolm, Eadgar received a letter from the King of the French, praying him to come to him, and offering to him the castle of Montreuil, where he might dwell and make inroads upon his enemies.⁴ This offer to Eadgar

1073.
1074.

Eadgar in Flanders.
Edgar in Scotland.
July 8, 1074.

Philip offers Montreuil to Eadgar.

¹ See above, p. 536.

² Chron. Wig. 1075, Petrib. 1074. “On þisum geare for Willelm cyng ofer see to Normandig.” This implies his return after the Cenomannian campaign of the year before.

³ Chron. Wig. 1075. “Eadgar cild cōm of Fleminga lande into Sotlande on Sce Grimbaldes mæsse dæg, and se kyngc Malcholom and his sweoster Margareta hine underfengon mid mycclan weorðscype.” This visit to Flanders is not mentioned by Florence and the Peterborough Chronicler, who carry him at once from Scotland to Normandy.

⁴ Chron. Wig. 1075. “On þære ilcan tide sende se kyng of Francrice Filippus gewrit to him, and bead him þat he to him cōme, and he wolde

CHAP. XX. of the old border-fortress of Flanders and Normandy, so famous in the wars of an earlier time,¹ was certainly not unconnected with Eadgar's sojourn in Flanders and with the warfare between William and Robert the Frisian. Nothing could better suit the interests of the enemies of Normandy than to place the English *Ætheling*, the rival King, doubtless at the head of a band of English exiles, in a position where he could so well abet any schemes of the Count of Flanders against their common rival. Eadgar caught at the opening thus offered to him. He set forth for France by sea, with the full favour of Malcolm and Margaret, who loaded him and his followers with gifts of all kinds, more especially furs, and among them the precious spoils of the ermine.² But their voyage was not lucky; the Chronicler gives us a graphic description of the fierce storm which drove the ships ashore, seemingly on some part of the English coast. For we are told that some of the party were seized by the Frenchmen, a name by which we must assuredly understand Normans in England and not subjects of Philip of Paris.³ Eadgar however and his chief comrades contrived to make their way back to Scotland some on horseback and some on foot.

Joint
policy of
Philip and
Robert of
Flanders.

Eadgar sets
sail for
France, but
is driven
back by a
storm.

ADVENTURES OF EADGAR.

were favourably received by William, and an embassy was sent to bring the *Aetheling* to the King's court to receive¹ the King's peace in person.¹

The policy of this course was clear. Eadgar was beginning to show that he could be dangerous. His establishment at Montreuil as a tool in the hands of Philip and Robert was far more to be dreaded by William than anything that he could do in England. But it was not safe to leave him at large. Whether in England, Scotland, or Flanders, he might always be made use of by any enemy. The wisest thing from William's point of view was to keep him in that kind of honourable captivity in which no one knew better than William how to keep those whom he feared.² A prison was not needed for Eadgar; it was enough to bring him to William's court, and to watch him carefully under the guise of honour. There is something ludicrous in the picture of his journey. Eadgar once more set out for the continent, but this time not by sea, and this time as William's friend and guest, not as the vassal and soldier of Philip. Malcolm and Margaret again loaded him with costly gifts—their former presents had been lost in the storm.³ He seems to have been looked on as still being their guest till he reached Durham. There he was met by Hugh the son of Baldric, who had succeeded William Malet in the sheriffdom of Yorkshire,⁴

¹ Chron. Wig. 1075. "Da gersedde se kyngc Malcholom him þest he sende to Wylleline cynge ofer se and beede his gryfeas, and he eac swa dyde, and se cyngc him þes getiðade and æfter him sende."

² See above, pp. 75, 193. So Will. Malms. iii. 251; "Ultro solitus erat quoscumque Anglos suspectos habebat, quasi honoris causa, Normanniam ducere, ne quidquam se absente in regno turbarent."

³ Chron. Wig. 1075. "And se kyngc eft Malcolm and his sweostor him and eallon his mannan unarimedea gaersama geafon, and swiðe weorðlice hine eft of heora gryfe sendon." These passages, together with the account of the vast spoils taken by Siward in his Scottish warfare (see vol. ii. p. 364), contrast strangely with later descriptions and proverbs about the poverty of Scotland.

⁴ See Appendix W.

CHAP. XX. and whose name figures in the foundation legend of Selby Abbey. Hugh attended him through the whole length of England, and across the sea into Normandy. At every castle on the road the *Aetheling* was honourably received, and meat and fodder were found for him and his train. At last he found himself, as he had found himself six years before, a guest in William's Norman court.¹ He was reconciled to William. received with mickle worship, and he became for many years a hanger-on of the King. He received such rights as the King gave him,² among them lands in England of no great extent,³ and a pension of a pound of silver daily. He lived in Normandy, quiet, contented, and despised,⁴ till just before the end of William's reign, when we shall suddenly hear of him as beginning a career of fitful activity, which went on through a large part of the reigns of William's sons.

Thus it was that William could afford to deal with the man who was most directly his personal rival. But Eadgar was to be dreaded only on account of his great name, and

¹ Chron. Wig. 1075. "And se scirgeref a Eoferwic com hifn togeanes

of the use which others might make of him ; his personal CHAP. XX. gifts could not give William one moment of uneasiness.

It was in a different way that he dealt with the man who Dealing of was less directly his rival, but who, with all his faults, was William with far more likely than Eadgar to be some day the leader of Waltheof. successful opposition to foreign rule. We have now reached what we may fairly call the turning-point of William's reign, the tragedy of the fate of Waltheof. For once in The one his reign, William was to stain his hands with blood, political execu- blood not shed on the field of battle, but by a mockery of tion of a judicial sentence, blood which, as far as the cause for William's reign. which it was shed was concerned, was innocent. Nothing but the keenest conviction of danger could have led William to this marked departure from his usual policy, that policy which, in his own eyes and in the eyes of his age, was a policy of mercy. Waltheof, at this moment, held Position of high a place as any man in the realm after the King Waltheof. himself. He held a place which was shared by no other Englishman save one, and that one to whom one almost shrinks from giving the name of Englishman, the renegade and half-caste Ralph of Wader. And now, by a strange chain of events, by a strange tale of rashness and folly, Waltheof and Ralph alike were to fall from their high places, to leave England without an English Earl, and to share their ruin with the son and successor of the most cruel oppressor of Englishmen.

We have seen that Ralph of Wader, the son, by a Ralph of Breton mother, of Ralph the Staller of Eadward's days, Wader, had received the earldom of East-Anglia as the reward of Earl of his treason to his country. We have seen him acting East- vigorously in William's interest when the first Danish fleet Anglia. which professed to come to deliver England tried to effect a landing in his earldom.¹ At the other end of England,

¹ See above, p. 252.

CHAP. XX. William Fitz-Osbern, after losing his life for the sake of Richildis or her dominions, had been succeeded in his earldom of Hereford by his younger son Roger. The character of Roger is vaguely set before us in an unfavourable light, though in the eyes of Englishmen it might not have been thought any special blame that he did not walk in the steps of his father.¹ But there is more distinct evidence against him than this. Three letters are extant, addressed to him by Lanfranc, in which he stands charged, not only with acts of doubtful fidelity to the King, which are but vaguely hinted at, but with denials of justice and unlawful invasions of the property both of the King and of other men. The letters are written in a tone of great personal affection. Roger is conjured by the memory of his father to turn from the error of his ways; he is implored to come in person to the Primate and to receive his fatherly counsel. But in the third letter, as he still remains obstinate, sentence of excommunication is pronounced against him, an excommunication from which he is not to be released till he has thrown himself on the King's mercy and made restitution both to the King and

Lanfranc's
letters to
Roger.

His ex-
communi-
cation.

these letters that the loyalty of Roger toward the King CHAP. XX.
was not a little doubtful for some time before the final
outbreak.

A marriage contracted, as it would seem, in express defiance of the royal orders, was the immediate occasion of the rebellion. Earl William had left a daughter, Emma by name,¹ who was sought in marriage by the Earl of Norfolk. William, for whatever reason, forbade the match. But, taking advantage of his absence, the two Earls carried out their scheme, and Roger of Hereford gave his sister in marriage to her suitor.² The wedding-feast—the bride-ale, as our forefathers called it—was kept with great splendour at Exning in Cambridgeshire,³ and the Chroniclers tell us, ^{1075:} in one of the last metrical or riming efforts to be found in their pages,

“ There was that bride-ale
To many men’s bale.”⁴

vicecomites aliqua placita in vestris terris teneant, quoadusque ipse mare transeat; et inter vos et ipsos vicecomites per semetipsum causas vestras audiatur.”

¹ Will. Gem. vii. 25; viii. 15. The former passage gives William Fitz-Osborn only one daughter, while the latter, from which we get the name Emma, gives him two.

² Both the Chronicles (Worcester, 1076; Peterborough, 1075) make William approve the marriage and something more; “On þissan geare Wyllelm cyngc geaf Raulfe eorle Wyllelmes dohter Osbarne sunu.” But I cannot help looking on the words of Florence (1074), “Herefordensis comes Rogerus, filius Willelmi ejusdem pagi comitis, East-Anglorum comiti Radulfo, contra preceptum Regis Willelmi, sororem suam conjugem tradidit,” as having the force of a correction. On the marriage see also the passages of William of Jumièges just referred to. Orderic (534 A) does not mention the marriage, but brings in the two Earls as “duo potentissimi Anglorum comites, Rogerius Herfordensis et sororius ejus Radulfus Northwicensis.”

³ The Chronicles say, “þa hædde he þeot wif to Norðwic;” but again I see a correction in the words of Florence (1074), “In Grantebrycensi prævinciâ, in loco qui Yxninga dicitur.”

⁴ Chron. Petrib. 1075;

“ þær wes þeot bryd eala
mannum to beala.”

Or, as Worcester reads the second line, “ þeot wes manegra manna bealo.”

CHAP. XX. A great company of Bishops and Abbots and other great Presence of men was gathered together, and Ralph had specially got Waltheof and others together the Bretons, the countrymen of his mother, who Conspiracy had received settlements in England.¹ At the feast men began to talk treason. They took rede how they might

drive their lord the King out of his kingdom.² Among the guests was Waltheof, Earl of the neighbouring shires of Huntingdon and Northampton, and the point both of importance and of obscurity in the story is that it is not clear to what extent he lent an ear to the rash counsels of his companions.³ One historian, using the licence familiar to classical and mediæval writers, puts speeches into the mouths of Waltheof and his tempters, which modern ingenuity has thrown into a highly dramatic shape.⁴ All sorts of contradictory charges are brought against William. His bastardy is raked up against him; his very birth made him unworthy to be a King, and it would clearly be a work pleasing to God to get rid of him.⁵ He had spoiled William of Mortain,⁶ and poisoned Conan,⁷ Walter, and Biota.⁸ He had unjustly seized the noble kingdom of

Charges
against
William.

England, and had murdered or driven into exile its lawful heirs.¹ This last at least was a strange charge, when the *Ætheling* was living in mickle worship in William's court. To the companions of his victories he had paid no such honour as he ought; some he had put to death like others; to others, after their wounds, he had given nought but barren lands—such as the pastures of Herefordshire and the corn-lands of Norfolk—and those wasted by the ravages of the enemy.² All men hated him; many would rejoice at his death. No time could be better than the present; William was beyond the sea; the greater part of his host was with him; he was overwhelmed with cares and wars and rebellions and discords in his own family; no one believed that he would ever come back. The English were a peaceful race, fonder of feasts and ales than of battles; yet they would rise in such a cause to avenge the blood of their kinsfolk.³ Then the two Earls, Ralph and Roger, turn specially to Waltheof. The time was come for him to win back what he had lost, and to take vengeance for the wrongs which had been done to him.⁴ The losses and

¹ Ord. Vit. 534 B. “Nobile regnum Anglie temere invasit, genuinos heredes *injuste trucidavit* vel in exsilium crudeliter pepulit.”

² Ib. The mention of death of course shows how purely fanciful the picture is, but one charge is curious; “Vulneratis victoribus steriles fundos et hostium depopulatione desolatos donavit, et eisdem postmodum restauratos, avaritiâ cogente, abstulit seu minoravit.” Does it mean that, when a grantee of William had brought the wasted land into tillage, the King took it away from him again? The charge has a certain likeness to the charge brought by the Peterborough Chronicler (1087), that in letting his demesne lands he would take them away from the first tenant, if another offered a higher rent.

³ Ord. Vit. 534 C. “Angli sua solummodo rura colunt; convivilis et potationibus, non præliis, intendunt; summopere tamen pro suorum exitio parentum ultionem videre concupiscunt.”

⁴ Ib. D. They address him, “O strenue vir,” which in Thierry becomes “homme de cœur;” his English translator turns it into “valiant Saxon,” a description hardly justified by Waltheof's mixed descent, Danish, Anglian, and ursine.

Ralph and
Roger
appeal to
Waltheof

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

ongs of Waltheof are not very easily seen; still even Earl of three shires and husband of the King's niece might be tempted by offers which might perhaps give him the Crown itself, and which would at all events exalt his earldom to a third part of England. The lands were to be brought back to the same state in which it had been in the days of good King Eadward. All power was to be in the hands of the three, Roger, Ralph, and Waltheof. One should be King, the other two should be Earls. Here we probably get a glimpse of the real aims of the conspirators. The centralizing system of William, the effectiveness of which he had given to the Crown in every corner of the land, was likely enough to be irksome to his Earls, French and English alike. Ralph, Roger, and Waltheof, great as they were, were far from being so great as Edwin, Leofric, and Siward had been. Their earldoms were of smaller extent; their authority within them was more carefully narrowed. England had, under Cnut, under Eadward, under William, made so many steps in

which might disturb the good peace which King William CHAP. XX.
made in this land.¹

The narrative which we have just been following makes Alleged
answer of
Waltheof. Waltheof answer in an edifying sermon, in which all the usual scriptural examples are hurled at the heads of his tempters. He is William's man, William's Earl, the husband of William's niece ; he will never break his faith and turn traitor.² Moreover, by a somewhat doubtful statement of English law, he tells them that by that law the traitor is condemned to lose his head.³ Other accounts set him before us as unwillingly beguiled into a consent to the conspiracy, but as presently repenting.⁴ It is certain that he had no share in the open rebellion which followed. He hastened to Archbishop Lanfranc, doubtless as to a spiritual father, but perhaps also as being for the time a temporal superior. He told him of the unlawful oath which he had taken against his will. When the breaking of a constrained oath would be to William's advantage, the guilt of perjury was a far slighter matter than when its breaking was to William's damage. The oath of Harold was to be kept at all hazards; its violation could be atoned for only by his own overthrow and that of his kingdom. But in the case of Waltheof an unwilling oath might lawfully be broken;

¹ See vol. ii. p. 170.

² Ord. Vit. 534 D. "Guillelmus Rex fidem meam, ut major a minori, jure recepit ac, ut ei semper fidelis exsisterem, in matrimonium mihi neptnam suam copulavit. Locupletem quoque comitatum mihi donavit et inter suos familiares convivas connumeravit." The words in which the homage is described are not such as we should have looked for in the case of a mere subject. See above, p. 563.

³ Ib. 535 A. "Anglica lex capitatis obtruncatione traditorem multat, omnemque progeniem ejus naturali hereditate omnino privat."

⁴ The story as told by Florence (1074) runs thus; "Magnam conjurationem, plurimis assentientibus, contra Regem Willelmum ibi fecerunt, Comitemque Waltheofum, suis insidiis preventum, secum conjurare compulerunt; qui, mox ut potuit, Lanfrancum Dorubernensem archiepiscopum adiit, poenitentiamque ab eo pro facto, licet non sponte, sacramento accepit, ejusque consilio Regem Willelmum in Normannia degentem petiit, cique rem ex ordine gestam pandens, illius misericordiae ultro se dedit."

CHAP. XX. all that Lanfranc required of his penitent was to go through certain ecclesiastical penances, and to go and confess the whole matter to the King against whom he had sinned.

Waltheof goes to Normandy and confesses to the King. William's favourable treatment of him. Waltheof crossed the sea and sought the presence of William. He did not come empty-handed; when he craved the King's forgiveness, he offered rich gifts as the price of his mercy.¹ It is not quite clear whether the pardon was formally given, but it is certain that William made light of Waltheof's share in the matter, that the Earl abode in Normandy till the King's return, and that till the King's return he suffered no punishment or restraint.²

Revolt of Ralph and Roger. Meanwhile the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk—strange predecessors of nobler bearers of the same titles³—were in open revolt against the King. Ralph made the most of

The Bretons in England join Ralph. his twofold descent. As a Breton, he called on the Bretons in England, perhaps on those beyond sea, to join in the enterprise. As an Englishman, born and ruling in one of

He asks help from Denmark. the Danish districts of England, he sought for the help of a Danish fleet.⁴ The Bretons flocked to his standard; the Danes came, but came too late for his purpose. Both the Earls went to their earldoms, and gathered together such forces as they could muster, a large portion of the forces of

Ralph's

to the Earls by the Justiciars William of Warren and ^{CHAP. XX.} Richard of Bienfaite the son of Count Gilbert, had no effect, and the campaign, if we may call it so, began.¹ The chief commands were in the hands of churchmen of both races, and the progress of the war was carefully announced by the Primate to the King. The movement of Roger in the West seems to have been left to be dealt with by the forces of the district. Two English prelates, Bishop Wulfstan and Abbot Æthelwig, appeared in strange union with Urse, the rapacious Sheriff of Worcestershire. The whole force of the country followed them; the Earl of Hereford was hindered from crossing the Severn,² and the sequel shows that he was himself taken prisoner. The movement in East-Anglia was clearly looked on as more dangerous. Besides William of Warren and Robert the son of William Malet, the two warlike Bishops, Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Coutances, led forth a vast host of both races to attack the Earl of Norfolk at Cambridge.³ For once the Norman castlemen and the English landfolk

¹ Ord. Vit. 535 A, B. "Guillelmus de Warennæ et Ricardus de Benefacta, filius Gisalberti comitis, quos Rex præcipios Anglie justitiarios constituerat in regni negotiis, rebellantes convocant ad curiam Regis. Illi vero præceptis eorum obsecundare contemnunt, sed proterviam prosequi conantes in regios satellites præclari eligunt."

² The Chronicles say only, "Rogcer ferde west to his eorlome and gaderade his folc þan cynge to unþearfe he johte, ac hit wearð heom seolfan to myclan hearme;" or, as Peterborough puts it, "ac he wearð gelet." Florence gives us the names of those by whom he was let; "Sed Herefordensi comiti, ne, Sabrinæ transvadato, Radulfo comiti ad locum destinatum cum suo exercitu occurreret, restitut Wlstanus Wigornensis episcopus cum magna militari manu, et Ægelwius Eveshamensis abbas cum suis, ascitis sibi in adjutorium Ursone vicecomite Wigornæ et Waltero de Lacey cum copiis suis, et ceterâ multitudine plebis." Thierry (ii. 62) makes Roger assemble "beaucoup de Gallois des frontières." This seemingly comes from R. Wendover (ii. 15), "Wallensibus sibi confederatis," but this is simply a misunderstanding of the "Brytas" of the Chronicles. Thierry has also some details of the campaign for which I cannot find the authority.

³ Flor. Wig. 1074. "Prope Grantebryciam castrametanti."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

fighting side by side with a good will;¹ neither for any good from an insurrection got up in the
onal interest of two turbulent Earls. Ralph did no
to meet the host which came against him at Cam-
ge. Lanfranc was soon able to announce to the King
the rebel Earl had taken to flight, that the King
French and English, were pursuing him, and that
trusted that in a few days his whole company would
illed or taken or driven out of the land.² Happy were
e who came in for the last of these three alternative
justice of the Norman Bishops was as sharp now as
been in earlier days in the West.³ They acted on the
ciple of Eastern rulers, "Slay them not, lest my peop-
et it;"⁴ that the prisoners might be marked and
embered, the right foot of each was cut off.⁵ Ralph
to Norwich, the capital of his earldom. The castle
William had begun to build at a very early stage
reign⁶ was in his possession. Its building had carried
it the destruction of a large number of the houses

the city.¹ But, to make up for this loss, the King and the Earl between them had founded a new town, a French town, on what had been the common land of the English burghers.² It might seem from some dark entries in the Survey that some even of the English inhabitants of the city took the part of the rebel Earl. Still, according to the most trustworthy account, Ralph did not dare to stand a siege of Norwich in his own person.³ He took ship and sailed to Denmark, to hasten the coming of the Danish fleet.⁴

Meanwhile the woman whose marriage had been the immediate cause of all this disturbance was showing a higher spirit than either her brother or her husband. When the Earl of Norfolk took ship from Norwich, he left the castle in charge of his newly married Countess.⁵ Emma

¹ Domesday, ii. 116 b. "In illâ terrâ de quâ Heroldus habebat socam sunt xxv. burgenses, et xvii. mansure vacue quae sunt in occupatione castelli, et in burgo clxxx. mansure vacue in hoc quod erat in socâ Regis et comitis, et lxxxi. in occupatione castelli."

² Ib. 118. Under the head of "Franci de Norwic in novo burgo" we read, "Tota haec terra burgensium erat in dominio comitis Radulfi, et concessit eam Regi in commune ad faciendum burgum inter se et Regem."

³ This appears from the passage of Florence just quoted; so also in the Chronicles; "[Rawulf] wæs fegen þet he to scypum settfleah, his wif belaf æfter in þam castele." Orderic however (535 B) first describes the flight of Ralph and the siege, and adds, "Radulfus autem de Guader, ut sese sic inclusione constrictum vidit, et nullum adjutorium a suis complicibus speravit, munitionem suam fidis custodibus caute commisit, et ipse proximum mare ingressus Daciam pro auxiliis navigio adiit."

' I accept the flight to Denmark, though resting on the authority of Orderic only, as it so exactly falls in with what went before and what follows. The Chronicles do not tell us whether he sailed; Peterborough, to the passage before quoted, adds, that he "for to scipe et Norðwic." Florence (see p. 580, note 5) mentions his flight to Britanny. He doubtless went there in the end. I know not where the Hyde writer (296) found his version; "Ex Anglia fugiens, et paulo post cum multa classe frustra revertens, perpetuo damnatus est exilio." He may mean the Danish fleet which came a little later.

⁵ See the passage in the Chronicles just quoted. So also Florence, "Castello sue conjugi militibusque suis commendato." Orderic does not mention the Countess at this stage.

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

y stood a siege in which all the engineering skill of
ge was brought to bear for the space of three months
the still new fortress of Norwich.¹ And she held out
e obtained terms of capitulation from the besiegers
a might be looked on as comparatively favourable.²
rane could announce to the King in his next despatch
the castle of Norwich had surrendered, and that, in
Primate's own energetic language, the kingdom was
sed from the filth of the Bretons.³ Ralph, it is to be
sed, had some Norman and some English followers,
f their fate we hear nothing, except from a statement
e Survey which shows that some of Ralph's partizans
e city had to seek dwellings elsewhere.⁴ This how-
though it may have been the indirect result, was not
to be the formal effect of the terms of capitulation.
ng the Bretons, who must have been a considerable
. those who had lands in England were promised safety
e and limb, and were allowed forty days to get them
f the kingdom, to which they were not to come back
at the King's command. The King, indeed,

dint of many entreaties admitted to the same terms, but CHAP. XX. the shorter time of a month was given them to leave the kingdom.¹ The castle was occupied by two of the captains Occupation of the besiegers, Bishop Geoffrey and William of Warren.² With them was joined Robert Malet, the son of the famous William, who appears in the Survey as one of the great landowners of East-Anglia.³ The garrison which they commanded consisted of three hundred men-at-arms, and a body of *balistarii* and other engineers.⁴ Norwich was thus held in safe keeping till the King's return. The Countess Emma, who had so valiantly defended the city, was received to the same terms as her followers. She made her way to Britanny, and was presently joined there by her husband.⁵

Thus there was once more peace in the realm of King William.⁶ But it was known that the dealings of Ralph with the Danish court had not been in vain, and that a Danish fleet was then on its voyage. Lanfranc, as a watchful guardian of the realm, strictly charged Bishop Walcher to keep the new castle of Durham safe against their attacks.⁶ Presently the King himself, whose presence William's return.

¹ Ep. Lanfr. 38 (Giles, i. 57). "Qui Rodulpho traditori et sociis ejus sine terra pro solidis servierunt, ad hoc faciendum unius mensis spatium multis precibus impetraverunt."

² See Appendix W.

³ Ep. Lanfr. 38 (Giles, i. 57). "Trecenti loricati, cum balistariis et artificibus machinarum multis."

⁴ Chron. Wig. 1076, Petrib. 1075. "And heo þa utferde of Englalande, and ealle hire menn þe hire mid woldon." So Florence. Orderic (535 C), "Expulsus itaque cum uxore sua Britanniam repetiit." This is Orderic's only mention of the heroine. Lanfranc does not speak of her at all.

⁵ Ep. Lanfr. 38 (Giles, i. 57). "Omnis strepitus bellorum, miserante Deo, in Anglicā terrā quievit." So more emphatically in 21 (i. 49); "Nos expulsis Britonibus et sedatis omnibus bellis, in tanta tranquillitate vivimus ut, postquam Rex mare transiit, tranquillus nos vixisse nequaquam meminerimus."

⁶ Ib. 28 (i. 49). "Dani, ut Rex vobis [Walchero] mandavit, revera veniunt: castrum itaque vestrum hominibus et armis et alimentis vigilanti curā muniri facite."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

been earnestly asked for by his lieutenants,¹ came back
ngland. He brought with him Earl Waltheof, but not
et as a prisoner. But soon after William's landing,
theof was arrested.² It is possible that this step may
been caused by the actual appearance of a fleet of two
lred Danish ships in the Humber. Such an invasion
d naturally bring up again the memory of Waltheof's
exploits, and none the less that one of the leaders of
Danish fleet was Waltheof's old companion in arms.
gen had, as well nigh the last act of his life, once more
his son Cnut, the future King and saint, together with
Earl named Hakon, as the commanders of the fleet.³
such a moment it might well seem that Cnut's old
w-soldier, the man who had cloven so many Norman
ls before the gate of York castle, was not a man who
e safely left at large in England. Waltheof was
fore put in ward as well as Roger, and the two Earls
ted their public trial in the Midwinter Gemót.⁴
eanwhile the Danes were once more in the Humber.

We hear nothing more of their reception by the people at CHAP. XX. large; we hear nothing of any resistance which they may have met with from the King's commanders in Yorkshire. On the other hand, we hear of no exploits on their part, of no battles fought, of no Norman fortresses destroyed or taken. It is plain that the two castles of York did not hinder the Danes from sailing up the Ouse, but it is equally clear that all that they did at York was an useless act of sacrilege, followed, so the story runs, by one of the usual judgements. "They dared not hold fight with William King, but they went to York, and brake Saint Peter's minster, and took therein mickle wealth, and so went away. And all died that were of that rede, that was Hakon Earl's son and many others with him."¹ Thus the metropolitan church of the North, rising from its ruins under the care of Archbishop Thomas, suffered again, though doubtless far less severely than it had suffered in the last days of Ealdred.² According to one version, the land to which the Danish fleet sailed after leaving York was Flanders.³ Cnut was, now or later, the husband of Count Robert's daughter;⁴ both were enemies of William, and a meeting of the two princes might be sought on both sides for the devising of future schemes against him.

While the two Earls were in prison, awaiting the meeting of the usual Midwinter Assembly, an event took place which, though it was of no political importance, yet marks the Death of Eadgyth. December 19, 1075.

¹ Chron. Wig. 1076. "And ne dorston nan gefeoht healdan wið Willelme cynghe, ac ferdon to Eoforwic, and bræcon Sce Petres mynster, and tōon þerinne myele sehta, and foron swa aweg, ac calle ja forferdon þe set þam ræde waron; þeet wæs Hacones sunu eorles, and maneg oðre mid him," Peterborough does not mention the sacrilege or its punishment.

² See above, p. 266.

³ Chron. Petrib. 1075. "Ac heoldon ofer see to Flandran."

⁴ Edla, Ethela, or Adela. See Knytlinga Saga, c. 30; *Ælnoth. Hist. S. Canuti, Langebek*, iii. 344; Will. Malm. iii. 257, and Chron. Petrib. 1085. "Cnut heafde Rodbeardes dohter."

THE REVOLTS AGAINST WILLIAM.

AP. XX. severing of another tie between the older and the newer England. The Lady Eadgyth, the daughter of Godwine, the sister of Harold, the widow of Eadward, died in the month of December, in her palace at Winchester.¹ While all the rest of her family were either slain or wandering to and fro in foreign lands, she had kept all her lands and honours, and, as Queen Matilda was almost always in Normandy, she must have practically kept something more than the usual rank of the Old Lady. We have seen reason to think that her heart was Norman rather than English;² still Englishmen must have felt that their land became somewhat less English by the loss of one who, though of English birth, still sat in the highest place among the conquerors. The age of Eadgyth it would be hard to fix exactly. If she was, as seems not unlikely, the eldest child of Godwine and Gytha,³ she must have now been about fifty-five years old. In that comparatively short space she had seen mighty changes in England and in the world. Born in the early days of Cnut, she had seen the troubles of the reigns of his sons; she had shared in the royalty of the restored English kingly house; she had

what were the latter days of her granddaughter, the widow CHAP. XX. of Gruffydd and of Harold. But as to both Godgifu and ^{of Eald-}_{gyth.} Ealdgyth history tells us nothing; it is Eadgyth alone whose death is recorded in the national annals. Of the Eadgyth's details of her last days we have no account, save the half dying protestation legendary statement that on her deathbed she protested ^{of innocence.} her innocence of the personal scandals which had been raised against her.¹ The honours which William had shown Her burial at West-her in her life-time followed her in death. "The King had ^{at West-}minster. her brought to Westminster with mickle worship, and laid her with Eadward King her lord."² There the two, so strangely joined in life, lay side by side in death, till the day came when the growing honours of the saint called for his translation from the side of a mortal and sinful woman to a higher place in his own temple.³

The Midwinter Gemót now came together, this time also Midwinter not at Gloucester, but in Eadward's old home at West- Gemót at West-minster. The funeral rites of Eadgyth, the masses and ^{1075-1076.} offerings for her soul, doubtless formed part of the ecclesiastical side of the solemnity. But that Gemót had to do other work, which was in a more practical way to cut off the England of William and Matilda from the England of Eadward and Eadgyth. There was no longer an English Lady; there was soon to be no longer an English Earl. Ralph of Norfolk, who, traitor alike to England and to William, was still a son of the soil, had fled to the land of his mother. His more famous brother Earl, the son of Trial of Siward and Æthelflæd, the descendant by his mother's side the Earls and their of the long line of Bernician Earls and Kings, was a prisoner followers. awaiting his trial. The King and his Witan sat in judge-

¹ Will. Malms. ii. 197.

² Chron. Wig. 1076, Petrib. 1075. "And se cyngc hig let bryngan to Westmynstre mid myccian weorðscape, and leide heo wið Eadwarde cyngc hire hlaforde." Cf. Will. Malms. iii. 273.

³ See vol. iii. p. 38.

CHAP. XX. ment, as in William's day they had sat in judgement upon Eustace,¹ as in the old time they had sat on *Ælfgar* and on Godwine. The traitors, so many as were within reach, Ralph condemned by default, were brought up for trial. Ralph, like Eustace, was condemned in his absence. It would have been vain to pronounce any sentence on him save the accustomed English sentence of outlawry and confiscation of lands.² But a heavier vengeance fell on some of his meaner accomplices. "There man doomed all the Bretons that were at the bride-feast at Norwich. Some were blinded, some were driven from the land, and some were put to shame. So were the King's traitors brought low."³ Let us at least hope that those who were entitled to the benefit of the capitulation at Norwich did not come in for the heaviest of these sentences.

Cruel punishments of the Bretons.

Trial and condemnation of Roger.

Trial of Waltheof.

The other two Earls, Roger and Waltheof, were in safe keeping, and appeared in person before the Assembly. Roger, as may be supposed, had no defence to make against the charge of treason. His sentence, according to Norman law, was confiscation of lands and perpetual imprisonment.⁴ The case of Waltheof was one of more difficulty; on no showing had he taken any active share in the rebellion.

hearth ; the tie which bound him most closely to William proved to be the very snare in which he was entangled. His foreign wife, for what reason we are not told, sought his destruction. It is plain that William himself was not disposed to deal harshly with him, but Judith stood forth as the accuser of her husband in the ears of her uncle. The Earl was charged before the Assembly with having been a favourer and accomplice of the late rebellion.¹ His defence was that he had indeed heard the scheme of rebellion proposed, but that he had in no way consented to so wicked a design.² Such at least is the version of the historian who gives us the fullest narrative, but it is a version which overlooks the oath to the conspirators, which, willingly or unwillingly, there can be little doubt that Waltheof had taken. However this may be, there can be little doubt that the Gemót came to no certain conclusion as to his sentence. He was sent back to prison at Winchester—a straiter prison, we are told, than he had been in before his trial.³

The outlawry of the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford placed their estates and offices at the King's disposal, and the death of the Lady threw her lands also into his hands. It was no longer so important an object with William as it had once been to enrich his followers; the needs of the royal treasury were now the first object. Parts of the

He is remanded
to prison
at Win-
chester.

The lands
of Ralph
and Roger
confiscated.

¹ Ord. Vit. 536 B. "Gallevus comes ad Regem accersitus est, et per delationem Judith uxoris sue accusatus est, quod predictæ proditionis conscientia et fautor fuerit dominoque suo infidelis extiterit."

² Ib. 535 B. "Ille intrepidus palam recognovit quod proditorum nequissimam voluntatem ab eis audierit, sed eis in tam nefanda re nullum omnino consensum dederit."

³ Ib. "Super hac confessione judicium indagatum est et, censoribus inter se sentientibus, per plures inducias usque in annum protelatum est." Florence (1074) says, "comites Waltheofum et Rogerum, judiciali sententiâ damnatos, arctiori custodie mancipavit." I think we may accept the fuller version in Orderic, which does not suppose any inaccuracy in Florence, except in extending the words in Italics to Waltheof.

CHAP. XX. forfeited lands were granted out.¹ In East-Anglia especially a large part of the lands of Ralph went to enrich the founder of that great house of Bigod which some generations later was to succeed to his earldom.² But vast portions of the lands of the two Earls and of the Lady were kept in the King's own hands,³ and, in strict accordance with William's general policy, no new Earls were appointed to the vacant earldoms. The later history of the two chief rebels was strangely contrasted. Ralph, banished from England, flourished in his mother's land of Britanny. He lived to take the Cross at the preaching of Pope Urban, to set forth as a crusader in the train of William's eldest son, and to die, along with his heroic wife, on their way to the Holy City.⁴ His son succeeded to his Breton estates of Wader and Montfort,⁵ and his daughter was brought back to England by a marriage with Earl Robert of Leicester.⁶ While Ralph was doing something in his last days to wipe out the memory of his manifold treasons, his accomplice Roger pined out the rest of his days in prison. If William had any mind to release him, his own conduct was enough to cut off all hopes. He is described as constantly reviling and murmuring against his sovereign, and in one case

Grants to
Roger the
Bigod.

No new
Earls ap-
pointed.

Later line
of Ralph
Wader.

His
children.

Imprison-
ment of
Roger.

offering him the most marked insult. One year at the CHAP. XX.
Easter feast, when the King made gifts to his lords, he His in-
sent a gift also to his imprisoned kinsman, a gift of the King.
goodly raiment, of silks and costly furs.¹ Roger piled up
the King's presents in a heap and at once set fire to them.
The news was brought to William. "The man is too
proud," said he, "who does such scorn to me; but, by the
splendour of God, he shall never come out of my prison
in my days."² William kept his word, and his successor
kept it after him; Roger the son of William Fitz-Osbern He dies in
died in prison,³ and, when our informant wrote, his two prison.
sons, Reginald and Roger, were striving, by good service
to Henry the First, to earn the restoration of some part
of their father's possessions.⁴ His sons.

But a deeper interest attaches to the fate of the Earl who Continued
was waiting his final sentence in his prison at Winchester. imprisonment
Waltheof abode for months in his bonds, but they were of Waltheof.
months of deep penitence. One sin at least we know that His peni-
Waltheof had upon his soul for which the deepest penitence tence.
could not be too deep. We may hope that the tears with
which he bewailed the sins of his past life to Lanfranc
and other prelates were tears of honest repentance for the
blood of the sons of Carl. Daily, we are told, he repeated
the whole psalter which he had learned by heart in his
childhood.⁵ Lanfranc himself bore the strongest witness

¹ Ord. Vit. 535 D. "Regalia ornamenta, chlamydem, sericamque inter-
ulam, et renonem de pretiosis pellibus peregrinorum murium." Compare
the gifts made by Malcolm and Margaret to Eadgar, p. 568.

² Ib. 536 A. "Multum superbus est, qui hoc mihi dedecus fecit, sed,
per splendorem Dei, de carcere meo in omni vita mea non exibit." William's characteristic oath should be noticed.

³ I do not feel quite satisfied about this life-long imprisonment of Roger.
See the next Chapter.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 536 A. He adds, "Guillelmi progenies eradicata sic est de
Anglia ut nec passum pedis, nisi fallor, jam nanciscatur in illa."

⁵ "Quos in infantia didicerat," says Orderic, u. s. See Florence, 1075,
and Appendix QQ.

CHAP. XX. to his innocence of the crime which was laid to his charge, and to the genuineness of his penitence for his real misdeeds.¹ But all availed him not. Norman enemies feared his release, and hungered after his lands and honours.² His cause was again argued, seemingly in the Pentecostal Gemót of the next year, which would be held, according to custom, at Westminster. This time sentence of death was pronounced. He had listened to the proposals of men who were plotting the King's life. He had not at once withheld them, nor had he revealed to his sovereign the danger in which he stood.³ On these grounds, grounds which, according to any version of the story, were utterly frivolous, the English Earl was doomed to die. Whatever may have been the letter of the law in either country, such an execution was without a precedent for years past either in England or in Normandy. It was specially unprecedented in the reign of a prince whose boast had hitherto been that he had never taken human life except in the operations of warfare. And strangest of all was the unequal balance of justice which spared the life of the man who had compassed the death of the King and openly levied war against him, and which doomed him to die

Plots
against
him.

His final
trial.
Pentecost
[May 15],
1076.

He is con-
demned to
death.

Unprece-
dented
nature of
the sen-
tence.

Its in-
justice.

But Roger was a Norman, Waltheof was an Englishman ; CHAP. XX. and the time had now come when the final seal was to be put to the work of the Conquest. Englishmen had been slain on the field of battle ; they had lost their lands ; they had been banished from their country ; they had suffered bonds and cruel mutilations ; but as yet the sword of the headsman had not been called into play against them. But now the Englishman highest in birth and rank, the one remaining Earl of the blood of the conquered, was to die, and to die, as the conquered deemed, the martyr of his country.

When the sentence was once passed, its execution did not linger. The order was brought to Winchester, and early on the last morning of May, while the citizens were still in their beds, Earl Waltheof was awakened by the summons of death. It was feared that, if men knew the deed that was doing, they would rise up to rescue the champion of England from the hands of his enemies.¹ For the same reason doubtless he did not suffer within the city. A public execution within the walls of Winchester would have been too great a risk, and we may be sure that William, even in this his darkest day, would have shrunk from stooping to anything like private murder. The Earl was led forth to die on one of the downs which overlook the city, on the hill which, when our historian wrote, was marked by the church of the confessor Saint Giles. He came forth arrayed with all the badges of his Earl's rank. When he reached the place of martyrdom, he distributed them as gifts or reliques among a few clerks and poor men who had heard of what was doing and had come together

Beheading
of Wal-
theof.
May 31,
1076.

¹ Ord. Vit. 536 C. "Nec mora, Guallevus a Normannis, qui evasionem ejus valde timebant . . . extra urbem Guentam, dum adhuc populus dormiret, mane ductus est in montem ubi nunc ecclesia Sancti Egidii abbatis et confessoris constructa est."

HAP. XX. to that sight. And then he knelt him down and prayed, with sobs and tears of penitence, for a longer time than seemed good to those who thirsted for his blood. The headsman feared lest, if they lingered longer, the news should get abroad, lest the Earl's countrymen should rise, and lest they should perish in his stead. The Earl had fallen on his face in the fervour of his devotions. "Rise," they said, "we must do the bidding of our master." "Wait yet," said Waltheof, "a little moment; let me at least say the Lord's prayer for me and for you." He rose, he knelt down, he lifted his eyes to heaven, he stretched forth his hands, and spoke the prayer aloud till he came to the words, "Lead us not into temptation." Tears then stopped his voice. The headsman would tarry no longer; the sword fell, and the head of the last English Earl rolled on the ground.¹ Men said that the severed head was heard to finish the prayer, and distinctly to utter the words "Deliver us from evil."² The work was done. The man whom William and his Normans feared was taken out of their path, and his body was at once meanly buried upon the place of martyrdom. By this time the men of Win-

brief of
he people.

than raise a wail of fruitless sorrow for the hero and CHAP.XX.
martyr of England.¹

But the history of Waltheof, like the history of Eadward, Waltheof goes on after his death. The instinct of Englishmen, in whose minds religion and patriotism ever went side by side, saw in the murdered Earl, not only a martyr in the wider sense of the word, but one of the truest of saints. His great crime was forgotten—perhaps a deed of blood wrought in Yorkshire had never been heard of at Winchester—and men's thoughts dwelled only on the unrighteousness of his sentence and on the piety of his later days. The manner of his death fell in with the popular feeling. The tears and sobs of Waltheof's last moments would have been deemed unbecoming in a patriot of the seventeenth century. But the model of the days of Waltheof was not the proud Roman despising or defying death, but the humble Christian, conscious of heavy sins, and fearful lest aught should have been left undone which was needed to make his peace with his Creator. The belief in Waltheof's sanctity spread through the land. His praises were sung, not only in England, but in the land of his Danish fathers. Englishmen, it was there significantly said, held him for a saint; but a poet who had known him in life chose rather, in telling the tale how he died at William's bidding, to sing of his worldly virtues more than of his holiness.²

But there was one place above all in England where the

¹ Ord. Vit. 537 A.

² Heimakringla, iii. 168 (Copenhagen, 1783). "De Engelake holde hannem for hellig. Sva seger Þórkell,

"Vist hefir Valþjóf hraustan
Vilhiálmr sá er raud málma
hinn er haf skar sunnan
hsélt i trygd af velltan.

Satt er at síð munu letta
smarr enn minn var harri
deyrr eigi milldingr mæri
mann-dráp á Englaði."

See above, p. 267, for Thorkell's other song on Waltheof's exploits at York.

CHAP. XX. name of the martyred Earl was precious both in life and death. On an island in the dreariest part of the fens of

Crowland Abbey. Holland stood the monastery of Saint Guthlac of Crow-

land.¹ Thither that holy hermit had, in the days of Æthelred of Mercia, fled from the world to wage endless war with the foul spirits which assailed him in the wilderness, and to appear from time to time as the rebuker and adviser of Kings.² As elsewhere, the hermitage grew into

Monastery destroyed by the Danes. c. 877. a flourishing monastery, which, like so many others, perished in the Danish invasions.³ In the days of King

Eadred the fallen house of Saint Guthlac was raised up again by a clerk of royal race named Thureytel, who became the first Abbot of the new foundation, and who passed on his office, by a kind of hereditary succession, to two successors of his own kindred.⁴ In the days of King Eadward Crowland was one of the five monasteries which owned the rule of Leofric, the mighty Abbot of the Golden Borough.⁵ At his bidding the government of the dependent

Restored by Thur- cytel. 946-955. house was given to a monk of his own monastery, Ulfeytel by name.⁶ He began a new church, and in that work he was much helped by his neighbour the Earl of Northampton

Ulfeytel
Abbot of
Crowland.

1062-1086.

the precious gift of the lordship of Barnack. This is a spot CHAP. XX. renowned for its tower as old or older than Waltheof's days, *Gifts of Waltheof* and also for the well-known quarries than which no gift to the *monastery*. could be more acceptable to a prelate engaged in great architectural works.¹ The name of Waltheof was therefore well nigh as beloved at Crowland as the name of Harold was at Waltham. His fate was doubtless heard of there with a still deeper feeling of sorrow than it was heard of in other parts of England. And one feature in the tale came specially home to the hearts of the monks of Crowland. The hero had been buried without any of the honours due *Waltheof's first burial.* to his rank and character, seemingly without any religious service at all. The body of Waltheof, as soon as the breath was out of it, was covered with the green sod on the spot where he had died.² Another rumour spoke of a yet more unworthy burial in the highway.³ But Waltheof's faithful bedesmen at Crowland could no more bear that the body of their benefactor should lie in unhallowed ground upon the downs of Hampshire than the bedesmen of Harold could bear that his body should lie in unhallowed ground upon the rocks of Sussex.⁴ And the monks of Crowland had a more powerful intercessor with William than the canons of Waltham had. Judith, whether to save appearances or really smitten with remorse by the blow which had made her a widow, joined in the prayer of the convent, and William gave leave to Abbot Ulfcytel to remove the body of his benefactor. Fifteen days therefore after the martyrdom

¹ Ord. Vit. 542 C. Barnack was given "ad hoc opus," for building the church.

² Ib. 537 A. "Ibi in fossâ corpus ejus viliter projectum est, et viridi cespite festinanter coopertum est."

³ M. Paris, i. 20. "Rex Willielmus præcepit Weltheofum comitem in Wintoniâ decollari et extra civitatem in bivio sepeliri." (Compare the legend of Godwine in vol. ii. p. 640.) This writer had no notion of the real scene of the execution.

⁴ On the analogy between the burials of Harold and Waltheof, see vol. iii. p. 518.

—[—] place for the r
land. Abbot Ulfcytel kept h
Deposition after the death of Waltheof.
of Ulfcytel. Midwinter, Lanfranc in one of his Councils
1085–6.

ground of his sentence, but w
that his real crime was the crin
There is therefore nothing unlil
or tradition that the charge w
idolatry, witnessed by the unaut
Abbot allowed to be wrought at

Earl. Ulfcytel, on this view, ·
Sôkratê; he was punished for t
saints whom King William did
acknowledge.² However this m
the wonder-working powers of W
abroad a few years later. The a
successor was one of the few ins
of the appointment of an Engli
The new Abbot was Ingulf, a nam
well known through the forged Hi
bears his name, and which was a
genuine monument of the eleventh
historical writings of Inonlf

Appoint-
ment of an
English
successor.

had become his Secretary, so that we may very likely have some genuine pieces of his composition among the English writs of William's reign. He had afterwards made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and had entered on religion in a Norman monastery, the famous house of Saint Wandrille. There he had risen to the dignity of Prior, and thence, by Ingulf's gift, he was promoted to the abbatial stall of Crowland. His first act was to crave the King's mercy for his predecessor. Ulfeytel had been sent for safe-keeping to the distant monastery of Glastonbury. At Ingulf's prayer, he was allowed to come back and end his days in the house of Peterborough where he had dwelled in his youth.¹ Ingulf, sickly in body but vigorous in mind, ruled the church of Crowland for twenty-four years.² He made good the damage done by a fire to the church and the other buildings of the monastery, and he gave a fresh attraction to the restored building by removing into it the body of one who was beginning to be looked on as the local martyr. Waltheof was not a canonized saint, whose relics could be exalted in a shrine for a worship publicly acknowledged. But he might be laid in the founder's place of honour by the high altar. Thither the body was translated, a body which, so the legend told, was found, sixteen years after death, still whole, with the severed head joined again to the trunk, and with only a thin line of red to show where the headsman's sword had fallen.

Further miracles, miracles of healing, were of course wrought at the tomb of the translated hero, as in after days they were wrought by the relics of Earl Simon of Leicester and Earl Thomas of Lancaster. And, seemingly after a lull, they began again in the reign of the

1265.
13²².

¹ Ord. Vit. 542 D. "Postquam Crulandie regimen habuit, predecessori suo precibus benevolis apud Guillelmum Regem subvenire aget."

² Ib. "Gravi morbo podagris detentus, diu ante mortem suam languit, sed vivaci animo subditis prodesse non desit."

Second
Transla-
tion of
Waltheof.
1092.

CHAP. XX. next Abbot Geoffrey, whose work in repairing or rebuilding the minster may have needed some such special Abbot.
1109-1124. Miracles of Conquest, Englishmen still rejoiced in the mighty works Waltheof.

of the national hero. An unbelieving Norman monk, who maintained the martyr to be a traitor justly punished for his crimes,¹ was sternly rebuked by his Abbot, a Frenchman from Orleans, who was therefore less open to purely Norman prejudices.² Nor was he merely rebuked by an earthly superior; divine vengeance presently smote the scoffer with sickness and death, while the faithful Abbot was rewarded with a vision in which he was assured that he who had been only an Earl on earth was now a King in heaven.³ At last, the old times might seem altogether to have come back when, on the death of Geoffrey, the abbey of Crowland received as its ruler a man of the noblest English blood, and bearing the martyr's name.⁴ The hero had now to find his poet; the monks of Crowland needed an epitaph for the local saint, and Abbot Waltheof and his convent called in the aid of the monk of Saint Evroul, Orderic or Vital the Englishman, who had visited their

Waltheof
Abbot of
Crowland
1124-1138.

could produce, how Waltheof, the valiant and the devout, CHAP. XX.
the son of the Danish Siward, died by the sword at the
bidding of Norman judges.¹

The widow of Waltheof, Judith, appears in the Survey ^{Estates held by Judith.} as holding large estates, especially in Northamptonshire, ^{estates which had partly belonged to her husband, partly to other English owners.}² She appears in monastic history ^{Her foundation at Elstow.} as the foundress of a house of nuns at Helenstow or Elstow near Bedford,³ a place more famous in later times as the birth-place of John Bunyan. Legend has much more to tell of her. Like Cnut at the tomb of Eadmund,⁴ she offered a splendid pall at the tomb of her husband, but the gift was thrown back again by unseen hands.⁵ Her uncle ^{Story of Simon of Senlis.} the King wished to give her in second marriage to a valiant man called Simon of Senlis, who does not appear in the Survey, but who in the story is already Earl of Northampton. But Simon was lame, and Judith preferred widowhood to a lame husband. The earldom of Huntingdon and the other possessions of Judith were granted to Simon; she herself fled from the wrath of William to Hereward's refuge in the

¹ Orderic gives the verses in pp. 543, 544. "Danigense comitis S[i]wardi filius audax" has his virtues recorded, and then we read of him as "denique judicibus Normannis ense peremptus." There is quite another epitaph in Chron. Ang.-Norm. ii. 123, where Judith is compared to Herodias and Job's wife;

"Haec accusavit; Rex credidit, et tibi mortem Intulit, assignans cum damnatis tibi sortem."

² Judith's estates in Huntingdonshire are given in Domesday, 217, those in Bedfordshire, 206 b, Northamptonshire, 228. Waltheof himself appears as the former owner of many of the Northamptonshire estates, but only once or twice in the other shires. This gives the impression that most of the lands were personal grants to herself. The former owners are various, including King Eadward, Earl Gyrth, and men of Earl Harold. Judith had also possessions in other shires, but none, it should be noticed, in Yorkshire, where her husband's estates were so large.

³ See Mon. Engl. iii. 411, and Judith's gifts in Domesday, 206 b, 217.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 437.

⁵ See the false Ingulf, Gale, 72.

CHAP. XX. marshes of Ely ; and Simon, instead of Judith the widow of Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, received as his wife the martyr's daughter Matilda. The details about Judith are purely mythical, but there is no doubt that a daughter of Waltheof did marry Simon of Senlis, and conveyed to him the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon.¹ Simon was the founder of the castle of Northampton and of the neighbouring priory of Saint Andrew,² and he died on his way back from a pilgrimage or crusade to Jerusalem.³ Of the marriage of Simon and Matilda came three children, a younger Simon, a younger Matilda, and a younger Waltheof, who became Abbot of Melrose.⁴ But the daughter of the martyred Earl, after her first husband's death, ceased her widowhood with a loftier marriage. She became the wife of David of Scotland, one of the sons of Malcolm and of the holy Margaret, and who himself became one of the most renowned princes that ever wore the Scottish Crown.⁵ Through this marriage came the long connexion between the earldom of Huntingdon and the royal house of Scotland, and through it too

Children
of Simon
and
Matilda.

Second
marriage of
Matilda, to
David of
Scotland.
(King
1124-
1153.)
Connexion
between

¹ Compare the real account in Orderic, 702 C, and the Continuator of William of Jumièges, viii. 37, with the stories in the false Ingulf, 72, and

the blood of Waltheof, and thereby of the long list of his forefathers, human and otherwise, passed into the veins of the later Kings of England, and also, if genealogists are to be trusted, into those of many of their subjects.¹

CHAP. XX.
the Scottish
Kings and
the Earl-
dom of
Hunting-
don.

The death of Waltheof is the turning-point in the history of William. As men generally look at the acts of princes, it was the greatest crime of his life. In an abstract view of morality, to attack an unoffending nation in the assertion of an imaginary right, to lay waste whole provinces by fire and sword, to slay by the lingering death of cold and hunger thousands more than are slain in the short struggle of the battle-field, and to do all this in pursuit of a purely personal ambition, is a greater sin against humanity than to shed the blood of a single innocent man. And yet such are the inconsistencies of our nature that it needs a worse man to do the lesser crime. An unjust war and all that follows on an unjust war, the harsh measures of repression which are needed to keep a Crown once unjustly won, can all be more easily cloaked under fair pretences, their real character can be more easily hidden from both doers and beholders, than can be done with the unrighteous slaughter of a single man. In this sense, the execution of Waltheof was a blacker deed than the invasion of England and even than the harrying of Northumberland. Yet even now William's love of formal justice did not forsake him. Even now we may feel sure that he would have shrunk from using the bowl or the dagger to get rid of the man whom he dreaded. Waltheof died in the sight of the sun, by the sword of the headsman, by the formal sentence of what was formally a competent court. William may even now have persuaded himself that he was but letting the law take its course, that he was but executing a righteous vengeance on

William's
love of
formal
justice not
forgotten.

¹ On the succession of the Earldom of Huntingdon, see *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, ii. 128; *Dugdale's Baronage*, 59.

CHAP. XX. a traitor righteously condemned. But so to persuade himself needed a yet stronger effort of the mighty power of self-delusion than to persuade himself of the righteousness Waltheof's of his former deeds. Never before had William sent an his only enemy to the scaffold. He had pardoned men who had execution. over and over again rebelled against him; he had visited other traitors with outlawry, with bonds, with mutilation, never with death. And the man whom he chose for his one victim was innocent, or, even if in some measure guilty, he had redeemed his fault by a speedy penitence. Yet he had to die, while the life of his far more guilty comrade was spared. Never was legal execution more truly judicial murder; never was innocent blood more ruthlessly shed to escape a possible political danger. Such a deed needed a worse man than was needed for any of William's earlier Gradual change for the worse in William. deeds. And William now was a worse man than he had been when he set foot on the Mora to attack a people who had never wronged him.¹ Crime, as ever, had punished itself by leading to greater crime. And now the more His ill success after the death open punishment followed. With the death of Waltheof the days of William's glory and prosperity came to an end.

avenged by the bonds of Odo and by the parricidal thrust CHAP. XX. of the spear of Robert. The punishment of crime came in the best and purest relation of his life, when, after so many years of faithful partnership, strife at last arose between William and the wife of his bosom. Eleven years of life and kingship were still to be his, but they 1076-1087. were to be years of toil and trouble, years of warfare without glory, years clouded over with every form of public and private sorrow.¹

Closely connected in idea with the death of Waltheof, and most likely not far distant from it in date, was that other great crime of William which, in the eyes of the men of his own age, joined with the slaughter of the English Earl to bring down the wrath of God upon him and upon his house. The love of the sports of the field, which may be taken for granted in every man of that age of whom the contrary is not expressly recorded, seems to have reached its height in William and his sons. We must remember that in those days hunting had, in many parts even of our own island, not yet wholly lost its original character of defensive warfare with the wild beasts. Scottish traditions speak of the bear as still lingering on in the eleventh century,² and it is certain that, at all events in the less

William's love of hunting in early times. Wild beasts remaining in Britain.

¹ The reflexion is that of Orderic, 544 A; "Pro interfectione Guallevi Comitis Guillelmus Rex a multis reprehensus est, et multis contra eum insurgentibus, justo Dei iudicio, multis adversa perpessus est; nec unquam postea diurnâ pace potitus est. Ipse quidem contra omnes (quia animosus erat) viriliter restitit, sed prosperis eventibus ad votum, ut antea, non tripudiavit, nec crebris victoriarum titulis exultavit. In tredecim annis, quibus postmodum vixit, armatorum aciem de campo non fugavit, nec oppidum obsidens bellicâ virtute cepit. Omnipotens arbiter omnia juste disponit, nullumque facinus impunitum relinquit, quia hic aut in futuro seculo omnia punit."

² I am sorry that I have nothing to quote on behalf of this statement beyond a vague Scottish tradition. The last bear is said to have been killed T. R. E. but no original authority is quoted. Is there any confusion with Osbeorn the son of Siward and his ancestors—his forebears?

CHAP. XX. cultivated parts of Britain, the wolf still survived to prey on the flocks, and the wild boar to ravage the fields, of men who were striving to turn the wilderness into a fruitful field.¹ The stag and the roe, in northern Britain even the rein-deer,² were still untamed rangers of the wilderness, whose flesh was sought for as food, and whose haunts might be profitably cleared for the service of man. In such a state of things hunting might be a sport, as war might be a sport, but it was something more. It was always a business; it might often be a duty. The hunting of Ælfred is recorded, not as a sport but as a serious employment, along with the cares of war, government, and study. In the story of the tribute of wolves' heads imposed by Eadgar on the Welsh prince Judwal, the original and lawful object of hunting, the getting rid of noisome beasts, not their artificial preservation for purposes of cruelty, is set forth with perfect clearness.³ In the records of the great Survey we find constant mention of various services to be rendered in the royal hunttings, hunttings which were doubtless part of the King's pleasure, but which were also plainly looked upon as a serious business to be followed for

Example
of Ælfred
and Ead-
gar.

forests, but they are combined with an express acknowledgement of the right of every man to slay the wild beasts of the field on his own ground. It was in William's age, and largely by William's own act, that what had once been necessary warfare with savage enemies finally changed into a mere sport, in which pleasure is sought in the wanton infliction of suffering and death. It was then too that what hitherto, whether sport or business, had been the sport or the business of every man, became the exclusive enjoyment of the King and of those whom he might allow to share it. It is plain that with William a new period in these matters begins. With other princes we incidentally hear of their hunting in the course of some story or legend; with William and his sons, as in Eadward, it is specially mentioned by the writers of the time as a marked feature of their character, and in their case it is always mentioned with horror. It is plain that William's excessive love of hunting, the cruel laws by which his savage pleasures were fenced in, the pitiless havoc of which he was guilty to find means for their gratification, were something which was new to Englishmen. Our native Chronicler tells us how "he set mickle deer-frith, and laid laws therewith, that he who slew hart or hind that man should blind him. He forbade the harts and so eke the boars; so sooth he loved the high deer as though he were their father. Eke he set by the hares that they should fare free. His rich men moaned at it and the poor men bewailed it; but he was so stiff that he recked not of their hatred; but they must all follow the King's will, if they would live or have their land or their goods or well his peace."¹ It was the making of the "mickle deer-frith" which was the crowning

¹ See Appendix SS. *Deor* is now gliding from its older and wider meaning of *Thier*, *θ̄ip*, *fera*, into its later special meaning of harts and hinds. The fatherly relations between William and the high deer were perhaps measured by the relations between him and his eldest son.

CHAP. XX. wrong of all. It was not enough for William to seek the delights of slaughter in those spots where the uncleared land still harboured the beasts of the field. He did not scruple to lay waste the land which was already brought into man's possession, to uproot the dwellings of man and the temples of God, in order to find a wider field for the gratification of his lust of bloodshed. Heavy was the guilt of the harrying of Northumberland ; but the harrying of Northumberland was at least done at the dictate of a *real* policy, and not in the mere wantonness of sport. Heavy as the guilt of that deed was, it was lighter than the guilt of the making of the New Forest. Each deed marks a new and a lower stage in the downward course.

Making of
the New
Forest.
1070-1081. The exact date of this laying waste of a large tract of fertile country is not recorded, but it cannot have been very far from the time which we have now reached. It is not at all likely that William found leisure for such a business during the actual progress of the Conquest. On the other hand we not only find the Forest duly described in the Survey, but we come across an incidental mention of it at an intermediate time which shows that the work

cultivated part of the kingdom, it may well have been that both natural and artificial hunting-grounds were less extensive than in the wilder regions in the North or on the Welsh border. To find room therefore for William's sport, he laid waste a large part of Hampshire. In the days of Eadward and the Kings before him it had been a flourishing land, full of the dwellings of men, and thick set with churches where the worship of God was duly paid. At William's bidding men were driven from their homes; their houses were pulled down, their churches were rooted up, and the fruitful land became a wilderness. The historians of both races raise their indignant wail over the homes of man which were changed into the lairs of wild beasts.¹ The great Survey calmly gives us the names of the Englishmen who were driven forth from their wasted homes, and shows how a few of them were allowed to retain some small scraps of land beyond the limits of the sacred precincts of William's sport.² There, we are told, amid the desolation which he had wrought, the Conqueror would gladly have spent his life,³ rejoicing in the slaughter of the lower animals during the short intervals of the slaughter of mankind. But we are told also that the scene of William's greatest crime was the scene of the heaviest blows which were dealt upon his house. A curse seemed to brood over the region from which man had been driven to make room for the wild beasts. The wilderness which William had made was fatal to his sons and to his sons' sons. His second son Richard, a lad of great promise, and who was supposed to be in his

Language
of com-
temporary
writers.
Evidence
of the
Survey.

The New
Forest
held to be
fatal to his
family.
Death of
his son
Richard;

¹ See Appendix SS.

² Take one instance in Domesday, 51 b; "Filii Godrici Malf habent de Rege Mintestede. Pater eorum tenuit de Rege E. Tunc se defendebat pro iii. hidis et dimidiis. Modo non habent filii ejus nisi dimidiā hidam, quæ geldavit pro una virgata. Alia terra est in forestā."

³ Will. Malms. iii. 275. "Ibi libenter ævum exigere, ibi plurimis omitto quod diebus, certe mensibus, venationes exercere gaudebat."

CHAP. XX. disposition the special image of his father, when not yet of an age to be girded with the belt of knighthood, was cut off in the New Forest by a sudden and mysterious stroke, while the wearied stag was fleeing for its life before him.

of Richard Another Richard, a natural son of William's eldest son
the son of Robert. Robert, died in the same forest by a chance stroke of one of his followers.¹ And how the Conqueror's son and successor,

the second and baser William, perished—by whose stroke none knew—on the site of one of the churches which his father had levelled with the ground,² will come before us at a later stage of our story. Our age shrinks, and it is often wise in shrinking, from seeing the visible hand of God in the punishments which seem, even on earth, to overtake the sinner. The age of William was less scrupulous. The

The alleged men of his own day, even the men who were most ready curse on to do justice to whatever was good in his mixed character, his later days.

saw in the life of William a mighty tragedy, with the avenging Até brooding over the sinner and his house. Up to a certain stage every scheme of his brain prospered, every stroke of his hand was crowned with victory. At

length he reached the highest pinnacle of earthly success.

followed the punishment. William's later days of domestic CHAP. XX.
trouble, of shame and defeat, the disgraces of his arms, the
mysterious deaths of his offspring, events which have no
parallel in the history of his earlier days, were, so men
then deemed, so many strokes of the sword of the avenger
to requite the blood of Waltheof and the ruined homes and
churches of Hampshire. To speculations beyond his range
the historian can say neither Yea nor Nay. It is enough
that, at the moment of Waltheof's death, William had
reached the summit of his power, and that, after the death
of Waltheof, the historian of his reign has only to pass
with a swifter course through the dreary years of his later
life to the days of his awful death and his more awful
burial.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.¹

1076—1087.

§ 1. *Character of the later Reign of William.*

Character
of the years
1076-1087.

Hope of
J. V.

THE latter half of William's reign has no claim to take up at all the same space in our history which has been given to the former half. The Conquest of England was now over; there was no longer any hope of throwing off the yoke. The dream of delivering or conquering England had not passed out of the minds of the Kings of the North, but, if Englishmen still looked for help from

his jealous over-lord. He had to fight with the Briton on CHAP. XXI both sides of the sea, to flee before the *Bretwealas* of the mainland, and to win no very glorious laurels over those of our own island. A renewed inroad of the Scottish King was but feebly avenged, and a more threatening attack from the joint powers of Denmark and Norway was staved off by policy rather than by arms. A petty campaign here one year, another petty campaign there the next, fill up the last days of William's life, till we come to the death-blow in the burning streets of Mantes, to the fruitless penitence at Saint Gervase, to the hardly purchased tomb within his own Saint Stephen's.

On the other hand, these last eleven years were the years when William was undisputed master of England. It was master. during these years that the Conquest finally took root. It was now that the relations between the conquerors and the conquered finally fixed themselves. It is to these later days of William, days, as far as England is concerned, of government rather than of warfare, that the general pictures of his reign which are given us by the native Chronicler must mainly belong. That picture sets before us, not a state of warfare, but a state of settled government, a government strict, harsh, often oppressive, but a government which had its good side, and whose merits even those who suffered from it were ready to admit. It is to these more settled times that we must chiefly look both for the wrong which was done in William's days under the form of law, and for the strict justice which was dealt out to more vulgar offenders. Each picture alike is eminently characteristic of William. But the remarkable thing is that, among all the complaints which are made of the oppression and unrighteousness of the times, the moan of the English Chronicler never takes the shape which it certainly would have taken in our own day. We have the picture of an oppressed nation, but there is not a word to hint Relations with Scotland and Denmark. Blending of the two races. Picture of William's government. Its good and bad sides.

cler's por-
trait.

and the rich men were the strangest trait. King William was "a very v and more worshipful and stronger than who had gone before him."¹ But which we should at once draw between the Kings who had gone before him drawn. A man who drew his whole and William's acts from this memoir learn from it, any more than he would day, that William was a foreign Country that William and his acts had made on the man who had looked on him in court.² There was something about awful and wonderful and unwonted describes him nowhere uses such language as a writer could not fail to use in speaking had won the Crown by the edge of not infer that the feeling of nationality of our forefathers of the eleventh century of the Chronicles show plainly enough was towards Frenchmen, outlandish. But it is plain that the feeling of nationality.

Latent
character
of the feel-
ing of na-
tionality.

¹ Chron. Petrib. 1087. "Se cyng Willah

felt, lay in a manner hidden, that it had not taken that CHAP. XXI.
definite and formal shape which in truth it did not fully
take in any country till quite modern times. And we must Foreign
again remember how in everything Cnut had paved the conquest
way for William. The causes which made it possible for
Cnut to reign in England as a national sovereign, and
which made it impossible for William to do the like, were
causes which the men of the eleventh century could not be
expected fully to understand.

Three points in William's government stand out pro- Character-
minently in this wonderful picture, and all of them are William's
fully borne out by the recorded acts of his life. He was rule.
strict and merciless in preserving the peace of the land. He Strict pre-
favoured the clergy and promoted ecclesiastical reform. favour to
He was guilty of great oppression, chiefly in the way of the clergy; oppression
extortion and fiscal demands, but oppression which was under the
largely cloaked under the forms of law. On the first of forms of
these heads I have spoken several times already. It passed Law.
into a proverb that a man might go safely through William's kingdom with his bosom full of gold.¹ "No Safety of
man durst slay other man, had he never so mickle evil done life and
to the other."² And if robbery and murder were thus property
vigorously put down, the third chief form of violence, under
outrages on female chastity, met with a speedy and fitting William.
punishment.³ In all this there was much to William's real
honour, much which hindered him from being looked on
with unmixed hatred. The second point would also in
Punish-
ment of
rape.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 170. Henry of Huntingdon (Scriptt. p. Bed. 212 b), who is followed by R. Wendover (ii. 241) and M. Paris (i. 29), develops this into "puella"—M. Paris (ii. 29) adds "virguncula"—"suro onusta."

² Chron. Petrib. 1087. "Nan man ne dorste alean oðerne man, næfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedón wið jone oðerne." Here again we feel the power of the negative words (see vol. ii. pp. 330, 334), and, I may add, of the double negative.

³ Ib. "Gif hwilc carlman hæmde wið wimman hire unðances, sona he forleas þa limu þe he mid pleagode." The Chronicler clearly approves of the mutilation.

CHAP. XXI. those days go far to balance the darker side of his rule. Stark as he was to those who withstood his will, he was mild to the good men who loved God.¹ His days were a time when churches were built, when monasteries were reformed, when the rule of Saint Benedict was strictly followed, and when men carefully discharged the duties belonging to their order.² But there was a dark side to the picture. There were the forests and the forest laws.³ There were the castles and the oppression which followed on them.⁴ There was the heavy taxation. "The King was so very stark, and took of his subjects many marks of gold and more hundred pounds of silver, that he took by right and with mickle unright of his landfolk for little need. He was into covetousness fallen and greediness he loved withal."⁵ Then there was the old complaint, made more grievous no doubt under foreign rule, of the doings of the King's reeves. There was the grasping way in which William made money out of those lands of the Crown which under him ceased to be even in name the lands of the people.⁶ This state of things was what our

¹ "Unlaw," fathers called *malum*, a state of things where law was an

Ecclesiastical reforms.

The forest laws.

The castles.

Fiscal oppression.

Oppression of the Reeves.

not wonderful if all classes, the conquered as well as the CHAP. XXI.
 conquerors, shared in a general corruption; that "little Alleged
 righteousness was in this land amid any men."¹ The of manners
 bright and the dark side of William's government, his
 strict police and his extortions and confiscations, were
 doubtless not unconnected with each other.¹ Many a man
 whose lands had been forfeited, or who had been ground
 to the earth by William's taxation, may have taken to
 unlawful courses, and may thus have swelled the ranks of
 those thieves and murderers whom it was William's honest
 object to put down on both sides of the sea. The picture
 given of William's fiscal exactions is graphic and pithy;
 "The King and the headmen loved much and overmuch
 covetousness on gold and on silver, and they recked not
 how sinfully it was gotten, if only it came to them. The
 King gave his land so dear to bargain as it might be
 dearest; then came some other and bade more than the
 other had given, and the King let it to the man that
 bade him more; then came the third and bade yet more,
 and the King let it to that man's hands that bade most of
 all;² and he recked not how very sinfully the reeves got it
 of poor men, nor how many *unlaws* they did. And as man
 spake more of right law, so man did more *unlaw*. They
 reared up unright tolls, and many other unright things
 they did that are hard to reckon."³ We must bear in
William's
dealings
with his
tenants.

¹ Chron. Petrib. 1087. He excepts only the monks, and some only of them; "Buton mid munecan ane þer þer hi wæll ferdon."

² Nearly the same is said of William Rufus by Eadmer (Hist. Nov. 14); "Nullam siquidem conventionem Rex stabilem esse sinebat, sed qui plura promitterebat excludebat minus dantem, nisi forte ad id quod posterior offerebat, primâ conventione vacuatâ, prior assureret." So Malchos (276) says of the Emperor Zénón; εἰ προσῆλθεν ἕτερος βραχύ τι προστίθεται, ἢν αἱ περιέργεια.

³ Chron. Petrib. 1087. The latter part is most emphatic; "Se cyng . . . ne rohte na hu swiðe synlice þa gerefan hit begeatan of carme mannon, ne hu manige *unlaga* hi dydon. *Ac swa man swyðor spæc embe rihte lage, swa mann dyde mare unlaga.* Hi arerdon unrihte tollas, and manige oðre unriht hi dydan, þe sindon carfeþe to areccenne."

CHAP. XXI. mind that many of these reeves were Englishmen, and the Oppression by English Reeves. annals of all nations bear witness that an enslaved people always suffers more deeply from those of its own blood who take service under the conquerors than it suffers from the conquerors themselves. English reeves serving under William were not likely to be amongst the most scrupulous or high-minded of Englishmen, and they would have better opportunities than strangers for carrying on that kind of oppression which clokes itself under the forms of law. For it is clearly oppression of this kind which is laid to the charge of William and his officers, not deeds of open violence, which it would have been altogether against William's principle and policy to encourage.

William's vast revenue.

By these various means William wrang out of the unhappy nation a revenue which made him richer and mightier than all his predecessors. One statement fixes his regular daily income at the incredible sum of more than a thousand and sixty pounds of silver.¹ The exaggeration is plain ; it is not unlikely to be a proverbial exaggeration mistaken for a serious piece of arithmetic ; but it shows the popular belief as to the boundless wealth which William

old soldiers who had been less lucky than their comrades, *CHAP. XXI.* Englishmen on whom William had looked with a more Way of merciful eye than usual, could be provided for, without rewarding smaller dependents. drawing on the royal purse, by quartering them on some monastery, or on some grantee who took their maintenance as part of his tenure.¹ William was doubtless the wealthiest prince of his time, and he kept up his royal state with fitting dignity. The national Assemblies prescribed by English law were carefully held at the wonted places and seasons, and doubtless with more than the wonted splendour. "He was very worshipful; thrice he bare his kingly helm each year, so oft as he was in England. At Easter he bare it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, at Midwinter at Gloucester; and then were with him all the rich men over all England, Archbishops and suffragan Bishops and Abbots and Earls and Thegns and Knights."² The body thus gathered together kept the old constitutional name of the Witan,³ and pieces of their legislation are preserved to us both in the records of the Chronicles and in the extant text of the documents themselves. Most of these statutes evidently belong to these later and more settled years of William's reign. The ordinance for taking the great Survey, and that other ordinance which decreed

The regular Gemôts kept up by William, at Winchester, Westminster, and Gloucester.

Name of Witan goes on. Instances of William's legislation.

¹ See the very curious story in *Hist. Ab.* ii. 6 of one Hermer, a knight of the Abbey (see above, p. 477), who was taken by pirates and seemingly lost his hands. He had no lands, and he asked the King for a means of maintenance; "Cui Rex compatiens abbati mandavit debere se hujusmodi homini tantum terre aliquorum providere, qua quamdiu vixerit possit sustentari." The Abbot granted him an estate which he held for the rest of his days. See also another story in *Domesday*, 218 b. A King's reeve named Ogeat, doubtless an Englishman, held lands in Bedfordshire which "tenuit i. sochemannus T. R. E., quem Rex W. cum terra hac predicto prefecto commendavit, ut quamdiu viveret victimum et vestitum ei præberet."

² *Chron. Petrib.* 1087. "Eac he wæs swyðe wurðful; þriwa he beor his cynehelm alic geare, swa oft swa he wæs on Englelande," &c. See above, p. 328.

³ See *Chron. Petrib.* 1085, 1086.

CHAP. XXI. that every man in the land should be the man of the King, both appear in the national annals.¹ Others of William's ordinances regulated the relations between the French and English inhabitants of the country. The two races appear on terms of legal equality, but, as in the settlement of the Teutonic tribes within the Roman Empire, each race was, for some purposes, allowed to retain the use of its own law. Frenchmen who had settled in England in King Eadward's days, and who had become naturalized English subjects, were counted as Englishmen.² Other Frenchmen, William's own followers or those who had come into the land during his reign, were allowed to keep some of their national customs with regard to the trial of judicial causes. In cases of appeal, at all events where there was no convincing evidence, the law of each nation allowed a reference to the direct judgement of God. But in England this reference took the form of the ordeal of water or of hot iron,³ while in Normandy it took the form of wager of battle. William allowed both modes of trial. When a man of either race was appealed by a man of his own race, they no doubt

English practice of ordeal.

Norman practice of wager of battle.

self by oath.¹ Two other pieces of William's legislation CHAP. XXI.
 are worthy of still more special notice. The hateful trade Law
against the
slave trade.
 in human flesh, in its cruellest form of selling men into
 foreign lands, the sin against which Saint Wulfstan
 preached to the burghers of Bristol, is forbidden by Wil-
 liam, as it had been forbidden by earlier Kings. Confisca-
 tion of lands and goods is the punishment denounced
 against him who shall sell a man out of the land.² In
 this enactment William acted as a just and merciful King,
 and he no doubt believed that he was acting as a just and
 merciful King in the enactment which follows it. Follow-
 ing out his own general practice throughout life,³ William
 altogether forbade the punishment of death. No man was
 to be hanged or otherwise put to death for any crime
 whatever. But instead of death William ordained punish-
 ments which, according to modern notions, were worse
 than death. The man whose crimes deserved death, but
 whose life William's mercy spared, was doomed to the
 horrible penalties of blinding—blinding in its most fright-
 ful form—and of fouler mutilation still.⁴

The pun-
ishment
of death for-
bidden, but
mutilation
ordered.

¹ See the statute in W. Stubbs, Select Charters, 81. “Decretum est ut, si Francigena appellaverit Anglum de perjurio aut murdro, furto, homicidio, ran, quod Angli dicunt apertam rapinam quæ negari non potest, Anglus se defendat per quod melius voluerit, aut judicio ferri aut duello. . . . Si Anglus Francigenam appellaverit et probare noluerit judicio aut duello, volo tamen Francigenam purgare se sacramento non fracto.”

² See above, p. 381.

³ It is worth notice that Orderic (598 A), when summing the harsh features of William's rule in the strongest terms, reckons up every form of oppression except death; “Contumaces regni filios confregit, vinculis injectit, exhaeredit, expulit, et extra limitem natalis soli dispersit. Clientes vero suos et fautores sublimavit, magnis honoribus locupletavit, regnique negotiis præficiens magnificavit.”

⁴ Stubbs, Select Charters, 85. “Interdico etiam ne quis occidatur aut suspendatur pro aliquâ culpâ, sed eruantur oculi et testiculi abscindantur. Et hoc præceptum non sit violatum super forisfacturam meam plenam.” This was the most brutal way of tearing out the eyes, that indulged in by Robert of Belesme, and to which Henry the Second at least confessed a tendency (see Henry of Huntingdon's story in *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 698, and

CHAP. XXI. Of the man himself our one personal portrait clearly belongs to his later years. William's height was tall, but not excessive; he was neither a giant like Harold Hardrada nor a small man like Eadgar and Cnut. His countenance was stern; the fore part of his head was bald; whether he stood or sat, his look was worshipful and kingly. Such he appears in the Tapestry; such he is described by one who may have looked on the great King with childish wonder. But in his latter days his majestic form was disfigured by excessive corpulence.¹ Still, unwieldy as he became, he never lost the power of motion like Henry the Eighth; he was able to mount a horse to the end of his days. At the times of the three great yearly Assemblies William appeared in all his glory. All the great men of his realm were gathered together, not only for counsel on the affairs of the kingdom, but to join in their sovereign's royal feasts, when the ambassadors of foreign lands came to see his magnificence, and when William showed himself affable and courteous and bountiful to all.² Yet perhaps it is not without meaning that the historian who gives us this splendid picture goes on immediately to speak of his avarice.

William's personal appearance.

His corpulence.

Splendour of his court.

His avarice.

William's care in regularly summoning the constitutional CHAP. XXI.
Assemblies of the kingdom that the native Chronicler himself goes on to tell us "how stark the King was, and how no man durst do anything against his will; how he had Earls in bonds that did against his will, how Bishops he set of their bishopricks and Abbots of their abbeys, how he had Thegns in prison, and how at last he spared not his own brother."¹

In this last picture some of the best and some of the worst acts of William's reign are mingled together; but all join to set before us the picture of a government far stronger, far more arbitrary, than anything that England had ever seen before. William strictly followed constitutional forms, because he could afford to do so, and yet could none the less wield a power which in his hands amounted to a practical despotism. King of the English according to the law of England, he carried out the royal power in its greatest fulness over all his subjects of either race; personal lord of every man in his kingdom, feudal superior of his tenants-in-chief, military commander alike of his feudal followers, of his hired soldiers, and of the old constitutional force of the kingdom—in one or other of these various characters William contrived to wield a power such as was wielded by no other prince in Christendom, save only the Eastern Cæsar at Byzantium: And, by a strange turning about of events, William's brother despot became in some sort his rival. Among the Englishmen who at various times during William's reign sought fresh homes in foreign lands, not a few made their way to the New Rome, and there, in the service of the Eastern Emperors, they not uncommonly had the satisfaction of meeting the kinsmen of their conquerors in open battle.

¹ In the Peterborough Chronicle (1087) the description of the yearly Assemblies is at once followed by the words, "Swilce he wæs eac swyðe stærce man and reðe swa þe man ne dorste nan bing ongean his willan don," &c.

and practical despoticism of his government.

Englishmen take service at Constantinople.

CHAP. XXI. The movement towards the East probably began in the very first days of William's reign. No career was more attractive to a banished Englishman, especially to a native of the Scandinavian parts of England, than the career which was offered by that Warangian guard to which the exploits of Harold Hardrada must have given redoubled fame throughout Northern Europe.¹ But the chief migration in this direction plainly took place in the later days of William, when the revolutions of Eastern Europe opened a fresh and specially attractive career to Englishmen. Men who found it vain to strive any longer against the Normans in their own land found a tempting field on which they might meet Normans in arms in lands beyond the sea. An Emperor had risen to power, whose fame, somewhat disproportionate perhaps to his exploits, has been far more widely spread through western Europe than that of most of the Byzantine Caesars. And he was the special foe of the Normans. Alexios Komnēnos had barely been crowned in Saint Sophia,² when the Eastern Empire was invaded by the Normans of Apulia, under the command of their famous Duke Robert Wiscard, who by writers in distant lands has

Accession
of Alexios
Komnēnos.
April 1,
1081.

Robert

forcement of English warriors to the side of Alexios.¹ Robert crossed the Hadriatic and besieged Dyrrhachion, the city whose later name had wiped out the memory of the more ancient Epidamnos.² Alexios came to its relief at the head of one of those gatherings of men of all races, tongues, and creeds, which were wont in those days to fight side by side around the eagles of the Eastern Rome. With Greeks disguised under the name of Romans and Slaves disguised under the name of Macedonians,³ came Mahometan Turks fighting in Europe for the throne which they threatened in Asia,⁴ Paulician heretics, whom persecution had changed from a religious sect into a warlike tribe,⁵ and Franks, men of Latin speech and faith, fighting against men of their own tongue in the cause of the rival Church and Empire.⁶ And among this strange assemblage were the men of whom we read with a thrill of mingled joy and sorrow that they were deemed the bravest and most faithful of all who were gathered under the banners of Augustus.⁷

¹ See Appendix UU.

² On the history of the name Dyrrhachion, see Mr. E. B. James in the Dictionary of Geography. Both Anna and William of Apulia keep the correct form of the name—Anna indeed once (i. 7) speaks of Epidamnos—but in Geoffrey Malaterra it has become Duracium, the modern Durazzo, a form which provoked a pun on the verb *durare*. See William of Malmesbury, iv. 387, who is copied by Alberic, 1081; “Quum oppidani fiduciā mēnium jactitarent ideo urbem Durachium nominatum, quod contra omnes obsidiones imperterrita duraret, ‘Et ego’ (inquit) ‘vocor Durandus; et eo usque in obsidione durabo quo civitati nomen auferam, ut non Durachium sed Mollicium amodo dicatur.’”

³ Μακεδόνες and Θετταλοί appear in Anna, iv. 4. On their Slavonic descent, see Finlay, ii. 55.

⁴ Anna, iv. 4. οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀχριδῶ οἰκουμένης Τούρκοι.

⁵ The Μαυριχάῖος of Anna. See Finlay, ii. 79.

⁶ Anna, u. s. τῶν Φραγγικῶν ταγμάτων δ Πανοκαμίτης καὶ Κανσταντῖνος δ Οὐμπερτίωνος, ἐκ γένους τὴν ἑπανυμίαν λαχάν.

Constantine Humbertopoulos (Humbertiēs or Humbertīng) is said to have been a discontented nephew of Robert Wiscard. See Finlay, ii. 72.

Somewhat later, about 1087, we find Flemish auxiliaries fighting for Alexios. See Anna, vii. 7.

⁷ Gauf. Mal. iii. 27 (Muratori, v. 584). “Waringi, in quibus Imperatori maxima spes victorise fuerat.”

CHAP. XXI. Byzantine and Norman accounts agree in setting before us the Warangians, the English, the barbarians of the Isle of Thoulé, as the force in which, among all their varied bands, Their axes. the Eastern Cæsars put their firmest trust.¹ Beneath the walls of Dyrrhachion, as on the height of Senlac, they bore the two-handed Danish axe, and at Dyrrhachion, no less than on Senlac, the Norman writers themselves bear witness to the fearful effect with which the Danish axe was wielded. The battle was lost; the Cæsar of the East fled before the Norman invader,² as his momentary ally, the Caesar of the West, was to do before many years had passed away.³ But England at least lost no honour on that fatal day. For a while the Normans gave way before the Warangian charge. When a sudden flank attack threw the victorious and wearied English into confusion, the main body of the axe-men died, like King Harold's Housecarls, around their standard.⁴ The remnant retreated and made a stand in and around the neighbouring church of Saint Michael; but the beloved Norman means of destruction was brought against them, and they died, as the Normans were said to have died at York,⁵ crushed and scorched amid the

Battle of
Dyrrha-
chion.

October 18,

1081.

Defeat of
Alexios.

Valour and
slaughter
of the
English.

ruins of the burning temple.¹ For others who had not joined in the march to Dyrrachion, or who entered the service after the battle, Alexios began to build on the other side of the Propontis the city of Kibotos, their ark of refuge, whose name on French-speaking lips was degraded into *Chevretot*.² But as the Normans, Robert himself and his son Bohemund, still went on harassing the Empire, Alexios recalled the English to the Imperial city, and made them the special guards of his person and palace.³ They served in later stages of the war. Kastoria, besieged by Bohemund, was, after a gallant defence, surrendered to him by three hundred Warangians who guarded it.⁴ And we can hardly deem that English warriors were absent when Bohemund himself was driven to retreat beyond the Hadriatic,⁵ and when Brian, the same Brian of Britanny who had overcome the sons of Harold on their second raid in Devonshire, was compelled to surrender the city which Bohemund had won, and to withdraw his forces beyond the limits of the Empire.⁶ The race of the English exiles flourished in the land of their adoption; their axes were again lifted against French-speaking foes when renegade gian guard.

1204.

¹ Anna, iv. 6. οἱ Λατίνοι πῦρ καὶ αὐτῶν δέρνεται σὺν τῷ τεμένει πάντας κατέκαυσαν. The account in Geoffrey Malaterra (iii. 27) is not quite the same; "Alii quantum capacitas permittebat subintrabant, alii tantâ multitudine tecta superscandunt ut pondere ipsa tecta dissoluta consubruantur, illos qui subintraverant opprimentes, conclusi pariter suffocarentur."

² Ord. Vit. 508 B. "Augustus Alexius urbem quae *Chevretot* dicitur Anglia ultra Byzantium cepit condere." Compare 625 B.

³ Ib. "Nimium infestantibus Normannis eos ad urbem regiam reduxit, et eisdem principale palatum cum regalibus thessauris tradidit."

⁴ Gauf. Mal. iii. 29. "Trecenti Waringi in eadem urbe habitabant, custodes ab Imperatore deputati, quorum praesidio et opere non minimum defensabatur." See Anna, v. 5, who does not mention the Warangians at Kastoria; Finlay, ii. 97.

⁵ Anna, v. 6, 7; Finlay, ii. 99.

⁶ Anna, vi. 1; Finlay, ii. 99. Mr. Finlay identifies him with the Brian of whom we heard above, p. 243. Anna (v. 6) calls him *Bovérvios*, an easy source of confusion, but she adds, Λατίνος δὲ οὗτος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, διὸ καὶ κονσταնτῖον [Constable] ἀνόμασαν.

CHAP. XXI. crusaders stormed and sacked the capital of Eastern Christendom ; and, long after the days of Alexios Komnenos and of Alexios Mourtzouflos, they still formed the chosen body-guard of the Byzantine Emperors, and they still clave to the use of their Northern weapon and their Northern tongue.¹

William's hold on England not weakened. But, while Normans and Englishmen were thus striving together in distant lands, the rule of William in England was never seriously threatened. These later years of his life were years of comparative defeat and disgrace ; but the ill successes of William were all undergone in other lands. The single Northumbrian outbreak hardly amounted to a rebellion, and a Scottish inroad, fearful as the scourge must have been to those who had already suffered so much, in noway endangered the safety of William's throne.

§ 2. *William's later Continental Wars.*

1076—1086.

William's movements between England and France. The years which followed the suppression of the revolt at Ely were years in which William was constantly passing

least one grant to reward service done to one of his ^{CHAP. XXI.} daughters,¹ and his son William seems, characteristically ^{to his} _{children.} enough, to have found a possession for himself by an act of sacrilegious spoliation.² William seemingly feared that his sons might become his rivals. He therefore gave them no political appanages, not even any landed estates. He wished to keep them in the state of dependent and, because dependent, dutiful children. They had no claim upon him for rewards; he had no need of them as instruments; he therefore systematically forebore to bestow on them any share of the wealth and power and official dignity which he bestowed on his friends and his brothers.

The first of the family of whom we now hear we hear of simply as vanishing from political and domestic life. The vow which William made at the consecration of his wife's church, before he set forth on his great expedition,³ was now fulfilled. In the year of the rebellion of the Earls ^{Easter} _{at Fécamp.} William again kept the Easter feast at Fécamp, and now ^{April 5,} his eldest daughter Cecily made her vows and received the habit of religion at the hands of her distant kinsman ^{1075.} _{Cecily takes the} Archbishop John.⁴ She passed her life in her mother's monastery, _{veil.} a pattern of virtue and learning, and of submission to the

trust to the accumulation of lands in the family of Godwine. The difference is that between a King and an Earl.

On the alleged bequest of the lands of Matilda to her son Henry, see Appendix ZZ.

¹ Domesday, 49. "Goisfridus camerarius filiae Regis . . . tenet de Rege pro servitio quod fecit Mathildi ejus filiae."

² Ib. 77, of lands in Dorset, "W. filius Regis tulit ab ecclesiâ sine consensu episcopi et monachorum," that is the Bishop of Salisbury and the monks of Sherborne.

³ See vol. iii. pp. 385, 397.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 548 B. "Anno ab Incarnatione Domini m^{lxxv.} inductione xiii. Guillelmus Rex Fiscanni sanctum pascha celebravit, Ceciliamque filiam suam per manum Johannis archiepiscopi Deo consecrandam obtulit." In Will. Gem. vii. 26 we read, "Ibi [at Caen] Cecilia virgo filia ejus Deo consecrata est, et in servitio Dei diu commemorata est." This probably refers to the ceremony in 1066; it seems impossible to set aside so distinct a statement as that of Orderic.

CHAP. XXI. rule of her order. On the death of the first Abbess, Matilda, whose rule over the sisterhood was prolonged for forty-seven years, Cecily succeeded to her office, and held it with honour till her own death fourteen years later.¹

Cecily Abbess.
1113-1127.

Constance, wife of Alan of Britanny; betrothed 1076? married 1086, died 1090.

The next daughter of William of whom we hear was destined to a widely different fate from that of her eldest sister. While Cecily studied and prayed, served and ruled, in her monastery, Constance earned a fame no less pure by living an useful and honourable life in the rank in which she was born. Her first mention connects itself with the

William besieges Dol.
1076.

very beginning of William's later and darker days. After the beheading of Waltheof William again crossed the sea to Normandy, and we presently hear of him as besieging the Breton city of Dol.² He had been seen under its walls in earlier times; but then he had come as a deliverer, and Harold had come as his fellow-soldier. The warfare of William alone was less lucky than the warfare of William and Harold together. At the earlier time he came successfully to relieve Dol when it was besieged by the Breton Count. It was now the Breton Count whose

¹ See *Anglo-Norman Names*, p. 112, note 1.

² *Anglo-Norman Names*, p. 112, note 2.

William sought to regain were of an ecclesiastical kind. It CHAP. XXI. is certain that about this time he received a letter from Pope Gregory, charging him to do nothing on behalf of Bishopric of Dol. Juhel, Bishop of Dol, who had been deposed by his authority. Another Bishop, Ivo, had been consecrated to the see by the Pope's own hands, and had been honoured by him with the title of Archbishop and authorized to make use of the pallium.¹ This certainly looks as if the bishoprick of Dol, like the primacy of Rheims at an earlier time,² had become an object to be fought for with temporal weapons. A still more obvious motive is suggested, if we can believe the statement of one of our own writers that Dol was at this time a possession or shelter of the fugitive Earl Ralph.³ Nothing would be more natural than a campaign undertaken in the hope of seizing the fugitive, or at least of chastising the city and the land where he had taken refuge. However this may be, William besieged Dol with a great host, and pitched his camp, full of all the splendours of his wealth, beneath the walls of the city. The defenders

Britones, ut sibi obsecundarent, sicut olim Rolloni et Willermo aliisque ducibus Normannicis servierant, volens subjugare, cum ingenti exercitu Dolense oppidum obseedit." William of Malmesbury (iii. 258) confesses his ignorance of the cause; "Dum nescio quā similitate irritatus manum illuc militarem duxisset."

¹ See Gregory's Letter of September 27, 1076 (Jaffé, Mon. Greg. 541). Juhel had been deposed for simony, marriage, and portioning his daughters, like Ealdhun (see vol. i. p. 327), with episcopal lands. William is exhorted "ne . . . tam scelesto homini . . . ulterius auxilium præbeas neve scelerum ejus te participem facias;" but we are not told exactly what he had done. In this letter we hear nothing of the pallium or of the title of Archbishop. But in another letter of Gregory (249) to the Bishops of Britanny, the grant of the pallium is mentioned; and in one of the same date (248) to the clergy and people of Dol, Ivo is called "pater et archiepiscopus." But in 1080 Gregory's "Diffinitio synodalis" (405) is quite the other way.

² See vol. i. pp. 194, 203.

³ Flor. Wig. 1075. "Post haec mare transito Rex in minorem Brytaniam suam movit expeditionem, et castellum Radulfū comitis, quod Dol nominatur, obseedit." But I know of nothing elsewhere to connect Dol with Ralph.

CHAP. XXI. of Dol trembled at his threats, and at the oath which he
his threats. swore not to go away unless as a conqueror.¹ But the
conscience of William had now, like the consciences of
Harold and Waltheof, to bear the burthen of an unfulfilled
oath. William went away from Dol, and he did not go
away as a conqueror. It was there indeed that he met his
first defeat. Alan Fergant, son of the reigning Count
Howel,² came to the relief of the besieged city, and with
his forces were joined the forces of the common over-lord of
William and Alan. King Philip of France, now the firm
ally of Robert of Flanders,³ came to wage war on the island
King who, on Gaulish ground, was still his man. The
Bretons stood their ground manfully till the royal forces
came.⁴ William was then driven to retreat, if not to flight,
by the united forces of King and Count. He left behind
him men and horses and countless treasures, tents with rich
furniture, vessels, arms, spoils of all kinds, to the value,
men said, of fifteen thousand pounds.⁵ At Crowland it was
doubtless whispered with bated breath that the vengeance
for the blood of Waltheof had begun.

Dol relieved by
Alan and
King Philip.

William's flight.

enemies, and he began by disarming the enemy who was least powerful and most isolated. Alan was won over by the same arts which had been successfully practised on Eadwine. Peace was made; by one of its terms the hand of William's daughter Constance was promised to the son of the Breton Count; but the actual marriage was not celebrated till ten years later.¹ To keep a dangerous neighbour dependent on him in this way was a game which exactly fell in with William's policy; but it was a game which it was not safe for William himself to carry too far.

In the course of the next year William also made peace with the King of the French; but the English Chronicler significantly remarks that the peace held but a little while.² For about this time the good faith of Philip was exposed to a temptation, which seems to have been too powerful to be withstood. William was now beginning to find his foes in his own household. The curse of his later years was the disobedience and open rebellion of his eldest son Robert. The young man had some showy qualities which won him, if not friends, at least partizans. He was a daring soldier, a skilful archer, open of hand, bold and free of speech. But the personal portrait of him is not attractive. Short and fat, with a heavy face, the eldest-born of the Conqueror was known by the nick-names of *Gambaron* and *Curt-hose*.³

¹ See below, p. 646, and Appendix WW.

² Chron. Petrib. 1077. "Her on pisum geare wurdon sæhte Franca cyng and Willelm Englalandes cyng, ac hit heold little hvile."

³ Ord. Vit. 545 C. "Erat loquax et prodigus, audax et in armis probissimus, fortis certusque sagittarius, voce clarâ et liberâ, lingua disertâ, facie obesa, corpore pingui brevique statuta, unde vulgo *Gambaron* cognomatus est et *Brevis-ocrea*." This last name was given him by his father (714 D). William of Malmesbury (iv. 389) also puts the nickname into William's mouth in a diminutive form; "Per resurrectionem Dei, probus erit Robelinus Curta Ocrea." His character of Robert is one degree better than that given by Orderic. After mentioning the nickname, he adds, "Hoc enim erat ejus cognomen, quod asset exiguus; ceterum nihil habens

CHAP. XXI. Of the higher qualities of his father, of his genius for war and government, he had not a trace.

Robert declared William's successor in Normandy. Before 1066.

Maine twice settled on Robert. 1063, 1073.

In his first quarrel with his father Robert was not without a plausible grievance. At some time before the invasion of England, and again during an attack of sickness at some later time, William had declared Robert his successor in the Norman duchy, and had made his chief vassals do homage and swear fealty to him. One or other of these two settlements had been further confirmed by the King of the French as over-lord.¹ And in both the settlements of Maine it was rather to Robert than to William himself that the county was made over. At the conclusion of the last treaty with Fulk of Anjou—as perhaps also at the conclusion of the former one—Robert had actually done homage for Maine, as for his own possession.² William however seems to have looked upon both these acts as mere securities for Robert's final succession, and he had not the faintest intention of giving up any part of his dominions during his life-time. He no doubt thought that he had

done quite enough for his son when he joined him with his mother in the regency of Normandy during his absence.¹ We may further believe that William, though he might not be ready to go the length of disinheriting his eldest son, did not wish so ill to his subjects as to give them Robert for their ruler before his time. Robert however took a different view of matters. He was stirred up by his own ambition and by the suggestions of evil companions to call on his father for an immediate provision.² We hear of the abject state of dependence and poverty in which his father kept him, a reference most likely to the fact which has been already mentioned, that he had received no share whatever in the spoils of England.³ His comrades exhorted him to demand a share of the kingdom of England, or at all events the possession of Normandy and Maine.⁴ They reminded him of the promise of such a grant which his father had made long ago.⁵ A dialogue is put into the mouths

¹ See above, p. 123.

² I have here to put together two accounts in different parts of Orderic, in the fourth book and in the fifth (pp. 545, 569). Both evidently refer to the same time, but it seems hopeless to fix the exact date. Our one landmark is that the battle of Gerberoi is fixed by both Chronicles and Florence to the year 1079. Orderic (570 C) talks of Robert wandering in various parts of the world for about five years, which would seem to fix the date of his first rebellion to about the year 1074. But in the story of the quarrel between the brothers at L'Aigle William and Henry are spoken of as "milites." But in 1074 Henry, the only one of William's children whose birth we can fix exactly, was only six years old, and he was not "dubbed to rider" till 1086. Florence again distinctly places the beginning of the rebellion in 1077, and this date has the force of a correction, for Florence is here following the Worcester Chronicle, which places the rebellion and the battle of Gerberoi in 1079. I think then that we may take 1077 as the most likely date for the beginning of the quarrel between Robert and his father. Dr. Vattelet has gone elaborately through the history of Robert in the tract quoted in vol. iii. Appendix T.

³ See Ord. Vit. 545 C, 569 C. "In ingenti pauperie degis," say Robert's companions, and they go on at some length in the same strain.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 545 C. "Debitos honores, principatum videlicet Cenomanorum et Neustrie." 569 C. "Partem regni Albionis, aut saltem ducatum Normannise."

⁵ Will. Malms. iv. 389. "Juvenilem indutus calorem Normanniam

Robert demands an immediate provision.

CHAP. XXI. of William and Robert, in which, among the conventional scriptural and classical allusions, some sayings highly characteristic of the Conqueror seem to be preserved. Dispute between William and Robert. Robert asks for Normandy, which he says that his father had granted to him before the invasion of England. William answers that the request is inconsistent; Normandy is his hereditary possession, which he will not give up while he lives; England he holds through the strength of Normandy.¹ Robert has nothing to answer, except to ask what he is to do, and how he is to find the means to give anything to his followers.² "Be obedient to me in all things," answers William, "and share my dominions everywhere with me." Robert says that he will not be for ever his father's hireling; he wants something of his own that he may pay his own servants. To that end he asks for nothing short of the duchy of Normandy. William reminds him of the duties of sons towards their fathers, and gives him a lecture on Rehoboam and the evil of listening to young and foolish counsellors. He would do better to consult wise men, experienced nobles, or learned scholars

Will his father give him what he asks for, or not? He CHAP. XXI.
has made up his mind that he will not stay any longer in
Normandy as his servant. William again answers that he William
will not give up his native duchy of Normandy, that he ^{refuses to}
will not give up the kingdom of England which he has ^{give up} anything
won with such toil. God had given him the kingdom and ^{while he} lives.
God might perhaps take it away from him, but he himself would give it up to no man. He seems even to have pleaded a religious scruple; he had been crowned and anointed King, and he could not give up the crown which the ministers of Christ had placed upon his head.¹ His purpose was fixed; while he lived, he would not endure any one as his superior or his equal in any part of his dominions.

Robert, we are told, went away likening himself to Robert Polyneikēs, and hoping that he might somewhere find his ^{leaves Normandy.} Adrastos.² It would seem however that he did not at once plunge into open rebellion. But bitter wrath grew between father and son, and a trifling accident soon fanned Robert's discontent into a flame. William was now at war ^{War be-} with Rotron, Count of Mortagne in Perche, that border ^{tween} land, the nursery of the house of Belesme,³ which formed ^{William and Rotron of Mor-} part of the Norman diocese of Seez, but which owned the tagne. temporal superiority of France.⁴ Rotron bore a bad character as a plunderer of the church of Chartres, and ^{1077?}

¹ Ord. Vit. 570 B. "Capiti meo a vicariis Christi sacrum diadema celebre impositum est, et regale sceptrum Albionie ferre mihi soli commisum est. Indecens igitur est, et omnino injustum, ut quamdiu vitalibus auris perfruar, parem mihi vel majorem in ditione me& quempiam patiar."

² Ib. C. William of Malmesbury (iv. 389) spares us the classical allusion, but brings out strongly the terrors of William's voice; "Quod cum ille negasset, terrisonæ vocia roncho juvenem abigens, iratus abcessit Robertus, multisque assultibus patriam infestavit."

³ This seems to follow from the words of Orderic (546 B), that William "cum Rotrone Mauritanensi conite pacem fecit" (see below, p. 639), which imply an earlier state of war.

⁴ See vol. ii. p. 182.

CHAP. XXI. was divinely smitten for his crime.¹ William, accompanied by his three sons, had marched as far as L'Aigle in between Robert and the diocese of Evreux, not far from Ouche on the one hand his brothers² and Verneuil on the other. This was the lordship of

Richer, whose father Eginulf had died in the *Malfosse* of Senlac.³ The King and his two younger and more dutiful sons,³ William and Henry, were quartered in one house; Robert lodged in another. The two lads came to their elder brother's quarters, and began to play at dice in the solar or upper room, to make a great noise, and at last to throw water on Robert and his companions who were below. Robert, stirred up by two of the party, Ivo and Alberic of Grantmeñil, the sons of the Sheriff of Leicestershire,⁴ rushed upstairs to avenge the insult. The King smoothed down matters for the moment, but in the night Robert decamped with his comrades, and made an attempt to seize the ducal castle at Rouen. But he was baffled by the faithfulness of its commander, the King's cup-bearer, Roger of Ivry, whom we have already heard of in England.⁵ Robert was now at the head of a band of exiles,

Robert's
attempts
on Rouen
defeated by
Roger of
Ivry.

mother and his mother's house. With these we find the CHAP. XXI. son of another famous man, Ralph of Conches or Toesny,¹ the son of the elder Ralph, renowned at Mortemer and at Senlac. These and others of the young nobles of Normandy took up the cause of Robert, and forsook their solid possessions for the vain hopes he held out to them.² William seized their lands, and with his usual grim pleasantry, employed their revenues in hiring mercenaries to fight against them.³

Robert and his companions soon found protectors. Hugh Robert helped by Hugh of Sorel, and Remalard, was the husband of the younger Neufchâtel, Mabel, the sister of Robert of Belesme. He received the exiles, and his castles became their head-quarters for ravaging Normandy.⁴ And it would seem that Robert was already beginning to receive direct encouragement from the King Philip. common over-lord of all, King Philip at Paris. An officer of the King's court, his *dapifer*, was present among the rebels. But Hugh's castle of Remalard was now besieged Siege and capture of Remalard. by William in company with an unexpected ally. The fief of Remalard owned Rotron of Mortagne as its immediate lord; William made peace with him, took him into his pay, and led him with him to attack the fortress of his vassal.⁵ One day the Frenchman was going to the castle of one of the rebels, Aimeric of Villeraï, in company with its master and a party of only three knights. Four of the

¹ On the younger Ralph, see above, p. 602.

² Ord. Vit. 546 B. "Oppida diviteeque fundos pro inani spe et promissis floccipendendis reliquerunt." A longer list of Robert's companions is given in 570 C. One is "Rodbertus de Molbraio," seemingly the future Earl of Northumberland.

³ Ib. "Rex . . . de redditibus eorum stipendarios dimicantes contra eosdem remuneravit."

⁴ Ib. 546 A. "Hugo . . . municipia sua pro depopulandâ Neustriâ patetfecit."

⁵ Ib. B. "Rex Guillelmus hunc pretio conduxit, secumque ad obsidionem, quia Raimalast de feudo ejus erat, minavit."

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.

King's knights set upon them, and presently the body of Aimeric was carried off, and laid on a horse, as the historian says, like a hog.¹ His son Gulfer at once made peace and submitted to William.

The fall of his immediate protector seems for a while to have checked the hopes of Robert. He wandered through various lands, betaking himself to the court of his uncle, Flanders, and to other princes and nobles of Lothair, Swabia, Aquitaine, and Gascony, among whom Udo Archbishop of Trier is specially mentioned.² Many of the princes whom he visited gave him large sums of money; but all that he got he squandered on his worthless companions of both sexes. He was still as poor as ever, and plunged into debt to supply his needs.³ Two sons however were born to him in the course of his wanderings—one of them, Richard, I have already spoken as one of those among William's offspring who met their doom at the haunted shades of the New Forest.⁴

Robert however had still one friend in his own country and in his father's house. He was the darling son of his mother, and now the doom of sorrow which brooded over

silver and other precious things to her banished son. CHAP. XXI. William heard of it, and sternly forbade her. But the tenderness of the mother prevailed over the duty of the wife, and Matilda again sent her gifts to Robert. William Quarrel again rebuked her. She, his companion whom he loved as between her and William. his own soul, was spending his wealth on his enemies who sought his life, and was arming and strengthening them against him.¹ Matilda could only plead the love which she bore to one who is as usual mistaken for her first-born son.² If Robert were dead and lying buried seven feet deep below the earth, she would gladly shed her blood to bring him to life again. How could she enjoy wealth while her son was lacking all things? Such hardness was far from her heart, and she dared to add that her husband ought not to lay such commands upon her.³

The wrath of William was kindled,⁴ but the constant love of so many years pleaded for his disobedient wife. But towards her agent he felt no scruples. One Samson, William a Breton, had carried messages and gifts from Matilda threatens to her son. William gave orders to seize and blind him. Matilda's messenger. But the Queen's friends warned him of his danger; he fled to the house of Saint Evroul, where Abbot Mainer sheltered him, and where he put on the monastic garb for the salvation alike of soul and body.⁵

The quarrel between William and his son was soon to come to a crisis. Robert now came, doubtless not for the

¹ Ord. Vit. 571 A. "Collateralis mea, quam velut animam meam diligo, quam omnibus gazis et potestatibus in toto praefeci regno meo."

² Ib. She is made to call him "primogenitam progeniem meam."

³ Ib. B. "Nec vestra debet hoc mihi jubere potentia." The whole speech, whether genuine or not, is well conceived.

⁴ Ib. "His auditis Rex ferus expalluit, et in tantum ira ejus effebuit," &c.

⁵ Ib. "Monachicum schema pro salvatione corporis et anime salubriter indutus est." This Samson, "Regine veredarius," can hardly be the same person as the Samson who in Orderic (531) recommends Howell for the see of Le Mans, which did not become vacant till 1085.

CHAP. XXI. first time, to the King of the French, and craved for some effectual help. Philip accordingly quartered him in the castle of Gerberoi¹ in the district of Beauvais, near the borders of Normandy and France. The fortress was strong, both by its position and by its artificial defences. Our historian adds that it was always held by two lords of equal right, and that it was the custom of the place to welcome all exiles and fugitives, whencesoever they might come. Robert was welcomed by the two commanders, one of them nameless, the other the *Vidame* Helias, a different person of course from the famous Helias of La Flèche.² They acted zealously on Robert's behalf; mercenary soldiers crowded to Gerberoi from all quarters; men of higher rank from various parts of Gaul were drawn by the vain promises of Robert; even many men from Normandy itself, among them some who had hitherto borne a good character for loyalty, joined their fortunes with those of the exiles. Such a state of things in a fortress so near his border called for William's personal energy to put an end to it.³ He accordingly gathered his forces, garrisoned the border

William
leaving the

are especially mentioned;¹ yet there is an extant charter CHAP. XXI. from which it would seem, if words have any meaning, that King Philip himself, by whose authority Robert was quartered at Gerberoi, was personally present in the camp of Philip's presence. of the besiegers.² The policy of Philip was never very steadfast, but such a sudden change as this almost passes the bounds of belief. It is more certain that in this siege one specially memorable personal encounter took place. William's first wound. William, who had passed unhurt through the nine hours' storm of the great battle,³ who, as far as we know, had never received a wound in any earlier or later fight, had now, for the first time, to turn his back on an enemy in personal conflict, and to retreat, defeated and wounded, in a struggle beneath the walls of a paltry border fortress. And William's first wound came from the hand from which a wound is most bitter. Father and son met face to face in the battle. His encounter with his son Robert. The parricidal spear of Robert pierced the hand of his father; an arrow at the same moment struck the horse on which he rode, and William the Conqueror lay for a moment on the earth, looking for death at the hands of his own son. A loyal Englishman sped to his rescue—a survivor of Senlac or Ely might well have fought for William in such a quarrel. Tokig, the son of Wiggod of Wallingford, fighting on horseback in Norman fashion, sprang down and offered his horse, like Eustace at Senlac, to the fallen King. At that moment the shot of a crossbow

¹ Ord. Vit. 572 C, D. "Hinc Normanni et Angli regique auxiliares de finitimus regionibus acriter insistebant; illinc Galli et vicini hostes Roberto cohaerentes fortiter resistebant."

² The document is a charter of Saint Quentin, printed in Bouquet, xii. 604; Gallia Christiana, x, Instrumenta, 247; see also Prevost's edition of Orderic, ii. 387. It bears the signatures of the Kings Philip and William, and is dated, "Actum publice in obsidione prædictorum Regum, videlicet Philippi Regis Francorum et Wilhelmi Anglorum Regis, prope Gerberodium, anno Incarnati Verbi MLXXVIII. anno vero Philippi Regis Francorum xix." Compare the mention of Philip's ambassadors in p. 645.

³ See vol. iii. p. 507.

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.

ave the gallant Thegn of Berkshire a mortal wound, King gave up his life for his sovereign beneath the walls of Gerberoi, to the increase of the estates of his Norman brothers-in-law at Wallingford and Oxford. In this fierce exchange of hand-strokes, the younger William, the dutiful son, the future tyrant, was also wounded in the defence of his father. The King and his sons retreated, and had retreated—an English writer ventures to say that he fled—before the face of the victorious rebel, leaving many of their followers dead on the field, and many prisoners in the hands of Robert.¹

It is hard to conceive a blow more grievous than this. The King, the captain, the father, were all alike cut down quick. At Dol William had first learned what it was to flee before an enemy; at Gerberoi he underwent the most humiliating personal overthrow, and that at the hands of his own subjects and his own son. It is plain that the rage of Gerberoi was raised, and that the defeat was a heavy and serious blow; for directly afterwards we find William back again at Rouen, and the wisest heads

the chief men of Normandy, among them the old Roger of Beaumont, Roger Earl of Shrewsbury, and Hugh of Grantmesnil, whose sons had been the first authors of the mischief, pleading with William on behalf of his son. They do not deny his crime, but they set forth his youth and his penitence; they pray William not to thrust away the returning suppliant, and they venture also to plead for their own sons and other kinsmen who were involved in Robert's rebellion.¹ William at first was stern; he set forth his own wrongs as prince and father, wrongs such as no Duke of the Normans had ever undergone before. He complained especially of Robert's crime in stirring up foreign enemies against him.² At last however the constant entreaties of his nobles, the exhortations of his Bishops and other pious men, the entreaties of the Queen, the mediation of the ambassadors of the King of the French and of other neighbouring princes,³ at last moved William's stern heart. He yielded, and received his son and his companions. The succession to the Duchy was secured to Robert on the same terms as before,⁴ and a short time of peace followed. During this interval Pope Gregory addressed a letter to Robert, rejoicing that he had come to a better mind, and enlarging on his special duty to a father who had won so much for his heirs to inherit.⁵ It must also have been during this

¹ Ord. Vit. 572 D, 573 A. Robert's penitence is strongly asserted.

² Ib. 573 A. "Gallos et Andegavenses cum Aquitanis et innumeris aliis in me terribiliter excivit. Omne genus humanum, si potuisset, contra me commovisset, et me vobiscum trucidasset."

³ Ib. B. "Legati Regis Francorum nobilesque vicini et amici." The last can hardly mean William's own subjects.

⁴ Ib. See above, p. 634.

⁵ Epp. Greg. VII. ap. Labbe, Conc. xii. 520; Jaffé, Mon. Greg. 420.

"Insper monemus et paterne precamur ut menti tue semper sit infixum quam forti manu, quam divulgata gloriā, quidquid pater tuus possideat ab ore inimicorum extraxerit [this was true of Normandy, no less than of England], sciens tamen se non in perpetuum vivere, sed ad hoc tam viriliter insistere ut heredi alicui [a discreetly vague phrase] sua dimitteret." Hubert was of course the letter-carrier between Gregory and Robert.

William
reconciled
to his son.

May 8,
1080.

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.

at time of reconciliation that Robert was sent on expedition against Malcolm of Scotland, of which we shall presently, and in which he did not, to say the least, win any special glory.¹ It was perhaps partly owing to William's disappointment at this further ill success that a dispute again broke out between father and son. Robert refused to follow his father or to obey him in any thing save remonstrances and repreaches on William's part, and Robert again went away into France with all his body of companions.²

From the rebellion of William's son we may turn to the marriages of his daughters. Constance, betrothed to Alan of Brittany soon after the flight of William from England, appears several years later in attendance upon her mother; in the end however she became Countess of the Bretons though she did not long survive her marriage.⁴ Some writers make her a model of every virtue; others hold her up to her husband under her influence, pushed him to justice to such extremes that the angry people of many conspired and took her off by poison.⁵ She d

MARRIAGE OF WILLIAM'S DAUGHTERS.

childless, and Alan married Hermengarde, the daughter of Fulk of Anjou and the divorced wife of William the Conqueror of Aquitaine.¹ Conan the son of Alan and Hermengarde renewed the connexion with William's house by a marriage with a natural daughter of Henry the First, and so generations later, through the chances of female succession the county of Britanny became the heritage of the son another Constance, that unhappy Arthur who has been often mistaken for the lawful heir of England.²

Another daughter, Adela, fills a higher place in history. She became the wife of Stephen Count of Blois and of Chartres, the son of the third Theobald. By him she was the mother of Stephen King of the English, and of another son of higher personal renown, Henry, the famous Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot and benefactor of Glastonbury and the friend of Thomas of London, the founder of the hospital of Saint Cross. As the wife of Count Stephen, Adela holds perhaps the highest place among the princesses of her generation.⁴ As the daughter of William, she perhaps concerns us more as being most probably the subject of a romantic tale which introduces us to the highly remarkable

justice like that of Tostig is quite consistent with the piety, charity, and zeal for the public good of which he goes on to speak. Benott (42) tells us,

“ Mult par ert sage e afnitée
E proz e large e enseignée.”

And directly after,

“ Kar trop ert bele, sage e pros.”

The continuator of William of Jumièges (viii. 34) records her marriage at her death without giving her any character.

¹ Ord. Vit. 544 C; Benott, 42121.

² See vol. i. p. 106.

³ See Willis, Glastonbury, p. 9.

⁴ Will. Malms. iii. 276. “Adala, Stephani Blesensis comitis uxor laudatae in seculo potentie virago, noviter apud Marcenniacum sacerdotialis habitum sumpsit.” She died in 1137, having lived to see her son become King. For a full picture of her life and character—in every way admirable—and for her correspondence with Saint Anselm and Hildebrand, Bishop of Le Mans, I must refer to her Life by Mrs. Green.

CHAP. XXI. son of a somewhat insignificant father. Ralph of Montdidier and of Valois, the stepfather, but not the friend, of King Philip,¹ was succeeded by Simon, his son by an earlier wife, Adela.² He, we are told, had been brought up at the court of William,³ and he inherited from his father a state of war with his neighbour and lord the King of the French. He was a devout man, who consulted Pope Gregory in all his doings, and whom the Pontiff entrusted to the special care of Hugh Bishop of Die.⁴ One of the points on which he consulted Gregory was because his conscience was smitten on finding that his father had died excommunicate, and that he was buried at Montdidier, a place to which he had no lawful right. At the Pontiff's bidding, Simon had the remains of his father moved from this unjust possession to the church of Crepy, where he might at least sleep in ground which was lawfully his own. In the process of the translation Simon looked upon the face of the corpse, and, horror-struck with the sight, he made up his mind to devote himself to God.⁵ For a while he was satisfied with living a pious life in the world, and presently his chief

He re-
moves the
body of his
father.

vassals pressed him to marry. He was married, or at least CHAP. XXI. betrothed, to Judith, the daughter of Hildebert, or rather Robert, Count of Auvergne; but he took the first opportunity to persuade his bride to leave him and enter religion.¹ Presently he is summoned to Normandy by William, who tells him that his daughter is sought in marriage by Alfonso of Spain and by Robert of Apulia. But he would rather give her to Simon, in memory of the days when he had been brought up in his court.² Simon pleaded the kindred between himself and Queen Matilda, and craved leave to consult the Pope about the matter. He at once went and made his monastic profession; the Count became a saint, and the fame of his holiness was spread throughout all Europe. He once more appears in connexion with the history of William, when he came to join his entreaties to those of the Norman nobles who strove to set Robert and his father at one again.³ Dying at Rome a few years later, he received the unwonted honour of being buried among the Popes, and his tomb was adorned with special gifts by the Queen whose daughter he had refused.⁴

Whatever faith we may put in this story, there is no doubt as to the marriage of Stephen and Adela. The

¹ Bouquet, xiv. 38. The tale is very strikingly told. The Life calls her the daughter of Hildebert, but the reigning Count of Auvergne was named Robert. See Bouquet's note, and *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, ii. 354.

² William is made to say (Alberic, 1076), "Nutrimentum meum quod in te, augmentari cupiens, neglectis nuntiis Regis Hispaniarum Effusai et Roberti principis Apuliæ, tibi filiam meam quam quærebam tradere in uxorem præselegi." The original Life is fuller, but to the same effect. This wooing on the part of Robert Wiscard seems rather apocryphal, but I believe it is just possible.

³ Bouquet, xiv. 40. "Anglorum Regem et Reginam, qui eum nutrierant, visendi gratiâ Normanniam usque properavit, illuquoque perveniens contra filium, Robertum nomine, Regem dimicantem invenit, qui utriuscom-
passus, pace reformatâ, pestilentiae malum a regione fugavit."

⁴ All this is given in full in the Life, and is copied by Alberic, but it is not found in Wibert.

CHAP. XXI. proposals of the Count of Chartres are said to have been made through Geoffrey of Chaumont, of whom we have made already heard as one of the adventurers from other lands through Geoffrey of who had followed William to the conquest of England.¹ Chaumont. The betrothal took place at Breteuil, and the marriage was celebrated at Chartres.² But it should be noticed that one version of the story of Simon brings before us Alleged betrothal of that daughter of William, whoever she was, who was William's daughter to Alfonso. I am inclined to think, was the same daughter who had been promised to Eadwine.³ I do not pretend to fix her name; it was forgotten while two of her sisters and the King her brother were still living.⁴ The story runs that the memory of her English lover still lived in her heart, that she prayed that she might never be joined to the Spaniard, that her prayer was heard, that she died on the journey, that her body was brought back and buried at Bayeux, and that, as one story adds, her knees were found to have grown hard by the frequency and length of her prayers.⁵

New Forest, the first of the victims which the ruined CHAP. XXI. homes and churches of Hampshire were to call for from the hearth of their destroyer.¹ And now a heavier stroke than all was to come upon the falling Conqueror. His wife, for whom in his youth he had so long waited and struggled, who had been for so many years the partner of his cares and counsels, but whose company he had of late so often had to sacrifice to the needs of his policy, had during these gloomy years for the first time withheld and disobeyed him, and now she was taken from him for ever. After a long sickness Queen Matilda died, and died, Death of as was to be looked for, a pious and edifying death. She Queen Matilda. was of course buried in her own church at Caen, where her November eldest daughter was already a professed nun and was one 3, 1083. day to be a renowned Abbess.² A tomb rich with gold Her tomb and gems marked Matilda's resting-place, and an epitaph and epitaph. of letters of gold, in the hexameters of the day, told of the splendour of her birth and of her second marriage, of her foundation of the church in which she lay, and of the bountiful hand with which she had ever given of her wealth to the wants of the poor and needy.³

The grief of William was deep and lasting. He was a mourner till the day of his death,⁴ and his gifts for the soul of his lost wife will be found recorded in the

¹ See above, p. 609.

² See above, p. 630.

³ See the epitaph in Orderic, 648 A. The verses most to her honour are,

"Hæc consolatrix inopum, pietatis amatrix,
Gazis dispersis pauper sibi, divis egenis."

Prior Godfrey (*Satirical Poets*, ii. 150) bears the same witness;

"Rex hostes bellando suos, tu pace tenebas,
Et tua pax bello constitutæ utilior.
Te sibi surreptam flebunt, regina Matildis
Morte tua lapsi dives inopque simul."

⁴ Will. Malms. iii. 273. "Lacrimis per multos dies ubertim prosecutus, amissæ caritatem desideraverit, quin et ex eo tempore, si credimus, ab omni voluptate defivit."

CHAP. XXI. great Survey.¹ But he had straightway to turn from his Revolt of domestic sorrow to grapple with another revolt, and to Hubert of Beaumont. see his arms undergo another check.² There were spirits 1083.

in the conquered land of Maine who could never bring themselves to submit to the Norman yoke. Chief among these was the Viscount Hubert, the lord of Beaumont and Fresnay, of the resistance of whose castles we heard in William's last Cenomannian campaign.³ Hubert had again offended the King, and the dispute grew till at last Hubert openly rebelled.⁴ He left Beaumont and Fresnay, and established himself in his hill fortress of Sainte-Susanne, planted on an inaccessible rock by the river Arne, a tributary of the Sarthe.⁵ Followers flocked to him, and from his fastness he spread havoc over those parts of the county which clave to their allegiance to William. The walled towns and the capital itself were harassed,⁶ and those who were entrusted with their defence sent urgent messages to their King, Duke, and Count to come to their rescue.

Hubert
defends
Sainte-
Susanne.
1083-1086.

But the days were gone when Domfront and Alençon,

William confined his plans to doing something to check CHAP. XXI.
the ravages of Hubert. For this purpose he built and garrisoned a counter-fortress in the neighbourhood.¹ The weightier affairs of Normandy and England called William away from the beleaguering of a single Cenomannian strong-hold,² or it may be that he was fain to leave to others an enterprise in which so little glory was likely to be won.

The chief command was given to William's promised son-in-law, Alan of Britanny, and the war was deemed important enough to call for the services of many of the chief men both of England and Normandy. We hear of the presence of William of Warren and of William Count of Evreux, of Richer of L'Aigle, of the Breton Hervey, who held a high command,³ but we hear of them only through their ill-luck. All were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. One man whose name is familiar to us seems to have been more fortunate. Robert of Oily was there, and his services in the war were such as to be rewarded by the King with a further grant of lands in Oxfordshire.⁴ In a war which was spread over three years the advantage seems to have been always on the side of Hubert. Warriors flocked to him from Burgundy, where he had a family connexion,⁵

¹ See vol. ii. p. 262 for the like at Brionne. The *ἴστρεῖχισμα* in this case is called "municipium."

² Ord. Vit. 648 D. "Pro magnis regni negotiis in Neustria rediit."

³ Ib. 649 D. "Herveus Brito, quem magistrum militum constituerat."

⁴ In Domesday, 158 b, it is said of Ludwell in Oxfordshire, "hanc dedit Rex W. Roberto apud obsidionem Sanctae Susanne." A much more mysterious Domesday entry may also be connected with this war. Certain lands of Oswald, a Thegn of Surrey (36 b), were said by Bishop Odo to be liable to a yearly payment either of two marks of gold or of two hawks—a singular alternative. It is added, "Et hoc per concessionem abbatis fratris Osuoldi, scilicet pro bello quod contra Gaufridum parvum facere debuit." I can throw no light on this forerunner of Sir Geoffrey Hudson, unless he has anything to do with one "Machiellus de Guitot filius Godefridi parvi" (Ord. Vit. 649 C), who was killed in this war. He was fighting on William's side, but his father may have been among the rebels.

⁵ Ord. Vit. 648 D.

The castle
not be-
sieged, but
a post in
the neigh-
bourhood
garrisoned.

Ill luck of
the Nor-
mans, com-
manded by
Alan of
Britanny.

Grant to
Robert of
Oily.

CHAP. XXI. from Aquitaine, and from other parts of Gaul. And we are told that, though the royal camp was better supplied with the signs of wealth and materials of luxury, the defenders of the rebel castle were fully the equal of the King's forces, not only in daring but in actual numbers.¹ Hubert and his comrades were enriched by the ransoms of the chief men of Normandy and England.² Not a few among them lost their lives. The end of Richer of L'Aigle is worth the telling. On a November day, a party of Normans were attacking the followers of Hubert. A beardless boy, hidden behind a thicket, struck Richer with an arrow beneath the eye. The comrades of the baron seized him and were about to put him to death, but the dying Richer gathered such strength as he had left to bid them for God's sake to spare him, for that his own sins deserved death. The boy was let go, and Richer having, for want of a priest, confessed his sins to his comrades, died before he could be carried back to William's fortress.³ A tale of generosity like this does something to relieve the weariness of this

Death of
Richer of
L'Aigle.

that all their attempts were vain and that their forces CHAP. XXI.
were daily lessening, laid the plain state of the case
before King William in England. Hubert was not to
be conquered; valour and luck were alike on his side.
They exhorted the King to make peace, and peace was Hubert
granted on the fullest terms. Hubert crossed over to ^{reconciled} to William.
England, he received the pardon of William for his past ^{1086.}
offences, he was confirmed in all his possessions and rights,
and remained ever after his faithful subject.¹

The war of Sainte-Susanne brings us very near to the last stage of William's life. But before we survey the great legislative acts of his latest years in England, one or two ecclesiastical events in Normandy may well be mentioned. The famous Bishop Hugh of Lisieux had died in the year which had been marked by the dedication of so many Norman churches.² A strange warfare was waged over his body between his canons and the nuns of a monastery of his rearing.³ His metropolitan, the austere Primate John, was smitten with a divine judgement for refusing befitting honours to his deceased suffragan;⁴ yet more far-seeing persons knew all the while that the soul of the deceased Bishop was in purgatory.⁵

Death of
Hugh
Bishop of
Lisieux.
July 17,
1077.

¹ The date seems to be marked by the war occupying the time between the death of Matilda in 1083 and the Survey in 1086. In Orderic, 649 D, the latter follows at once, introduced with "hī temporibus."

² See above, p. 427, and on Bishop Hugh, vol. iii. p. 118.

³ See the story in Orderic, 550 B, and for the Abbey of Saint Mary at Lisieux see Neustria Pia, 583. Each party claimed to bury him, and, unless their chronicler belies them, the strength of speech of the devout virgins carried them beyond the bounds of Latin or French; "Aeterna morte puniatur qui *soma patris nostri filiabus suis auferre conatur." William* heard both sides, "sed regalis censura fragiliori magis sexui compatitur."

⁴ See the story in Orderic, 550 B, C. The Archbishop was struck dumb, and remained so to the end of his days, so that he had to stand by while Hugh's successor was consecrated by Michael Bishop of Avranches.

⁵ So with Mainer, Abbot of Saint Evroul, according to the vision recorded by Orderic, 694 B, C.

CHAP. XXI. But the point of real importance is the choice of his successor, a choice in which William might seem not to have shown his usual care for spiritual things. Gilbert Maminot, who was now placed on the throne of Lisieux, was a man of eloquence and of varied worldly knowledge. He was skilled in the physical sciences, and especially in the art of medicine, and he made his church a centre of learning of this kind. He was bountiful and charitable, and did strict justice in all temporal matters. But to the spiritual care of his flock he took little heed; for the church and its services he had no love. Hunting, hawking, dice, worldly cares, studies, and amusements of all kinds, filled up his time. The historian hints that he might have said yet worse things of him, if he had not been withheld by his respect for one at whose hands he had himself received the order of subdeacon.¹

Character of his appointment. The choice of Gilbert Maminot for a great ecclesiastical office is worth notice. He was clearly a man by no means lacking in merit. He ought not to have been made a Bishop; but in an age when the Church monopolized

Lisieux, in the next great ecclesiastical office which CHAP. XXI. William bestowed he consulted the strictest ecclesiastical propriety. Two years after the death of Hugh of Lisieux, Death of the Primate died,¹ and William, as I have already mentioned,² at once offered the vacant post, the greatest spiritual preferment in his continental dominions, to Wimund of Saint Leutfred, the daring monk who had denounced his conquest and refused his offers in England. When Wimund, from the noblest motives, refused the offered promotion, William again sought for a man of real ecclesiastical merit. The successor of John, canonically elected, as we are told, was William, called the Good Soul, who had succeeded Lanfranc in the abbey of Saint Stephen, and who now ruled the church of Rouen for thirty-one years.³ His chief act was the holding of a council at Lillebonne in the second year of his primacy, in which, besides a great number of enactments of the usual kind, the Truce of God was once more solemnly ordained.⁴ Ecclesiastical censures are denounced against all breakers of the truce, and the secular power is called in to strengthen the hands of the Bishop.⁵

¹ Ord. Vit. 551 B. His epitaph is given, which does not mention his loss of speech, but does speak of his "lingua diserta."

² See above, p. 447.

³ Ord. Vit. 551 C; Chron. S. Steph. in anno.

⁴ See vol. ii. p. 232.

⁵ Ord. Vit. 552 A. "Pax Dei, quæ vulgo Trevia dicitur, sicut ipse Princeps Guillelmus eam in initio constituerat, firmiter teneatur, et per singulas parochias dictis excommunicationibus renovetur." The respective functions of the Bishop and the Viscount (Regis vicecomes) are then described. By another clause (553 D) penalties are denounced against priests who shall excommunicate any one without the licence of the Bishop, "præter treviæ Dei infractores et latrones." Fifteen years later, 1095, the Truce of God was confirmed by the higher authority of the Council of Clermont. Will. Malms. iv. 345; "Quod ab Adventu Domini usque ad octavas Epiphanie, et a Septuagesimâ usque ad octavas Paschæ, et a prima die Rogationum usque ad octavas Pentecostes, et a quartâ feriâ occidente sole omni tempore usque ad secundam feriam oriente sole trevia Dei custodiatur." We find an example of its observance under William Rufus in Orderic, 775 C.

CHAP. XXI. The need for the re-enactment of this ordinance, which is said to have been carefully observed in the more prosperous years of William's reign,¹ may well have been owing to the confusions which had begun to arise, now that William's power was defied by his own subjects.

§ 3. *The Affairs of the Scottish and Welsh Marches.*

1087—1081.

Comparative quiet of England. While the affairs of Normandy were in this confused state, and while the arms of William met with little but defeat, England remained comparatively quiet. For several years we hear nothing of the greater part of the country. In some years the Chronicles are an absolute blank. Quite towards the end of William's reign we shall come to a time of great legislative activity; but, for about six years after the death of Waltheof, the internal history of England consists of a single outbreak, for it hardly amounted to an insurrection, in the most northern earldom of England. Along the marches, Scottish and Welsh, the usual warfare went on.

This victory doubtless raised the strength and spirit of CHAP. XXI. Malcolm, and two years later he ventured on another inroad into England. He crossed the border in the August of the year in which William and Robert were fighting before Gerberoi. He harried all Northumberland as far as the Tyne, and went back after slaying many hundreds of men and carrying off great spoil in captives, money, and treasures of every kind.¹ The gentle influence of Margaret may have reformed the personal conduct and the internal government of Malcolm, but his neighbours of England reaped but little benefit from the change.

This new blow, like Malcolm's former inroad into England, was not at once avenged. William took no measures against the Scottish King until he was called on to chastise a domestic disturbance as well as a foreign invasion. The episcopate of Walcher of Durham is known to us in some detail. We have seen that there was a close friendship between him and Earl Waltheof,² and after the execution of the English Earl, the temporal care of the Northumbrian earldom was placed in the hands of its Lotharingian Bishop.³ His government was

¹ "Maechnectai mac Lulaigh ri Muireb." See Mr. E. W. Robertson, i. 139, without whose reference I should hardly have searched the Ulster Annals on such a point. On Lulach, see vol. ii. p. 365.

² Chron. Petrib. 1079. "On jisum gear com Melcolm cyng of Sootlande into Englelande betwyx jam twam Marian maessan mid mycylum fyrd, and gehergode Norþymbraland oð hit com to Tine, and ofaloh feala hund manna and ham hedde manige sceattas and gersuma and menn on heftninge." This is specially marked to be in the same year as Gerberoi. Florence is to the same effect; but curiously enough this entry is left out by Simeon, though this expedition is reckoned among the five attributed to Malcolm in the insertion under 1093.

³ See above, p. 524.

⁴ Sim. Dun. 1075 (Hinde, p. 98). "Waltheovus comes decapitatur. Post quem cura comitatus committitur Walchero episcopo." William of Malmesbury (Gest. Pont. 271) seems to have fancied that he was appointed Earl at an earlier time; "Superpositus est adhuc viventi [Egeluino] Walkerus, qui esset dux pariter provincie et episcopus, frenaretque rebellionem gentis gladio et formaret mores eloqui."

CHAP. XXI. hardly such as we should have looked for from a man chosen by William to rule a turbulent border province. He appears as amiable but weak, as one whose

Character of his government. chief fault, like that of Eli, to whom he is expressly likened, was that of not doing enough to chastise the excesses of those who acted in his name.¹ Himself a

Revival of monasticism in Northumberland. secular priest, he became the reviver of the monastic life in his diocese; and foreigner as he was, we find natives as well as strangers both enjoying and abusing his favour.

It was as a favourer of monks in a land where the religious life had wholly died out that his episcopate has left its most lasting memory. Since the great Danish invasion monks had been unknown north of the Humber; the old monasteries had fallen beneath the rage of the heathen, and, till Selby became the dwelling-place of the holy hermit of Auxerre,² they had found no successors.³ Of the fallen state of the once famous houses of Jarrow and Wearmouth we have already heard.⁴ But it now came into the hearts of certain monks in a distant shire, who

Three monks come from Winchcombe and

had read in Bæda how full Northumberland once was of

two brethren like-minded with himself, *Ælfwine* a deacon, ^{CHAP. XXI.} and *Regenfrith*, seemingly a lay brother.¹ The three set forth on foot, with an ass to carry their books and vestments. In this guise they reached York, and prayed the Sheriff of the shire, Hugh the son of Baldric,² to guide them to Monkchester, the future Newcastle.³ But as Monkchester in no way answered to its name, they were glad to accept the invitation of Bishop Walcher, who offered them the ruined monastery of Jarrow for their dwelling-place. There they patched up the dismantled church, and built a poor dwelling-place for themselves beneath its walls.⁴ The pious example spread; a few of the natives of Northumberland, and a larger number of proselytes from southern England, joined the humble brotherhood.⁵ The Bishop, marking their zeal and energy, gave them the lordship of Jarrow and other possessions, the revenues of which enabled them to build the tower and monastic buildings which are still there.⁶ It is to the lucky poverty of the house of Jarrow that we owe that *Bæda's* choir is still left to us.

But the flame, when once kindled, spread far more

¹ See the Durham History, iii. 21, and by the Northumbrian interpolator under 1074. *Regenfrith—Reinfridus*—is described as “ignarus litterarum.”

² See above, p. 569. The Sheriff is not mentioned in the Durham History.

³ See both our authorities, and Mr. Hinde's note, p. 94. The Durham History adds, “Locus, licet ad episcopatum Dunelmensem pertineat, juris tamen Northanhymbrorum comitis habetur.” In 1074 Waltheof was still living.

⁴ Hist. Eccl. Dun. iii. 21. “Culmen de lignis informibus et feno superponentes, divinae servitutis officia ibidem celebrare coeperunt. Factaque sub ipsa parietibus casula ubi dormirent et manducarent, religiosorum eleemosynis pauperem vitam sustentarentur.”

⁵ Ib. “Pauci de ipsa Northanhymbrorum provinciâ, plures vero de australibus Anglorum partibus.”

⁶ Ib. They were given when Walcher “eos ecclesiam ipsam reedificare et destructa monachorum habitacula videret velle restaurare,” “ut et operam perficere et sine indigentia ibi possent vivere.”

They re-
pair the
church of
Jarrow.

CHAP. XXI. widely. The restored house of Jarrow became the cradle Spread of and centre of a whole crowd of monastic foundations. monastic-
ism in Northum-
berland.

Founda-
tion of
Whitby.

[Hild,
Abbess of
Streones-
halh, died
680.]

Founda-
tion of
Saint
Mary's at
York,
1078 ?

Advent-
tures of
Turgot.

His escape
from Lin-
coln.
—209

Ælfwine remained in the dwelling-place of Bæda as Prior of the revived monastery. But Regenfrith, now, we may presume, no longer ignorant of letters, went forth as the reviver of the monastery of Whitby, once, under the older name of Streoneshalh, the holy house of Hild, the daughter of the Bretwalda Oswiu.¹ From Whitby sprang another famous house; under the care of Earl Alan, and under the government of its first Abbot Stephen, the church of Earl Siward at Galmanho² grew into the great abbey of Saint Mary without the walls of York.³ Ealdwine himself became the master of a more famous disciple. Thurgod, better known as Turgot, in after days Prior of Durham, Bishop of Saint Andrew's, and biographer of the holy Queen Margaret, was an Englishman of noble birth in the parts of Lindsey. Already, it would seem, a priest, he was given to William as one of the hostages for the obedience of his shire.⁴ Kept in ward in the castle of Lincoln, he escaped by dint of a bribe to his keepers,

and made his way to a Norwegian ship in the haven of CHAP. XXI. Grimsby. In that very ship certain ambassadors from King William to King Olaf of Norway¹ had already taken their passage. The hostage had been sought for in the ship by the King's officers, but the friendly Northmen kept him hidden till the ship had actually sailed. Then the hostage for whom such search had been made suddenly showed himself before the astonished eyes of the envoys. They called on the sailors to turn back again, that the King's fugitive might be delivered up to him. The Northmen refused, and William's ambassadors had to put up with the company of the man who was fleeing from William's prison. The English priest was His favour with Olaf of Norway. received in Norway with all honour, and the pious King Olaf took him as his master in divine things.² But the heart of Turgot was ever and anon stirred by calls to the monastic life. At last, enriched with the gifts of the friendly Norwegian King, he set sail to return to England. His ship was wrecked ; his treasures were lost ; he himself barely reached the shore of Northumberland with his life. He went to Durham, and told the Bishop of his wish to enter religion. Walcher entrusted him to the care of He joins Ealdwine. Ealdwine at Jarrow,³ and presently Ealdwine and Turgot set forth and dwelled at Melrose, within the dominions of Their Malcolm. Here they suffered persecution at the hands sojourn at Melrose. of the Scottish King, who is even said to have threatened them with death, because they refused to swear fealty to

¹ See above, p. 122. The ambassadors go in a merchant-ship ; "navem mercatoriam . . . in quâ navi etiam legati Willelmi Regis Norwegiam mittendi subvectionem sibi paraverant."

² Sim. Dun. 1075 (p. 95). "Auditio quod clericus de Anglia venisset, quod magnum tunc temporis videbatur, eum ad discendos psalmos quasi magistrum sibi exhibuit."

³ At this stage the account in the Durham History (iii. 22) comes in. Turgot appears without any account of him ; Walcher entrusts him to Ealdwine, and for a while "sub magisterio Aldwini clericus inter monachos degebat."

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.

At the bidding of Bishop Walcher they came. They were placed by him at Wearmouth, where, under the old church of Benedict Bishop, ruined in 794, Magdalen became again a place of Christian monastic devotion.

Thus the religious life once more took root and flourished in the most northern parts of England. But William himself thought of making the monastic system his own person, and of setting monks instead of clerks to be the immediate ministers of Saint Albans. He even began to raise monastic buildings in the cathedral church, from which the canons were yet absent. We know not whether he had schemes of the like sort with regard to a seat of canonry more recent, but hardly less venerable in the estimation of Englishmen than the church of Saint Cuthbert itself. William had made a gift to the Lotharingian King, Edgar's lordship of Waltham, in order that he might have a home in the neighbourhood of London when he was called on to amend the government of the realm.¹ The college went on undisturbed

himself is charged with taking possession of a portion of CHAP. XXI.
its lands.¹

But the ecclesiastical schemes of Walcher were all cut short by the fate which was brought upon him by the errors of his temporal government. Chief among his ^{Walcher's} ^{favourites,} Gilbert, a kinsman, and ^{Gilbert,} therefore doubtless a countryman, of his own, and his ^{Leobwine,} chaplain Leobwine, of whose descent or birth-place we ^{and others.} hear nothing.² Gilbert had the general care of the earldom under the Bishop;³ Leobwine too was trusted by him in affairs both ecclesiastical and temporal.⁴ A third evil counsellor was Leofwine, the Dean of Durham, of whose English birth there can be no doubt. Another ^{Ligulf and} ^{his family.} English friend of the Bishop was a man of another stamp. This was Ligulf, a Thegn of the noblest blood of North-humberland, who had married Ealdgyth, a daughter of Earl Ealdred and sister of Æthelflæd the mother of Earl Waltheof.⁵ By her he had two sons, Uhtred and Morkere,

confusion with those of William Rufus recorded in the chapter of *De Inventione* just quoted.

¹ This appears from the charter of Matilda the Queen of Henry the First, printed in Professor Stubbs' Appendix to *De Inventione*, pp. 53, 54, where she restores "illas duas hydas et dimidiam de Northlandâ, quas Walcherus episcopus invide de ecclesiâ abstulit."

² See Florence, 1080, where the tale is told at length; it is copied by Simeon with a few additions. The two accounts by William of Malmesbury, Gest. iii. 271 and Gest. Pont. 271, are to the same effect. The form "Leobwinus" should be noted, as it looks like a High-Dutch form of our own Leofwine, with which in some MSS. it gets confounded. See R. Howden, i. 135, Stubbs. The Durham History does not give the names of any of the offenders.

³ Fl. Wig. 1080. "Gilebertus, cui præsul, quia suus propinquus exstitit, comitatum Northymbrenium subregendum commiserat."

⁴ Ib. "In tantum exaltaverat ut et in episcopatu et in comitatu fere nil sine illius arbitrio agitaretur."

⁵ The family details come from Simeon; in Florence, "Liulfus"—a softer form than Simeon's "Ligulfus"—is only "nobilis generosusque minister." This Ealdgyth would be a niece of Ealdgyth the daughter of Uhtred and mother of Gospatrix. See p. 134. I trust to go more fully into these pedigrees in my fifth volume.

CHAP. XXI. the latter of whom, while still a child, had been placed by his cousin the Earl under the care of the monks of Jarrow, and the trust was accompanied by a gift of the church and lordship of Tynemouth.¹ Ligulf held, or had held, great estates, which the lack of a Bernician Domesday hinders us from tracing. But we are significantly told that, to escape the insults and violence of the Normans in the open country, he had taken up his abode

His favour with Wal-
cher. His favour in the city of Durham.² He was there admitted to the close friendship of the Bishop, and was consulted by him

Enmity of Leobwine. Enmity of in all matters touching his temporal government. The favour in which Ligulf was held aroused the envy of the chaplain Leobwine, who took every opportunity of thwarting and insulting him, even in the Bishop's presence. One day, at a Gemót held by the Bishop, the insolence of Leobwine provoked a harsher answer than usual from the insulted Thegen. The chaplain took counsel with Gilbert, and prayed his colleague to avenge him by

Ligulf murdered by Gilbert at the in- speedily putting Ligulf to death. Gilbert consented, and, at the head of a band of soldiers in the Bishop's service,

took shelter in the castle, and sent forth messengers to CHAP. XXXI. declare that he was himself guiltless of the blood of Ligulf, and that he was ready to make solemn oath to that effect.¹ On this assurance, the kinsfolk of the murdered man ex- A Gemót changed promises of peace² with the Bishop, and it was to be held. agreed that the whole matter should be brought before a general Gemót of the earldom. The place of meeting was fixed at Gateshead,³ a place on the south side of the Tyne, which the works of modern skill have well nigh joined on to the town of Newcastle on the opposite bank. But before the assembly met, men learned that the acts of the Bishop were not strictly in agreement to his words. He had received both Gilbert and Leobwine to their Walcher's former favour and former place in his household.⁴ Men now fully believed that it was really by the Bishop's own favours to the murderers. orders that Ligulf had been slain.

The assembly met, a gathering of the whole people of Northumberland, with the hereditary chiefs of the land at its head.⁵ One of them bore the name of Waltheof, a name which speaks his kindred with the ancient Earls. Another was Eadwulf, surnamed Rus, the son of Uhtred, the son of Gospatric, the son of that Earl Uhtred who, seventy-four years before, had delivered Durham from the Scots.⁶ The Gemót was held, according to ancient English

¹ Flor. Wig. 1080. "Se necis Liulfi concium non fuisse, quin potius ejus occidorem Gilebertum omnesque socios ipsius de Northymbriâ penitus ex-legasse, ac paratum fore semetipsum purgare secundum judicium pontificale." That is, by oath, neither by battle nor by ordeal.

² Ib. "Pace ad invicem data et accepta."

³ Ib. "In loco qui dicitur ad Caput Caprae." So the Durham History.

⁴ Ib. "Ut prius, in suam gratiam familiamque recepit."

⁵ At this point the Durham History joins us. The account there (iii. 23, 24) is written far more strongly in Walcher's interest than that of Florence. The Assembly is described as "qui ultra Tinam habitaverant universi natu majores [ha yldestan begnas] cum infinita totius populi multitudine in pessimum adunati consilium."

⁶ The name of Waltheof comes from the Durham History, that of Eadwulf from Simeon, 1072.

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.

ustom, in the open air. But the Bishop, fearing the vast and excited crowd, took his place in the church along with his chosen followers, the guilty men being among them. Between him and the people outside no messengers went to and fro.¹ This refusal to meet his foes face to face would no doubt do much to stir up the minds still more fiercely against him. Men had no time for the usual formalities and discussions. A cry was raised in the English tongue, seemingly from the mouth of Eadwulf, "Short rede, good rede, slay ye the Bishop." The slaughter began. All those outside the church were known to be the Bishop's friends were cut down, few alone escaping by flight. Walcher then bade his man Gilbert, who, as the actual murderer, was the most hateful of all, to go forth and by his death to pacify the wrath of the people. He went forth, a body of knights following in the hope of defending him, but all fell beneath the swords and javelins of the armed *gemót*, except two English Thegns whose kindred blood had bled for them.² The Dean Leofwine and other clerics also went forth. But they were slaughtered along with

weighing any respect for his English blood.¹ At last the *CHAP. XXI.* Bishop bade the first author of the whole evil, Leobwine himself, to go forth;² but he refused. The Bishop then himself went forth to the door of the church and pleaded for his life. The raging people refused to listen. The *Walcher killed.* Bishop, like Caesar, wrapped his face in his mantle and fell beneath the swords of his enemies; the actual death-blow, it is said, was dealt by the hand of Eadwulf.³ A fierce cry was now raised for Leobwine; but the guilty man still tarried. The church was now set on fire, and *The church burned and Leobwine killed.* presently Leobwine, already scorched by the flames, came forth. A thousand spears were ready to meet him, and the man who had plotted the death of Ligulf fell hewn in pieces by the countrymen of his victim. The slayers of the Bishop now hastened to Durham, in the hopes of slaying also those of his men whom he had left in the castle. But the works of Norman engineers were too *Vain attack on Durham Castle by the murderers.* strong for them; after a siege of four days they grew weary of the attempt, and were scattered abroad every man to his own home.⁴ Vengeance did not fail to light on them in this world and in the next. Eadwulf was *Fate of Waltheof and Eadwulf.* killed by a woman, perhaps his own wife;⁵ Waltheof was killed by his wife's brother; but, before he died, one had

¹ I follow the details in Florence; the account in the *Durham History* makes no one come out till the church is on fire. The Bishop's companions then come forth "humiliter, peccata sua confessi percepta benedictione." Walcher himself dies last, "pro januis pacem prætentio ramo offerens," says William of Malmesbury. The *Winchester Annalist* (1080) comments; "Ne solus decederet, sed haberet itineris comites, centum viros validos truncatis capitibus cum illo quo tendebat mittebant."

² *Flor. Wig.* 1080. "Intellexit illorum furem nullâ ratione iri mitigatum quivisse, nisi caput et auctor totius illius calamitatis occideretur Leobwinus."

³ *Sim. Dun.* 1072, p. 91. "Eadulfus . . . ducem se exhibuit eorum qui Walcherum episcopum occiderunt, ipseque dicitur suâ illum interfecisse manu."

⁴ *Hist. Eccl. Dun.* iii. 24.

⁵ *Sim. Dun.* 1072, p. 91. "Mox ipse a feminâ occisus."

CHAP. XXI. been raised from the dead to announce that a place in the lowest pit of hell was standing ready for him.¹

The murder of Walcher is one of those acts which it is alike impossible to wonder at and to justify. The Bishop, himself most likely guilty of nothing worse than culpable weakness, had stirred up the passions of the whole country against him, and his life was the forfeit.² But the blood of a Bishop, in whatever cause it might be shed, was always sacred, and Walcher, without being canonized, was looked upon as a kind of martyr. His body was carried to Durham by the pious care of the monks of Jarrow, and was hurriedly buried in the chapter-house.³ But it was not enough that the memory of Walcher should be reverenced ; his blood had to be avenged. His death was an act which no government could pass over, but it was eminently a case for smiting the leaders and sparing the commons. But William entrusted the punishment of the rebellious district to his brother Odo, and the Bishop took, if not a heavier, at least a meaner, vengeance than the King himself would

Burial of
Walcher.

Odo sent
to North-
umber-
land.

have taken. The land, already so often harried, was harried yet again as a punishment for the slaughter of its pastor.

Men who had had no share in the disturbance were mutilated, and even, contrary to William's own invariable rule, beheaded. Others redeemed their lives from false charges by the payment of money.¹ These were doubtless the deeds of the Earl of Kent, who went away after leaving a guard in the castle. But meanwhile the Bishop of Bayeux had cast a longing eye on the treasures of Saint Cuthberht, and he carried off a pastoral staff of rare workmanship and material, for it was wrought of sapphire.²

Having thus chastised the Northumbrians, William deemed it time to chastise Malcolm of Scotland also. In the autumn the King's eldest son Robert, now for a moment reconciled to his father,³ was sent against Scotland with an army, in which were many of the great men of 1080. the realm, and among others Abbot Adelelm of Abingdon. No battle was fought, but, according to one story, Malcolm met Robert somewhere in Lothian, renewed his homage, and again gave hostages.⁴ This story may perhaps be a confused repetition of the scene between Malcolm and William at Abernethy. It seems certain that Robert reaped no special glory in his Scottish expedition. His

¹ Hist. Eccl. Dun. iii. 24. "Dum mortem episcopi ulciscerentur, terram pene totam in solitudinem redegerunt." Florence and after him the Interpolator speaks to the same effect. The Durham History calls the persons killed and mutilated "miseros indigenas, qui suā confisi innocentia domi resederant."

² Ib. "Baculum pastoralem materia et arte mirandum, erat enim de sapphiro factus."

³ See above, p. 645.

⁴ Hist. Ab. ii. 9. "Rex filium suum Robertum majorem natu Scotiam suā vice transmisit, cum quo et plures Anglie primates, quorum unus abbas Athelelmus fuit, præcipiens eis pacem armave offerre; pacem si obtemperantia sibi spendeatur; sin aliter, arma. Verum Rex ille Lodonis occurrente cum suis, pacisci potius quam præliari delegit. Proinde ut regio Anglie principatus Scottie subactus foret obides tribuit." On this passage see Mr. E. W. Robertson, i. 143, ii. 481; and Appendix W.

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.

March was chiefly memorable from the fact that as he lay back he stopped at the place which had hitherto been Monkechester, and there, opposite to the scene of Walcher's murder, laid the foundation of a fortress to guard the stream and curb the turbulent people. From that time it was rebuilt in the next age with all the improvements of Norman art, the momentary dwelling of Ealdwine took the name which it has ever since retained, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.¹

On the death of Walcher the spiritual and temporal administration of Northumberland were again separated. The earldom was first given to a certain Alberic or Aleric, of whom little is known. He was found unfit for so important a post; he either resigned it or was removed from it, and went back into Normandy.² His name appears in the Domesday Survey as a past but not as a present owner, which may well need not imply more than the necessary loss of lands attached to the earldom.³ It would seem that William then once more tried the temporal government of the Bishopric of Durham, but a Bishop of a very different class from the simple Walcher. The Bishop of Coutances, Geoffroy de Iowbray, who had smitten the men of Somerset,

Dorset before Montacute, was sent to curb the men of Northumberland.¹ He, after a while, resigned his thank-less office to his nephew Robert of Mowbray, a proud, stern, and gloomy man, who inherited the temporal possessions of his uncle.² In the next reign he forfeited his honours by rebellion, and the Northumbrian earldom came under the immediate government of the Crown.³

The vacant bishoprick William bestowed on a namesake William of Saint Carilef Bayeux, had become a monk and Prior in the monastery of Saint Carilef, now Saint Calais, in the diocese and county of Maine.⁴ He was consecrated during the Christmas Feast, and he plays a great part in this reign and in the next, as a benefactor and reformer of his own church, as a rebel against William Rufus, and as one of the worldly prelates who joined in his persecution against the holy Anselm. To him we owe the beginning of that mighty pile which supplanted the church of Ealdhun, and whose building forms one of the great landmarks in the history of architecture.⁵ His buildings however were not begun

¹ So Dugdale (Baronage, 56) infers from the account of the foundation of Saint Mary's at York, Mon. Angl. iii. 546, where we read of "Godefridus Constantiensis episcopus, qui eo quoque tempore Northanhumbrorum consulatum regebat." The date 1088 does not agree, as Robert of Mowbray was certainly Earl in that year. But is it not more likely that there is a confusion as to the date, than that Geoffrey should have acted as deputy to his nephew, as Mr. Hinde (p. 92) suggests?

² See the graphic description given of him by Orderic, 703 B.

³ Sim. Dun. 1072, p. 93. "Eo capto Rex junior Willelmus, hodieque Rex Henricus Northymbriam in sua tenet manu."

⁴ Hist. Eccl. Dun. iv. 1; Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 272. He was consecrated at Gloucester by Archbiishop Thomas. Sim. Dun. 1080, p. 101. The local historian gives him an admirable character; William of Malmesbury is less favourable. He was "potens in seculo et oris volubilitate promptus, maxime sub Willelmo Rege juniore." Eadmer (Hist. Nov. i. 384) is naturally yet stronger; with him the Bishop is "homo lingue volubilitate facetus quam pura sapientia preditus."

⁵ Of the importance of Durham in this point of view I shall have to speak in my fifth volume. On William's works, see Hist. Eccl. Dun. iv. 8, and the following tract on the Bishops of Durham, X Scriptt. 61.

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.

ll after the death of the Conqueror; but while ill lived he carried out the great ecclesiastical ch s church which Walcher had only designed. dding of King William and Queen Matilda, illiam crossed the Alps to consult Pope Gregory fairs of the church of Durham. It was decreed t mons¹ should give way to monks, and, as the revi see were not enough to support three monasterie houses of Jarrow and Wearmouth, lately four episcopal lands, should be merged in the new c ionastery.² The scheme was carried out; the m ne two monasteries were removed to Durham, and ad Wearmouth sank into cells.³ Bishop William eling against employing Englishmen in the highe astical offices in his gift. Ealdwine became the fir f the new monastery, and he was succeeded in his c urgot. Another Englishman of the name of L as the Bishop's secretary.⁴ The lands of the mon owo separated from those of the Bishop,⁵ and th riory of Durham began and flourished.⁶ The canc

the choice of resignation or making the monastic profession. CHAP. XXI.
 All departed save the Dean, who was hardly persuaded by his son, already a monk, to become one of the new body.¹ Everything shows how stoutly the English clergy, collegiate as well as parochial, clave to their separate married households.

Lastly, we must turn our eyes to the Welsh border. It Affairs of Wales would be vain to try to describe the endless civil wars within Wales itself, or to reckon up all the momentary princes of the various rival dynasties. Some of them, as we have seen, did not scruple to call in Norman or English allies against each other, but such alliances were commonly short-lived. Caradoc the son of Gruffydd had been allied with William Fitz-Osbern against Mere-dydd the son of Owen. Another Meredydd enjoyed the favour of both Williams, King and Earl, and received lands in Herefordshire which had belonged to Earl Harold and other English men. And at the time of the Survey those lands were held, not indeed by Meredydd himself, but by his son Gruffydd.² The most powerful prince in Wales during these years seems to have been Trahaern the son of Caradoc—not the Caradoc of whom we have so often heard—who is said to have avenged the blood of Bleddyn on Rhys of South Wales. Trahaern was himself killed in a battle with Rhys the son His death. 1079.

¹ Hist. Ecol. Dun. iv. 3. We read of the canons, “Illi de ecclesiis exire quam taliter ingredi maluerunt.”

² See the lands of “Grifin filius Mariadoc” in Domesday, 187 b. In one entry we read, “Comes W. dedit Mariadoc Regi,” and in another, “Rex W. condonavit geldum Regi Mariadoc et postea filio ejus.” I conceive that this is Meredydd the son of Bleddyn, who is mentioned in the Brut y Tywysogion, 1100, and his son Gruffydd in 1113, p. 140. But, if so, Meredydd was not dead at the time of the Survey; he must therefore have given some offence and lost his lands, though they were kept by his son. Another Gruffydd, or the same, appears in 180 b as “Grifin puer,” and a Madoc in 187 b.

CHAP. XXI. of Tewdwr the son of the slain Rhys.¹ And we might almost infer from the Welsh writers that it was this event which in some way led to the presence of William William in himself in Wales. They tell us that in the same year Wales. 1081.

His conquests. William the Bastard, King of the Saxons, French, and Britons, made his way to the shrine of Saint David, as they would have us believe, as a peaceful pilgrim.² The date must be wrong, for in the year of Gerberoi William was otherwise employed. But the English Chroniclers place two years later a great expedition of William himself into Wales, in which he freed many hundred men—captives no doubt carried off in the inroads of the Britons—and other writers speak of his subduing the country.³ Something no doubt was done towards that end by the foundation of the castle of Cardiff, a foundation through which the immediate dominion of William was carried from the Usk to the Taff, and the beginnings were made of that

Foundation of
Cardiff
Castle,
1080?

¹ See Ann. Camb. 1073, 1076, 1079; Brut y Tywysogion, under the same year; Williams, Hist. of Wales, 185, 186. It should be noticed that Trahaern had Scottish, or more likely Irish, allies.

great occupation of South Wales which went on so vigorously during the next reign.¹ Yet though a pilgrimage to Saint David's was certainly not William's only motive in entering Wales, we can well believe that he made his way to the distant home of the British saint, and made his offering at the shrine of Saint David, perhaps with more boldness than he had shown at the shrine of Saint Aethelthryth.² The great British see has not come under our notice since it was wasted by Eadric seventy years before the visit of William.³ Since then it had suffered a series of misfortunes; it had been more than once sacked by heathen invaders; one invasion, in which the Bishop Abraham was killed, happened only a short time before William's own coming.⁴ In the next generation, the Norman conquest of South Wales at least secured the church of Saint David's from enemies of this kind, but the British Church now lost its last trace of independence, and the succession of Norman Bishops of Saint David's begins.

William's pilgrimage to Saint David's.
History of Saint David's.

1011.

Ravages of pirates.
1078.

Bernard, first Norman Bishop.
1115.

§ 4. *The later legislation of William.*

1082—1086.

We are now drawing near the end of William's reign. In its latest years English affairs again received that share of heed at his hands which they had in some measure lost since the death of Waltheof. The continuous history of England during these years begins with a great act of justice on the part of William. The pride and oppression of Odo, Bishop and Earl, had grown to such a height that William's policy and his better nature both led him to put a stop to them. The special atrocities which had distin-

¹ Brut y Tywysogion, 1080. ² See above, p. 478. ³ See vol. i. p. 348.

⁴ Ann. Camb. 1078. "Menevia a gentilibus vastata est, et Abraham a gentilibus occiditur."

CHAP. XXI. guished Odo's chastisement of Northumberland, the extortion of bribes from innocent men, the wholesale execution of men whether innocent or guilty, were deeds such as William in his worst moments had never yet either done

He aspires to the Papacy. or approved. And now a fit of ambition of a still wilder kind seized on the mind of Odo. It was a small matter to

rule England and Normandy, when, at least in his dreams, the lordship of the whole world offered itself to him.¹ A soothsayer had prophesied that the successor of Hildebrand on the papal throne should bear the name of Odo or 'Otto.'² So, some ages later, a prediction of the same kind foretold that the successor of Leo the Tenth should bear the name of Hadrian. In both cases a vain ambition was roused in the breast of a prelate who had in one way or another a footing in England, and in both cases the prediction was

Hadrian de Castello fulfilled in the person of another. Hadrian de Castello deprived of sought the death of Pope Leo in order to vacate the throne the see of Bath and Wells.

1518.

Hadrian the Sixth conspired the death of Gregory the Seventh, but it seems certain

that he took measures during Gregory's life to secure his

head of something very like an army. Many of the Normans CHAP. XXI.
both in England and in Normandy, among them the Earl expedition
to Italy.
of Chester himself, were ready to plight their faith to him 1082.
and to follow his fortunes.¹ Odo was just on the point of Complicity
of Earl
setting sail for Normandy with a great array, with a view Hugh.
to his further journey southwards. But his schemes by no
means fell in with the views of his King and brother.
William, who was in Normandy at the time, at once set William
sail for England, and suddenly met Odo in the Isle of meets Odo
in Wight.
Wight.² He there gathered together a meeting of the
great men of the realm, so many, we may suppose, as could
be got together at a moment's notice.³ Before them He accuses
William made his complaint against his brother. Before
him before
the Assem-
bly.
1082.
he crossed the sea, he had entrusted the government of
England to the care of Odo.⁴ The troubles of his continental
dominions, the revolt of Maine, the revolt of his son, had

as it has sometimes been since! The "senatores Quiritum" are certainly the Cardinals. The Hyde writer (296) is eloquent on the splendour of Odo's palace. Wace (14310-14321) seems to have fancied that Odo's object was to secure the crown of England after William.

¹ Ord. Vit. 646 D. "Illi, quia Normanni leves et extera videre cupidi sunt, protinus presumptori episcopo, cui principatus Albionis et Neustriae non sufficiebat, assenserunt. Ingentes quoque fundos quos in occiduis climatibus possidebant deserere decreverunt ac ut prefato praesuli trans Padum comitarentur per fidem spoponderunt."

² Ib. 647 A.

³ Ib. "Congregatis in aula regali primoribus regni." If by these words we are to understand an "aula regalis" in Wight itself, we can hardly place it anywhere but at Carisbrooke. There must have been some royal dwelling-place in Wight, as William stayed there some time in 1086 (see p. 694), and Carisbrooke is most likely intended by the entry in Domesday (52 b) about a castle at Alwinestone. See Ellis, i. 213.

⁴ Ib. "Ante quam transfretasse in Normanniam regimen Anglie fratri meo Baiocensi episcopo commendaveram." The Chronicler (1087) says to the same effect, "He hæfde eorlom on Englelande, and bonne se cyng wæs on Normandige, þonne wæs he mægste on þisum lande." This I suppose refers to a commission later than that of Lanfranc at the time of Ralph's rebellion, though William of Malmesbury (iii. 277) says, "Ille totius Anglie vice dominus sub Rege fuit post necem Willelmi filii Osbernii."

CHAP. XXI. occupied his own attention, while Odo ruled in his name in England. That rule had been a rule of oppression to all ; Odo had shown himself a tyrant to the whole realm. He had oppressed the poor, he had spoiled the Church, a thing which specially grieved William's heart when he thought of all the good and pious Kings who had gone before him, and who had enriched the churches of England for purposes far other than those to which their wealth was applied by Odo.¹ Lastly, he had persuaded William's knights, who were needed at home for the defence of the realm against the Danes and the Irish, to leave their duty and follow him beyond the Alps on vain schemes of winning dominion for himself.² How, William asked of his barons, ought he to deal with such a brother as this ?

The Assembly remained silent. None dared to pronounce sentence on such a criminal. Then the King himself spoke again. When one man, he said, disturbs the common weal of the whole land, he should not be spared out of any personal favour. He bade his barons seize Odo and put him in ward. But there was no man there who dared to lay

not seize the Bishop of Bayeux, but I do seize the Earl of Kent.¹ I seize my Earl whom I set over my kingdom, and I demand of him an account of the stewardship which I committed to him.”¹ While the protests of the Bishop of Bayeux were thus unheeded, the Earl of Kent was carried off to Normandy and was kept in ward in the castle of Rouen.² His imprisonment was heard of with great indignation by the Pontiff whom he had hoped to succeed. Gregory, in his private correspondence with Hugh Archbishop of Lyons, used very strong language indeed as to the insolence which the King of the English showed—certainly not for the first time—in putting a priest in prison. To William himself he used milder language, but he had nothing to urge in Odo’s favour beyond the stock passages of Scripture which were held to forbid the laying of profane hands upon the Lord’s anointed.³ But William was not to be moved, and Odo

¹ I translate Orderic. The same story is told by William of Malmesbury (iii. 277), and in another place (iv. 306) he attributes the distinction to the prompting of Lanfranc. He is followed by Roger of Wendover, ii. 321.

The same distinction was drawn when Roger Bishop of Salisbury was seized in the time of Stephen. Will. Malms. Hist. Nov. ii. 24. “Rogerius itaque captus sit, non ut episcopus, sed ut regis serviens, qui et procurations ejus administraret et solidatas acciperet.” So Gesta Stephani (48); and we hear of the subtlety again when the Chancellor Bishop of Ely seized the Bishop of Durham in 1190. Ric. Div. p. 13.

² Ord. Vit. 647 C; Ann. Win. 1082. “Fiscatis omnibus que habuerat in carcere trusit, ubi, si voluit, delicta sua deplevit.” Cf. Domesday, 375. “Ipsæ [Odo] habebat ad die quæ fuit captus, et postea fuit discessus.” This does not imply any general confiscation. See Ellis, i. 5. William of Malmesbury (iii. 277) has a wonderful story about the treasures of Odo hidden in bags at the bottom of rivers, which seems to come from the same mint as the kindred legends about Stigand. The Evesham writer (97) looks on the imprisonment of Odo, which he describes as being of the harshest kind, and, with strange forgetfulness of later events, as lasting for the whole of Odo’s life (“rex Willielmus, contra fratrem nefandum nimium commotus, fecit eum durissimis vinculis ferreis alligari et usque ad diem obitus sui in arcta custodia teneri”), as a punishment for the sins of the Bishop of Bayeux against the church of Evesham.

³ Ep. Greg. Jaffé, 570. “Ad notitiam tuam pervenisse non dubitamus,

CHAP. XXI. abode in prison till William's general release of his prisoners on his death-bed.

Famine of 1082. The year of Odo's arrest is marked in the English Chronicles as a year of mickle hunger.¹ Next year came the disturbance between Thurstan and his monks at Glastonbury, and the death of Queen Matilda. But the same year or the next saw the beginning of a series of acts touching the internal government of England, acts which were of the highest moment both then and afterwards. These I shall here record simply as events, keeping the discussion of their working and their lasting consequences till we come to consider the last portion of our subject, the results of the Norman Conquest. We first hear of one of those heavy direct impositions in money which were so specially irksome to the minds of our forefathers. The King laid a tax—a Danegeld—of seventy-two pennies on every hide of land in the kingdom.² The consequences of this taxation showed themselves somewhat later; what we next hear of were measures of which the cause, or at least the occasion,

Tax laid
on at
Midwinter,
1083-1084.

Legisla-
tion of
1083-1086.

1083.

England was now again threatened by the rival power of CHAP. XXI. Denmark. The wise King Swegen had now been dead for State of Denmark. His immediate successor was his son Harold, Death of of whom we have already heard as the fellow-soldier of Swegen Estrithsson. Waltheof when York and Northumberland were for a 1076. moment rescued from William's sway. Of this prince the Reign of characters given by Danish writers are somewhat contra- Harold Hein. dictory. In some accounts he appears as slothful and 1076-1080. contemptible, while in others he bears the character of a wise and beneficent lawgiver.¹ But, whatever was the character of his reign in Denmark, it had no importance as regards England. The reign of his brother and successor, Reign of Saint Cnut. Cnut, the saint and martyr, was of quite another kind. 1080-1086. The conquest or deliverance of England was one of his great objects. He had himself taken part in two English His former expeditions to England. 1069, 1075. expeditions. Besides that in which he shared with his brother Harold, he had also borne his part in that vain raid on York which had been stirred up by Ralph of Norfolk in the year of his revolt.² His ill success on those occasions rankled in his mind;³ his marriage with Adela of Flanders⁴ brought him into close alliance with the bitterest continental enemy of William, and he was further called on to undertake the enterprise by Englishmen who He is sought his court, and prayed him to come and deliver a brought on by kindred people from the bondage in which they were held English exiles. by men of Roman speech.⁵ At last his mind was made

¹ On Saint Cnut and all that belongs to him the fullest account is to be found in his Life by Æthelnoth, Langebek, iii. 325. On Harold's legislation, see c. iv. p. 341, and Saxo, 214. See also Swegen Aggeson, Langebek, i. 56, who sums up his character; "Haraldus, quem ob benicitatis mollietiam Cotem [Hein] cognominabant, successit in regno. Hic primus leges Danis in regiae electionis loco, jam dicto, prescripsit atque rogavit."

² See above, p. 584.

³ Will. Malms. iii. 261. "Veteris repulsa memor."

⁴ See above, p. 585.

⁵ The language of Æthelnoth, c. xi. (iii. 346), is very remarkable; "An-glorum gens nobilissima . . . Haraldo Rege fortissimo a Willelmo, Australium

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.

he would go forth with all the might of Denmark, a
e to avenge the blood of his kinsmen who had died of
læc and to assert his own rights as the successor of his
at namesake. The undertaking was planned on a great
e; a thousand Danish ships are said to have been
hered together in the Limfjord, the inlet which in late
es has become a strait, and has thus made the
thern part of Jütland an island. Six hundred ships
e sent or promised by Cnut's father-in-law, the
nt of Flanders.¹ Olaf Kyrre too, the pious and
eeful King of Norway, was stirred up to bear his
t in a work for which a son of Harold Hardrada might
n to have a special call. Olaf however declined to go
person. He had not Cnut's skill or experience in war
e, nor had the princes of his house found the same luck
their English expeditions as the princes of the house of
ut. But, though he would not go himself, he gladly
t sixty ships to take a share in the enterprise under the
mand of the Danish King.²

England, or at least her King, was thus threatened by a
hostile fleet sent forth from a Northern harbor since

were leagued together to take away the crown from the head of William. The King who was thus threatened was now in Normandy, engaged in a petty warfare against his vassal at Sainte-Susanne.¹ He had better luck in his dealings with the more powerful enemy. William acted with the speed and energy with which he knew how to act whenever speed and energy best served his purposes. He crossed over to England at the head of a vast host of soldiers of all kinds of arms, but among whom native Normans seem to have formed the smallest portion. The more part were mercenaries hired from France and Britanny; the days were gone when William could hope to win battles by the help of Norman, and even of English, valour. But among those mercenaries a brother of the King of the French himself, Hugh, surnamed the Great, did not disdain to serve.² These hirelings, brought into England like the Brabançons of the thirteenth century and the Italians of the sixteenth, formed a host both of horse and foot such as had never before sought this land, and men wondered how the land might feed them all.³ They were quartered on all

¹ See above, p. 652.

² Will. Malms. iii. 262.

³ Chron. Petrib. 1085. "He ferde into Englalande mid swa mycclan here ridendra manna and gangendra of Francrice and of Brytlande, swa næfre ær jis land ne gesocht, swa þet menn wundredon hu jis land mihte eall þone here afedan." Cf. Hist. Ab. ii. 11. Æthelnoth also (c. xii., iii. 349) mentions the mercenaries with other details of William's preparations; "Willelmus, arte tuitionis, utpote bellicosus heros, non imperitus, castra et oppida munire, muri et fossæ cum propugnaculis castella circumcingere, urbium muros renovare et eis vigilantium adhibere, diversoque ad portus nauticas custodias deputare, exercitu vero conducto, tam a Gallis et Brittonibus quam a Cenomannis aggregato, ita urbium sedes replebantur ut vix suis domestici focis assidere viderentur." He adds, "Anglis autem, quibus non minimi desiderii Danici exercitus adventum didicerant, barbas radere, arma et exuvias ad instar Romanorum coaptare et, ad deludendum adventantium visus, per omnia Francigenis, quos et Romanos dici præstulimus, assimilare præcepit, quod parpauci fecere." "Barbas" must at least be translated "whiskers" in the elder sense. This story appears again in two passages of Matthew Paris in the *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 42 (cf. the passage

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.

King's vassals, spiritual and temporal, each man having had a certain number of the mercenaries according to the richness of his estate.¹ That year, the Chronicler tells us, had great pain and sorrow, for the King caused all the along the sea coast to be laid waste, that, if his foe up against him, he might find neither food nor help in the wilderness.² Such was the ruthless policy of Eng-
s Conqueror, a contrast indeed to the generous heart of his defender, who was ready to risk his life and kingship rather than lay waste a rood of English ground.³ At the storm soon passed away. Discontents and dissensions arose in the Danish fleet, discontents which were heightened when Cnut sent the ringleader of the disaffected, his own brother Olaf, as a prisoner to his father-in-law in Flanders.⁴ In the course of the next year Cnut died by the hands of his own subjects in the church of Odensee.⁵ He was

¹ in Appendix KK). With a grand contempt of fact and chronology add, "Conculcabantur spreti et derisi nobiles Angli, jugum servitutis a re Bruti nescientes, et more Normannorum barbas radere, cincinnos e cogebantur." The other passage in the *Historia Anglorum*, i. 11,

canonized by the Church, and his name was patriarchally ^{CHAP. XXI.} lengthened by papal authority.¹ But, before the former ^{July 10,} ^{1086.} year was out, William knew that the main danger had passed away. Part of his mercenaries he kept in England ^{William sends back part of the mercenaries.} through the winter, but part he let go to their own homes, and he kept the Midwinter Feast at Gloucester in peace.² ^{1085-1086.}

The Midwinter Assembly of that year was one of the most memorable in our history, and we have a more minute record of its acts than we can often recover of the acts of these ancient Parliaments. The King first held his court for five days with his Witan, discharging no doubt the formal and the judicial business of the occasion. Then, ^{Midwinter Gemót of Gloucester.} according to the new custom of separating ecclesiastical and temporal assemblies, the Archbishop and his clergy held their Synod for three days.³ It was in this Synod ^{Ulfcytel of Crowland} that Ulfcytel, the Abbot of Crowland, was deposed; and it ^{Crowland} was doubtless now that Ingulf, whose name has become so enveloped in legend that it is hard to think of him as a real actor in real scenes, received the pastoral staff from King William.⁴ Three Bishops were now ^{Election of Bishops.} chosen, of all of whom we have already heard, Maurice of London, William of Thetford, and Robert of Chester, soon to be of Coventry. All, it is significantly added, were the King's clerks.⁵ After this came the great legislative work of the Assembly. The King "The King had mickle thought and very deep speech with ^{and his} Witan."

¹ See vol. i. p. 399.

² Chron. Petrib. 1085. "Ac ja se cyng geaxode to soðan þeot his feond gelætten waron, and ne mihten na geforðian heora fare, ja lett he sum jone here faren to heora agene lande, and sum he heold on þisum lande ofer winter."

³ Ib. "Da to þam midwintre wæs se cyng on Gleawecasteare mid his witan, and heold þær his hired v. dagas and siððan þe arcebiscop and gehadode men hæfden sinoð þreo dagas." See above, p. 388.

⁴ See above, p. 598.

⁵ See above, p. 389. The Chronicler gives their names and sees, and adds, "hi weron calle þees cynges clerecas." On these Prelates, see above, pp. 371, 417, 420.

CHAP. XXI. his Witan." The main subject of that mickle thought and deep speech was "about this land, how it was set and by what men."¹ Many things would join together at this time to make William seek for a more full and accurate

The Great Survey ordered.

report of the state of his kingdom than either he or any other prince of his time had ever before thought of asking for. It had perhaps been found no easy matter to levy fairly and accurately the Denegeld of seventy-two pennies on each hide of land. And the threatened invasion from Denmark, the immediate fear of which had passed away but which might easily come again, might well make William anxious fully to know what were the real resources, military and material, of his kingdom. It was to this end that the thought and speech of William and his counsellors were directed, and the result was Domesday.

DOMESDAY. : The great record, the work of our foreign King, stands as a national possession side by side with the contemporary Chronicle in our native tongue. Each is unique in its own character and value. No other nation has such materials to draw upon for its history. Of the nature of the record itself, of the light

it was done was very different in different parts of the country. It would therefore seem that the kingdom was divided into districts, and that different Commissioners were sent to each. In the case of some of the midland shires the names of the Commissioners have been preserved. Those who took the Survey in Worcestershire were four in number, and three of them are already well known to us. We no longer find among them the names of even renegade Englishmen, as in the earlier commission for the redemption of lands.¹ The four were Remigius Bishop of Lincoln, Story of Bishop Remigius. who had, it is said, once lost the King's favour, but had now won it back again,² the aged Walter Giffard, Henry of Ferrers, lord of Tutbury and of Fifeshire, and Adam, one of the sons of Hubert of Rye and brother of the *Dapifer* Eudo of Colchester.³ In each shire the commissioners made their inquiry by the oaths of the Sheriff, ^{Mode of the inquiry.} the parish priests, the reeves, and the men generally, French and English, of each lordship. They were to report who had held the land in the time of King Edward and who held it then; what had been its value in the time of King Edward and what was its value then; and—no unimportant matter in William's eyes—whether

other alleged dates, which are manifestly wrong, are collected by Ellis, i. 4.

¹ See above, p. 25.

² He was once charged with treason, but one of his servants, doubtless an Englishman, proved his lord's innocence by the ordeal of hot iron. Hen. Hunt. 213.

³ See the record from Heming's Worcester Cartulary in Ellis, i. 20; "Hoc testimonium totius vicecomitatus Wireceastre, dato sacramento juris-jurandi, firmavit, exhortante et ad id laborante piissimo et prudentissimo patre Domino Wulstano episcopo, tempore Regis Willelmi senioris, coram principibus ejusdem Regis, Remigio scilicet Lincolniensi episcopo et comite Walterio Giffardo et Henrico de Fereris et Adam fratre Eudonie dapiferi Regis, qui ad inquirendas et describendas possessiones et consuetudines, tam Regis quam principum suorum, in hac provinciâ et in pluribus aliis ab ipso Rege destinati sunt eo tempore quo totam Angliam idem Rex describi fecit."

CHAP. XXI. its value could in any way be raised.¹ These details we Popular feeling at the time. learn from official records. The national Chronicler lets us know how the popular feeling at the time looked upon such an inquiry.

"He sent over all England into ilk shire his men, and let them find out how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what the King himself had of land or cattle in the land, or whilk rights he ought to have to twelve months of the shire. Eke he let write how mickle of land his Archbishops had and his Bishops and his Abbots and his Earls, and though I it longer tell, what or how mickle ilk man had that landholder was in England, in land and in cattle, and how mickle fee it were worth. So very narrowly he let spear it out, that there was not a single hide nor yard of land, nor so much as—it is shame to tell and it thought him no shame to do—an ox nor a cow nor a swine was left that was not set in his writ. And all the writs were brought to him since."²

Such was the spirit—a spirit which has not wholly died out in our own day—with which Englishmen then looked on this narrow spying out of their homes and of their

lives were lost.¹ The first results of the Survey were shown CHAP. XXI. in the next year. While the great inquisition was going on William abode in England. He held his Easter feast Whitsun as usual at Winchester, and his Pentecost as usual at Westminister; and at the last meeting he dubbed his youngest son, the *Ætheling* Henry, to *rider* or knight.² But the greatest Assembly of this year was held at an unusual time and in an unusual place. By Lammastide the Great Survey was made. William now knew how this land was set and by what men. It would seem that the summer months had been passed by him in going to and fro;³ the process of taking the Survey, and the disturbances to which the inquiries gave rise, may well have called here and there for his personal presence. And now a Mickle Gemót indeed was held, not within or without the walls of any city, but on the great plain where William had once before reviewed his victorious army after the Conquest of England was over.⁴ All the Witan, and all the land-owners of England who were worth summoning, were gathered together at Salisbury. The royal quarters were doubtless fixed in the castle on the hill where Osmund's minster was rising,⁵ while the plain itself was well fitted for the encampment and assembling of a body whose numbers were handed down by tradition as no less than

¹ Flor. Wig. 1086. "Vexata est terra multis cladibus inde procedentibus."

² Chron. Petrib. 1086. "He dubbade his sunu Henric to ridere þær." We have lost the word *rider*=Ritter, cheraier, in this sense, one which was not yet taken by *knight*. The religious part of the ceremony was performed by Lanfranc. Ord. Vit. 665 D; "Hunc Lanfrancus, dum juvenile robur attingere vidit, ad arma pro defensione regni sustulit, eumque loricā induit et galcan capitū ejus imposuit, eique ut *Regis filio et in regali stemmate nato* militiæ cingulum in nomine Domini cinxit." He had already done the same service for William Rufus. Will. Malms. iv. 305.

³ Chron. Petrib. 1086. "Syððan he ferde abutan swa þæt he com to Lammæssan to Searobyrig."

⁴ See above, p. 316.

⁵ See above, p. 416.

CHAP. XXI. sixty thousand.¹ In this great meeting a decree was Statute to passed which is one of the most memorable pieces of legislation in the whole history of England. It was one which make all fell back on the legislation of earlier times. When the men the men of the King.

feudal relation had first begun to grow up on the continent, the earlier Frankish Emperors and Kings had taken care that the oath taken on commendation to an inferior lord should not interfere with the higher and earlier duty which the subject owed to the sovereign as head of the State. The capitularies both of Charles the Great and of Charles the Bald expressly require an oath of allegiance from all the inhabitants of their kingdoms, whether the men of lesser lords or not.² But, as the royal power had lessened, this wholesome practice had gone out of use. Wherever military tenures had come in, it was beginning to be held that he who had plighted his faith to a lord who was the man of the King was the man of that lord only, and did not become the man of the King himself.³ It was beginning to be held that, if such a man followed his immediate lord to battle against the common sovereign,

No duty
in other
countries
due from
the *arrriere*

to this doctrine, more than to any other one cause, that CHAP. XXI.
both France and the Imperial kingdoms fell in pieces.

William himself would have been amazed if any one of his Norman vassals had refused to draw his sword in a war with France on the score of duty towards the common over-lord. In England, where the growth of feudal ideas had lagged so far behind their course in other lands, however lightly men might trifle with their oaths either to King or lord, no one before William's coming would have maintained, as a matter of law, that duty to the personal lord stood higher than duty to the chief of the State. But, with the coming in of William's foreign followers, bred up as they were in continental notions, a new danger seemed to spring up which might threaten England with the fate of Gaul. This danger William determined to check before it showed itself in its fulness. He had made up his mind to be full King over the whole land, to be immediate sovereign and immediate lord of every man within it. A statute was passed that every freeman in the realm should take the oath of fealty to King William, the oath that he would be faithful to him within and without England, that he would keep his lands and honours with all faithfulness, and would defend him before all men against all enemies.¹ The statute was passed, and it was at once carried into effect. The whole All take
Assembly which had been brought together, "whose men the oath to
soever they were, all bowed to him and were his men, and William.
swore to him faithful oaths that they would be faithful to
him against all other men."² The great work of William's

Stephani, 27; "Addebat et illos non in regiam majestatem jurasse, nec nisi in fidelitatem domini sui arma movisse."

¹ Stubbs, Select Charters, 80. "Statuimus ut omnis liber homo federe et sacramento affirmet, quod infra et extra Angliam Willelmo Regi fideles esse volunt, terras et honorem illius omni fidelitate cum eo servare, et ante eum contra inimicos defendere."

² Chron. Petrib, 1086. "Ealle hi bugon to him and wæron his menn, and him hold aðas sworon þeit hi woldon ongean ealle oðre men him holde beon." The direct connexion between the Survey, the Assembly, and the

CHAP. XXI. Effect on later English history. reign was to make England for ever after an undivided kingdom. It was on that day that this great work was put into the formal shape of a written law.

Another Danegeld laid on. William had thus both completed and secured his conquest. He had not only conquered the land, but he had conquered the tendencies to anarchy and division which lurked both in the old institutions of the land and in the new institutions which he had himself brought in and fostered. His work in England was now done, and he left his island kingdom never to come back to it. But, before he went, he had yet to mark his last days in England by one more act of fiscal oppression. He did after his wont, the Chronicler tells us; he gathered "mickle scot of his men where he might have any charge to bring against them, whether with right or otherwise."¹ The Survey enabled him to levy his Danegeld with greater exactness and greater harshness; and in the eyes of the conquered at least, right would naturally seem to be little recked of in his doings. They might well draw a contrast between William's rule and the rule of that earlier conqueror

Apulia.¹ His sister Christina about the same time took CHAP. XXI.
the veil in the abbey of Romsey, of which before many
years she became the Abbess.² Chist'na
takes the
veil.

§ 6. *The Last Days of William.*

August—September, 1087.

We now enter on the last year of the reign and life of Physical
the Conqueror. And the year in which William died, like ^{phæno-}
mena of the year in which he came into England, was a year of ^{the years} 1086-1087.
signs and wonders. No comet indeed blazed in the heavens,
but men deemed that they saw nearer and darker signs of
God's wrath upon the earth. The year of the great gathering
at Salisbury had itself been a year of deep sorrow. Besides the tumults which had followed on the taking of
the Survey, besides the last and most hateful extortion of
money, it was a year of evil in the physical world. "It
was a very heavy year and toilsome and sorrowful in Eng-
land in murrain of cattle; and corn and fruits were sprouting,
and such mickle bad luck was there in weather such
as man might not lightly think of; such mighty thundering
and lightning was there that it slew many men,
and ever it grew worse with men more and more."³ Of
the last year itself the picture is yet more fearful. It
needs all the strength of our ancient tongue to set forth
the full horrors of such a time. "It was a very heavy

¹ Chron. Petrib. 1086. "Eadgar æðeling, AEdwardes maeg cynges, beah þa fram him, forðig he næfde na mycelne wurðscipe of him, ac se elmihtiga God him gife wurðscipe on þam towardan." Florence says, "Eo tempore, clito Eadgarus, licentiā a Rege impetratā cum cc. militibus mare transit, et Apuliam adiit." William of Malmesbury (iii. 251) does not mention this Apulian expedition.

² Chron. Petrib., Flor. Wig. 1086. Christina's lands are found in Domesday, 160, 244. One estate in Warwickshire had been held by Earl Eadwine; of another it is said distinctly, "Rex dedit Cristinæ."

³ Chron. Petrib. 1086. The Chronicler adds, "Gebete hit God elmihtiga þonne his willa sy." On the words "corn and wæstmas wæron setstandene," see Mr. Earle's note, p. 353.

THE LATER DAYS OF WILLIAM.

nd a year of mighty sickness in this land. Such
came upon men that well nigh every other man was
worst evil, and that so strongly that many men
f the evil. Then came there through the mickle
of which we have before told such mickle hunger
ll England that many men died sadly through the
r. Alas, how sad and rueful a tide was that! Then
retched men lay driven full nigh to death, and then
the sharp hunger and quite slew them. Who is there
ay not feel sad for such a tide? or who is so hard of
that he would not weep over such evil luck?"¹ It
a year too of public misfortunes of other kinds.
on and other towns had been burned not many years
;² and now Saint Paul's minster was again burned
the most and best part of the city, and many other
ers were burned and well nigh all the head towns
ngland.³ But the horrors of storm, fire, pestilence,
unger were not all; it was a year marked by wars
ghtings, by the crimes of men and by the deaths of
f renown. The wonders of the year seem to have so

of Seville.¹ Both in England and in Normandy many of CHAP. XXI. the chief men of the land died.² Our Chronicler records Deaths in the death of Bishop Stigand of Chichester, Abbot Scotland of Saint Augustine's, Abbot Thurstan of Pershore, and Ælfseige the last of the Abbots of Bath. And in this year too died the lord of them all, William England's King.³

The warfare in which William met his death was one Dispute about the French Vexin. which formed an unworthy and undignified end to such a career as his. The French Vexin, the border land of France and Normandy, had often been a matter of dispute between the Kings of Paris and the Dukes of Rouen. The Norman writers held that it had been ceded by King Henry to Duke Robert as the reward of his restoration to his kingdom by Norman arms.⁴ It was only during the confusion of William's childhood that the district had been again annexed to France, and William had failed to reclaim it only through his being occupied in such greater matters as the conquests of Maine and England.⁵ We can well believe Incursions of the French at Mantes. that a border warfare often went on along the frontier, but it would seem that just at this time the raids of the French

¹ On this, the only reference to Spanish affairs in our Chronicles, see Mr. Earle's note, p. 354. The Chronicler seems to have confounded the conquest of Toledo by Alfonso in 1085 with his defeat in 1086 or 1087.

² Chron. Petrib. 1087. "Eac on þisan ilcan lande on þam ilcan geare forferdon manega rice men." He then counts up the prelates mentioned in the text. On Stigand, see above, pp. 405, 416; on Scotland, p. 409; on Thurstan, p. 384; on Ælfseige, p. 385. For the like remarkable deaths in Normandy, see below, p. 703.

³ Chron. Petrib. 1087. "And þa heora eallra hlaford, Willelm Englælandes cyng, þe we s̄r beforan embe spæcon." This, and the entry just before in 1085, mark the earliest use of the strictly territorial style in English. See vol. i. p. 77.

⁴ See Ord. Vit. 655 B. The homage of the reigning Count Drogo, the son-in-law of Æthelred (see vol. ii. p. 129), was transferred to Normandy with his own consent; "Hoc libertissime concessit, hominoque facto dum avixit præfato duci fideliter servit."

⁵ Ord. Vit. 655 D. "Majoribus sibi curis in Cœnomannenses vel Anglos crescentibus conticuit, et contra Henricum dominum suum seu Philippum filium ejus pro Vulcassino pago arma levare distulit."

CHAP. XXI. commanders in Mantes became of unusual importance. Two captains, Hugh and Ralph, of whom the latter bore the fitting name of *Malvoisin*, harried all the neighbouring districts of Normandy, especially the lands of William of Breteuil, the brother of the imprisoned Earl of Hereford, and those of Roger of Ivry, the sworn brother of the lord of Oxford.¹ On this, William sent to Philip, not merely complaining of the damage done by his officers, but demanding the cession of the whole province, with the towns of Pont-Isere, Chaumont, and Mantes. Terrible threats were added, unless the disputed district were at once given up,² but William was at that moment not altogether ready to carry out his threats in person. The bulk of his body had so increased that he was driven to seek medical means to lessen it. When in England he had, it is said, been used to withdraw for medical treatment to the neighbourhood of the abbey of Abingdon,³ and now he found it good to keep himself for the like purpose within the walls of his Norman capital. He was now keeping quiet in his palace, under a prescribed treatment of drink and diet.⁴ King

William demands
the whole
Vexin.

William's
medical
treatment.

Jest of

of God, he would, when he rose up again and went to CHAP. XXI. mass, light a hundred thousand candles at the expense of King Philip.¹ He kept his word; about the middle of William August, when the corn was in the fields, the grapes in the vineyards, and the apples in the orchards,² he led forth his troops to gather in the rich spoil of the fruitful season. All was laid waste; all was overthrown; the thought of His mercy passed utterly away from William's mind; the ruin and deaths of multitudes were to pay for the insult offered to him by their King.³ At last he reached Mantes itself. The defenders of the town had come forth to see at least, if they could not hinder, the harrying of their fields; friends and foes pressed through the gates together,⁴ and now the candles of William's churhing were lighted in all their

¹ Philip's jest, such as it is, is given in two or three forms in William of Malmesbury (iii. 281), Wace (14187), R. Wendover (ii. 28), M. Paris (i. 33). William preserves one very characteristic feature of the Conqueror's answer; "Talia per resurrectionem et splendorem Dei pronuntians, quod soleret ex industria talia sacramenta facere, que ipso hiatu oris terrificum quiddam auditorum mentibus insonarent." Wace (14197) makes the answer run;

"Quant jo, dist-il, releverai,	Mille chandeles li oferai,
Dedenz sa terre à messe irai,	Lumeignons de fust i ari,
Riche offrende li porterai,	E fer por feu en som luira."

² Will. Malms. iii. 282. "Quando et segetes in agris, et botri in vineis, et poma in viridariis." This surely comes from a ballad. Orderic, 655 D, gives us the fact in prose, when he speaks of the "conculcatio segetum et extirpacio vinearum." But, comparing William of Malmesbury and the Chronicles, it would seem that Orderic is wrong in placing the beginning of the expedition in the last week of July.

³ The reflexion is from William of Malmesbury, iii. 282; "Omnia protterit, cuncta populatur; nihil erat quod furentis animum mitigaret, ut injuriam insolenter acceptam multorum dispendio ulcisceretur." Our own Chronicler seems shocked at William's breach of the duty of a vassal; "For Willelm cyng of Normandige into France mid fyrd, and hergode uppan his agenne hlaford Philippe þam cynge, and sloh of his mannon mycelne dæl."

⁴ Ord. Vit. 655 D. "Cum exercitu suo Mandantum ex improviso venit, et cum castrenibus mixtim intravit; milites enim occulite exierant, ut viderent conculcationem segetum suarum et extirpationem vinearum, quas Ascelinus Goellus pridie quam Rex advenisset cum Normannorum viribus devastaverat. Irruens itaque exercitus Regis cum oppidanis portas pertransivit."

enters the
Vexin.
August,
1087.

His
ravages.
enters
Mantes.
August 15,
1087.

CHAP. XXI. brightness. He had reached a spot which had been memorable on two occasions in his earlier life. Mantes had been the town where the hosts of France were gathered for that great invasion of Normandy which had been brought to nought on the day of Mortemer.¹ It was the town whose princes he had been long before suspected of having made away with by the help of the poisoner's bowl.² The city of Utter Walter and Biota was now the border fortress of France, destruction of and the helpless burghers paid the penalty for the silly jests Mantes. of their King. To the utter ruin which William's hand wrought that day it is owing that nothing is left in Mantes which can be assigned to his age or to the ages before him. The noble church whose two lofty towers of open work attract the eyes of every passer by may have risen slowly from the ground by the help of the posthumous bounty of the repentant destroyer.³ But there is not a stone in its soaring arcades which can have been wrought within a century after William's fatal visit. The other ornaments of the town, the civic palace, the tower of another church which has wholly perished, belong to days later still. On

stumbled, some say on the brink of a ditch, some say on CHAP. XXI. the burning embers; the body of the bulky King was William's thrown forward against the tall iron pummel of his saddle; he kept his seat, but the pain of the blow was such that his eagerness was quenched, and he ordered a retreat to be sounded.¹

The Conqueror had now received his death-wound. It was an unworthy fate indeed for one who had so often braved death in so many nobler and more awful shapes to fall at last by such an ignoble chance as the stumble of his horse among the burning embers of Mantes. And yet poetic justice itself might well be satisfied when the mighty warrior and ruler, who, with all his crimes, had never before stooped to mere useless and brutal havoc, had to pay his life as the penalty for thus lowering himself to the level of meaner men.² Faint and suffering from the shock and from the internal wound, William turned away

He is
carried to
Rouen.

¹ Will. Malms. iii. 282. "Quo successu exhilaratus, dum suos audacius incitat ut igni adjiciant pabula, proprius flaminas succedens foci calore et auctumnalis aestu inaequalitate morbum nactus est. Dicunt quidam quod præruptam fossam sonipes transiliens interanea sessoris ruperit, quod in anteriori parte sellæ venter protuberabat." The other version comes from Wace, 14213;

" Parmi la vile trespassout	" Par grant air avant sailli,
Sor un cheval ke mult amout,	Li Reis se tint k'il ne chat,
En un arsiz mist ses douz piez,	Et il por co mult se bleca
Maist tost leu out à sei sachiez ;	A son arçon u il hurta."

The tall saddle-bows shown in the Tapestry will be remembered. William of Jumièges (vii. 44) is vaguer, but nearly to the same effect; "Quum Wilhelmus Rex oppidum Medanta assilens flammis ultricibus tradidisset, pondere armorum et labore clamoris quo suos exhortabatur, ut fertur, arvinâ intestinorum ejus liquefactâ, infirmari non modice cœpit." Orderic (656 A) is vaguer still, but the epithet which he uses is not without meaning; "Tunc ex nimio aestu ac labore *pinguisinus* Rex *Guillelmus* infirmatus est."

² Chron. Petrib. 1087. "Reowlic þing he dyde, and reowlicor him gelamp. Hu reowlicor? Him geyfelade, and þæt him stranglice eglade. Hwæt mæg ic teollan? Se scearpa deað þe ne forlet ne rice menn ne heane, seo hine genam." Men seem almost to have doubted whether the Conqueror was subject to sickness and death like other men.

CHAP. XXI. from his schemes of vengeance, and, instead of carrying his wasting arms any further within the dominions of his over-lord, he was himself borne, a sick or rather a dying man, to Rouen. There he first took up his quarters in the palace, but presently, finding the noise and bustle of the capital too much for his sinking frame, he caused himself to be moved out of the city to the priory of Saint Gervase, which stands on the hill overlooking Rouen from the west. There a crypt, the oldest ecclesiastical work to be seen north of the Alps, a crypt already ancient in William's days, covers the remains of some of the earliest apostles of northern Gaul. There was the tomb of the British Mellon, the first Bishop of the metropolitan see of Normandy; and there the Norman lord of all Britain, who had so lately received the submission of Mellon's native land, came to spend the short span of life which was still left to him on earth.¹ There William lay for several weeks of sickness and pain; but he never to the hour of his death lost either the possession of his senses or his full command of speech.² We are told that, when the news of the blow which had fallen on him

William
moved to
Saint
Gervase.

might fear, when there was a chance that the rod which ^{CHAP. XXI.} had been so long and so mightily wielded by William the Great should pass into the feeble hands of the wayward Robert. But, while men's hearts were thus bowed down, one man, the noblest spirit in all William's duchy, was taken away from the evil to come. Perhaps while William was harrying the Vexin, perhaps while he lay on his death-bed at Rouen, the soul of Gulbert of Hugleville, the man who had refused to stain his hands with the spoils of England, passed away in peace.¹ Nor did Gulbert die alone; in Normandy as well as in England this year was noted as a year of death among men of note, as if the King of Men who was passing away could not go out of the world without a fitting following.² And far away at Bruges, while William was paying the penalty of his deed of wrong at Mantes, Gunhild the daughter of Godwine ended her days in peace.³

Meanwhile Bishops and Abbots and other holy men were gathered round the bed of William to prepare their mighty master for his great change.⁴ But one was wanting whose words of rebuke or comfort William specially longed for in that hour, one towards whom, stern as he had been towards others, he had ever been meek and lowly.⁵ Of all the him.

¹ Ord. Vit. 664 A. "Dum Rex adhuc ægrotaret, cognatus ejusdem Guilbertus Alfagiensis, filius Ricardi de Huglevillæ, vir bonus et simplex, xix. Kal. Sept. defunctus est." This would be Aug. 14, the day before William's hurt at Mantes, according to the reckoning of our own writers. See above, p. 699.

² Orderic gives a list in 664 A. He makes two curious comments; "Moriente duce suo Normanni multas lacrimas fuderunt, si non pro illo, saltem pro amicis et cognatis suis qui tunc mortui sunt." And again; "Beati qui bene mortui sunt, qui ærumnas desolateæ regionis ac defensore parentis non viderunt."

³ See above, p. 159, and Appendix L.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 656 A. "Circa illum præsules et abbates et religiosi viri commorabantur, et morituro principi salubre consilium perennis vite largiebantur."

⁵ Eadmer, Vit. Ans. i. 6. 47. "Rex ipse Wilhelmus . . . quamvis ob

Death of
Gulbert of
Hugleville.
August 14,
1087?

Other
deaths in
Normandy.

Death of
Gunhild.
August 24,
1087.

William
sends for
Anselm,
but does
not see
him.

CHAP. XXI. prelates of Normandy, the one to whom William's thoughts first turned as the chosen physician of his soul was the holy man who sat in the seat of Herlwin. At the bidding of his sovereign Anselm came from Bec to Rouen, but he was himself smitten by sickness, and the confessor and his expectant penitent never met again.¹ But among the assembled prelates were men able to deal with the diseases of William's body as well as with those of his soul. For among them was Gilbert of Lisieux, skilled in the healing art, and his skill and that of his fellow-leeches told him that there was no longer any hope for William on earth. The death-bed of William was a death-bed of all formal devotion, a death-bed of penitence which we may trust was more than formal.² The English Chronicler himself, after weighing the good and evil in him, sends him out of the world with a charitable prayer for his soul's rest;³ and his repentance, late and fearful as it was, at once marks the distinction between the Conqueror on his bed of death and his successor cut off without a thought of penitence in the midst of his crimes. He made his will. The mammon of

Verdict of
William's
physicians.

His repen-
tance.

treasures were to be scattered abroad among the poor and CHAP. XXI.
 the churches of his dominions.¹ A special sum was set He distri-
 apart for the rebuilding of the churches which had been
 burned at Mantes,² and gifts in money and books and
 ornaments of every kind were to be distributed among all
 the churches of England according to their rank.³ He His last
 then spoke of his own life and of the arrangements which speech.
 he wished to make for his dominions after his death. The
 Normans, he said, were a brave and unconquered race; but
 they needed the curb of a strong and a righteous master to
 keep them in the path of order.⁴ Yet the rule over them
 must by all law pass to Robert. Robert was his eldest Normandy
 born; to Robert he had promised the Norman succession to go to
 before he won the Crown of England, and Robert had re-
 ceived the homage of the barons of the duchy. To him then
 Normandy and Maine must therefore pass, and for those
 lands he must be the man of the French King. Yet he well
 knew how sad would be the fate of the land which had to be
 ruled by one so proud and foolish, and for whom a career of
 shame and sorrow was surely doomed.⁵ But what was to be
 done with England? Now at last the heart of William
 smote him. To England he dared not appoint a successor; He does
 he could only leave the disposal of the island realm to the not dare to
 Almighty Ruler of the world. The evil deeds of his past bequeath
 England.⁶

¹ Ord. Vit. 656 B. "Sepiens heros in futurum sibi multisque commoda facere non distulit, omnesque thesauros suos ecclesiis et pauperibus Deique ministris distribui præcepit. Quantum vero singulis dari voluit callide taxavit, et coram se describi a notariis imperavit." This touch is eminently characteristic.

² Ord. Vit. 656 B; Will. Malms. iii. 282. A little later (see Orderic, 699 B) we find the churches of Mantes in the hands of Odo of Bayeux by the gift of the King of the French.

³ Florence (1087) gives the details. The different churches got sums ranging from sixty pence to ten marks of gold, besides vessels and ornaments.

⁴ Ord. Vit. 656 D. "Normanni, si bono *rigidoque* dominatu reguntur, strenuissimi sunt," &c. The passage is versified by Wace, 14239.

⁵ See Appendix ZZ.

CHAP. XXI. life crowded upon his soul. Now at last his heart acknowledged that he held England by no right, by no claim He confesses his sins towards England.

of birth; that he had won the English Crown by wrong, and that what he had won by wrong he had no right to give to another.¹ He had won his realm by warfare and bloodshed; he had treated the sons of the English soil with needless harshness; he had cruelly wronged nobles and commons; he had spoiled many men wrongfully of their inheritance; he had slain countless multitudes by hunger or by the sword. The harrying of Northumberland now rose up before his eyes in all its blackness. The dying man told how cruelly he had burned and plundered the land, how many thousands of every age and sex among the noble nation which he had conquered had been done to death at his bidding.² The sceptre of the realm which he had won by so many crimes he dared not hand over to any

He wishes that William may succeed him.

but to God alone. Yet he would not hide his wish that his son William, who had been ever dutiful to him, might reign in England after him. He would send him beyond the sea, and he would pray Lanfranc to place the crown

Of the two sons of whom he spoke, Robert was far away, CHAP. XXI.
 a banished rebel; William was by his bedside. By his His be-
quest of
money to
Henry. bedside also stood his youngest son, the English *Ætheling*, Henry the Clerk. "And what dost thou give to me, my father?" said the youth. "Five thousand pounds of silver from my hoard," was the Conqueror's answer. "But of what use is a hoard to me," said Henry, "if I have no place to dwell in?" "Be patient, my son, and trust in the Lord, and let thine elders go before thee." It is perhaps by the light of later events that our chronicler goes on to make William tell his youngest son that the day would come when he should succeed both his brothers in their dominions, and should be richer and mightier than either of them.¹ The King then dictated a letter to Lanfranc, setting forth his wishes with regard to the kingdom. He sealed it and gave it to his son William, and bade him, He fore-tells
Henry's
greatness. with his blessing and his last kiss, to cross speedily into England. William Rufus at once set forth for Witsand, and there heard of his father's death. Meanwhile Henry too left his father's bedside to take for himself the money that was left to him, to see that nothing was lacking in its weight, to call together his comrades in whom he could trust, and to take measures for stowing the treasure in a place of safety.²

Spiritu Dei diu valere, et in regni solo, si Dei voluntas est, feliciter fulgere."
 Wace (14275) adds,

"Maiz ultre mer l'enverrai,

"Si il le pot fere par raison,

A l'Archeveske prérai

Jo preie k'il en face le don."

Ke la corone li otreit;

I do not see that such an expression as that of Florence (1087), "filio suo Willelmo regnum tradidit Angliae," and that of William of Jumièges (vii. 44), "regno Angliae concesseo Willelmo filio suo," need lead us, with Lord Lyttelton (Henry the Second, i. 396), to set aside the statement of Orderic. Lyttelton was influenced by the false Ingulf. See the note in Taylor's Wace, 274.

¹ See Appendix ZZ.

² Ord. Vit. 659 D. "Henricus festinavit . . . munitum gazophylacium sibi procurare."

CHAP. XXI. And now those who stood around the dying King began
The by-
standers
intercede
for the
prisoners.

He is will-
ing to re-
lease all ex-
cept Odo.

to implore his mercy for the captives whom he held in prison. Among them was a long list of the noblest both of England and Normandy. There was Wulfnoth the son of Godwine and Wulf the son of Harold, whose lives had been lives of captivity from their childhood. There were the captives of Ely, Morkere the son of *Ælfgar* and Siward Barn, there was Roger the rebel Earl of Hereford, and lastly, his own brother Odo, once Earl of Kent and still Bishop of Bayeux.¹ He granted the prayer. Let the captives only swear that they would not disturb the peace either of England or Normandy,² and all should come forth, save one alone. Odo he would not release. The man whom he had imprisoned for the common weal of his kingdom, the oppressor of the people, the plunderer of the Church, the man of pride and lust and cruelty, should not be set free by him. He spoke as the father of his people, knowing that, if Odo were once more let loose to trouble the world, the ruin of thousands would follow.³ Yet once more the men who stood around William's bed, first among them Odo's

He had striven to make his peace with God and man, and CHAP. XXI.
to make such provision as he could for the children and Death of
the subjects whom he left behind him. And now his last William.
hour was come. On a Thursday morning in September, 9, 1087.
when the sun had already risen upon the earth, the sound
of the great bell of the metropolitan minster struck on the
ears of the dying King.¹ He asked why it sounded. He
was told that it rang for prime in the church of Our Lady.
William lifted his eyes to heaven, he stretched forth his
hands, and spake his last words ; "To my Lady Mary, the
holy Mother of God, I commend myself, that by her holy
prayers she may reconcile me to her dear Son our Lord
Jesus Christ." He prayed, and his soul passed away.
William, King of the English and Duke of the Normans,
the man whose fame has filled the world in his own and in
every following age, had gone the way of all flesh. No
kingdom was left him now but his seven feet of ground,²
and even to that his claim was not to be undisputed.³

The death of a King in those days came near to a break-

¹ I translate Orderic. He fixes the time (660 D); "Quinto idus Septem.
feria v. jam Phœbo per orbem spargente clara radiorum spicula, excitus Rex
sonum majoris signi audivit in metropolitanâ basilica." So the Chronicle;
"He swealt on Normandige on þone nextan dag æfter Nativitas Sæ
Marie." William of Jumièges (vii. 44) places it a day earlier.

² Chron. Petrib. 1087. "Eala hu leas and hu unwrest is lysesse middan-
eardes wela. Se þe wæs ærur rice cyng and maniges landes hlaford, he
naefde þa ealles landes buton sefon fot mal [see vol. iii. p. 366], and se þe
was hwilow gescrid mid golde and mid gemnum he leg þa oferwrogen mid
moldan." Orderic (661 B) has a lamentation to the same generaleffect,
but far less terse. We get the same commonplace in the verses of Prior
Godfrey (*Satirical Poets*, ii. 149);

"Succubuisse tibi reges populosque coegit
Inita vis, te more succubuisse tibi.

Prepollens opibus latissima regna tenebas,
Nunc opibus nudum te domus arcta tenet."

³ Will. Malms. iii. 283. "Varietatis humanae tunc fuit videre miseriam,
quod homo ille totius olim Europee honor, antecessorumque suorum omnium
potentior, sedem aeternæ requiescionis sine calumniâ impetrare non potuit."

CHAP. XXI. up of all civil society. Till a new King was chosen and Effects of crowned, there was no longer a power in the land to protect a King's death. or to chastise. All bonds were loosed; all public authority

Confusion on the death of William. was in abeyance; each man had to look to his own as he best might. No sooner was the breath out of William's body than the great company which had patiently watched around him during the night was scattered hither and thither. The great men mounted their horses and rode with all speed to their own homes, to guard their houses and goods against the outburst of lawlessness which was sure to break forth now that the land had no longer a ruler. Their servants and followers, seeing their lords gone, and deeming that there was no longer any fear of punishment,

Plunder and neglect of his attendants. began to make spoil of the royal chamber. Weapons, clothes, vessels, the King's bed and its furniture, were carried off, and for a whole day the body of the Conqueror lay well

Fear of the people of Rouen. nigh bare on the floor of the room in which he died.¹ The men of Rouen were struck with fear and amazement, as though a hostile army were coming against their city.² Men took counsel of their wives and their friends what

truth the noblest tribute to his memory. Men who had perhaps cursed his rule while living, now knew what they had lost in him. Their fears did the departed King honour; but they were too much occupied by those fears to think of showing him other honours at the moment. A few clerks and monks, amid the general confusion, formed a procession, and went with crosses and censers to the church of Saint Gervase,¹ to offer prayers for his soul. Meanwhile Archbishop William bade that the body of the King should be borne to Caen, there to be buried in the minster of Saint Stephen which he himself had built. But how was the command to be obeyed? The King's sons and kinsfolk had gone, each man to look after his own. His servants and officers had fled away with their spoils. Not a man of his household was ready to do the last duty to his master. At last the honest heart of a plain Norman gentleman was moved by natural piety. A rustic knight, Herlwin by name, a name which is not found in the roll-call of the despilers of England, stood forth to do the work which princes and nobles failed to do. For the love of God and for the honour of the Norman name, he was ready to do the last corporal work of mercy to his departed sovereign.² His offer was accepted, and the foremost man of all the world, forsaken by his children and servants, was borne to his last home by the voluntary loyalty of a vassal faithful to his lord in life and death.

The funeral pomp, such as could be made ready at such a moment, now set forth. It was at the cost of Herlwin that men were hired to wash and tend, to anoint and to embalm, the royal corpse.³ It was at his cost that a

¹ "Georgium" in Orderic, 661 C. I correct "Gervasium" from Camden, *Bibliotheca*, 34.

² Ord. Vit. 661 C. "Herluinus pagensis eques, naturali bonitate compunctus est, et curam exsequiarum pro amore Dei et honore gentis sue viriliter amplexatus est."

³ Ib. "Pollinctores itaque et vespilliones ac vehiculum meroede de propriis

CHAP. XXI. carriage was found to bear the corpse to the haven of Reception Rouen, whence, partly by water, partly by land, his pious of the body at Caen. care watched over the dead Conqueror, till he reached the

The funeral procession. haven of Caen, where his faithful bedesmen were ready to receive him. Abbot Gilbert stood at the head of his

convent, accompanied by a crowd of clergy and a smaller

body of laymen.¹ They met the bier of the great King

with all reverence, and began the funeral procession towards

the abbey of Saint Stephen. But the funeral rites of

William were to be gone through with as little of order

and quiet as his crowning rites. At Westminster his

crowning rites had been disturbed by a fire which was

wantonly kindled. At Caen, a like misfortune, but seem-

ingly accidental in its cause, disturbed the rites of his

burial. As the procession was on its way, flames were

seen to burst from a house, and the fire soon spread itself

through a large part of the town. The crowd that followed

the bier, clergy and laity alike, were soon scattered abroad

to put out the flames and to save their houses and goods.

The monks alone kept on their way, singing the office for

Fire at
Caen.

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION.

But the wonders and horrors of the day were not yet
The rites began. A crowd of Norman prelates had al-
made their way to Caen to do the last office to
sovereign. They had doubtless hastened, while the
procession of Herlwin had been slowly making its w-
land and water. The holy Primate was there, and the v-
Bishops, Geoffrey of Coutances and Odo of Bayeux, a-
set free from his prison.¹ There were the two Gi-
the learned physician of Lisieux and the eloquent pa-
of Evreux.² There were a crowd of Abbots, some of
names are well known to us. Nicolas of Saint O-
the son of the last Duke Richard, was there to do hi-
duty to the kinsman who had in some sort supplanted
There was Mainer of Saint Evroul, who had receive-
staff as William was setting forth from England,⁴ Ge-
the learned stranger who had taught Ingulf at
Wandrille,⁵ William of Ros, whose works may still b-
in the minster of Fécamp,⁶ and, best and most righte-
all that great assembly, already recovered from his-
ness, stood the Abbot of Bec, the holy Anselm.
William's children one only was present, the Æ-
Henry, who by this time, we may deem, had safely :
his treasure. Robert was still an exile in France,
William was looking after his own interests in Eng-|||

¹ Orderic gives the list, 661 D.

² On Gilbert Maminot, see above, p. 656. Gilbert of Evreux w-
sit under directly.

³ See vol. i. p. 464; ii. p. 180; iii. p. 381.

⁴ See vol. iii. p. 384.

⁵ See Appendix RR.

⁶ See above, p. 87.

⁷ At the head of the list of Abbots comes "Anselmus Be-
Eadmer (Hist. Nov. 13) tells us, "Et quidem Willielmus ita mort-
non tamen, ut dicitur, inconfessus: atque Anselmus evestigio est
mitate relevatus, pristinæque saluti post modicum redonatus."

⁸ Will. Gem. vii. 44. "Soluæ filiorum suorum Henricus exsequias
perseguuntur est, dignus qui paternam hereditatem aliquando sol-
tineret, quam fratres sui particulatim post mortem patris sui possede-

CHAP. XXI. By Henry then, his youngest and greatest son, and by the great body of the Norman prelacy, the body of William was received into his own church, to seek the last home which, even now, he was not to win without a struggle.

The tomb. In the eastern limb of Saint Stephen's minster, not yet the vaster and lighter choir of later days, but the single stern apse of Cerisy or Saint Gabriel, a tomb, between the high altar and the choir, had been made ready to receive

The office begins. the Conqueror's body.¹ The procession entered the church; the bier on which all that was left of William lay was borne along the nave, between the stern arches and massive pillars which he himself had reared. They reached the choir, then doubtless filling up the central space beneath the tower; the stone coffin was placed upon the ground,

The Bishop of Evreux's sermon. but the body still lay on the bier before the altar.² The mass of the dead was sung, and then the Bishop of Evreux mounted the pulpit³ to make the formal harangue over the Conqueror of England. He told the tale of William's greatness and William's conquests, how he had enlarged the bounds of the Norman duchy, and had raised his native

truer honour than to have made Maine and England subject CHAP. XXI.
to the Norman. He told how William had maintained
peace and righteousness in the land, how his rod had
smitten down thieves and robbers, how his sword had
defended the clerk, the monk, and the unarmed people.¹
He then called on all who heard him to pray for the soul
of him whose body lay before them ; he bade them crave the
forgiveness of his sins at the hands of God ; he bade them
themselves forgive anything in which William might have
sinned against them.²

The appeal drew forth an answer. A knight, Asselin Asselin claims the site of the church. the son of Arthur, arose from the crowd, mounted on a stone, and spoke in the hearing of all; "This ground where ye stand was the site of my father's house, which the man for whom ye pray, while he was yet but Count of Normandy, took away by force from my father, and, in spite of law and justice, built this church upon it by his might.³ I therefore claim the land; I challenge it as mine before all men, and in the name of God I forbid that the body of the robber be covered with my mould, or that he be buried within the bounds of mine inheritance."⁴ He

¹ The Bishop's sermon was a "prolixa locutio," but it was no more than justice to record how William "justitiam et pacem sub omni ditione sua temuerit, fures et predones virgine rectitudinis utiliter castigaverit, et clericos ac monachos et inermem populum virtutis ense fortiter munierit."

² Ord. Vit. 662 B. "Ei si quid in vobis deliquerit benigniter dimittere."

³ On the appeal of Asselin see Appendix AAA. The most vivid account is given by Wace, from whom I get the detail of Asselin mounting the stone (14412).

"Sur une pierre en haut monta,
De vers la biera se torna."

⁴ Ord. Vit. 662 B. "Hanc igitur terram calumnior et palam reclamo, et ne corpus raptoris operiarunt cespite meo nec in hereditate meâ sepeliatur ex parte Dei prohibeo." The adjuration in Wace (14418) takes a singular form:

"Jo dévée à toz è desfent
De par l'Apostole de Rome,
Nel' pois véer par plus haut home."

CHAP. XXI. then came down, and wonder and tumult filled the church as men heard the daring challenge. The office paused; the Bishops and nobles asked of the men of the neighbourhood who stood by as to the truth of what Asselin had told them. They bore witness that what he had said was true.¹ Yet we should gladly hear what might have been said on William's side, for mere naked wrong, mere plunder, mere robbery for burnt-offering, is not in accordance with William's usual character. At such a moment the facts of the case would not be very carefully looked into. Men who had come together to make prayers and offerings for William's soul would be more ready to admit even a false charge against him than to leave any possible sin of his unatoned for. The *Ætheling* and the Bishops called Asselin to them; they spoke friendly to him, and made a bargain with him on the spot. Beneath the roof of Saint Stephen's the covenant was made which first made its soil the lawful property of him who had founded the church and of those to whom he had granted it. With the assent of Henry, sixty shillings were at once given to Asselin as

The ground bought
of Asselin.

A posthumous atonement was thus made for one of the CHAP. XXI.
 sins which weighed down William's soul ; but one misfor- ^{Last scene}
 tune more was still in store for his body. ^{of the} [The royal corpse
 had now to be moved from the bier to the stone coffin
 which was to be its last resting-place. But by the
 unskilfulness of the workmen the coffin had been made too
 small to receive the unwieldy carcase of William. In the ^{The body} _{bursts.}
 efforts which were made to force it into its narrow room,
 the body burst ; a fearful stench filled the church, which
 the burning of incense and of all sweet savours could not
 overcome.¹ The remainder of the office was hurried over ;
 the officiating clergy went back with all speed to their own
 quarters, and the course of William on earth was brought
 to an end.] He had gone to his grave amid scenes as stormy
 and as wonderful as aught that had marked his course from
 the day when he grasped the straw upon the floor at Falaise
 to the day when he received his death-wound in the burning
 streets of Mantes.

The Conqueror had thus at last found his hardly won
 resting-place. When the first feelings of fear and wonder
 had passed away, men began to think of doing those
 honours to his memory which he had failed to receive at
 the moment of his death and burial. His son William,
 now crowned King of the English, undertook the duty of
 raising a fitting monument to the memory of his father.
 A mass of gold and silver and precious stones was handed

¹ Ord. Vit. 662 C. "Dum corpus in sarcophagum mitteretur, et violenter,
 quia vas per imprudentiam cementariorum breve structum erat, compli-
 caretur, pinguisimus venter crepuit, et intolerabilis fætor circumadstantes
 personas et reliquum vulgus implevit. Fumus turis allorumque aromatum
 de turibulis copiose ascendebat, sed teterimum putorem excludere non
 prævalebat. Sacerdotes itaque festinabant exsequias perficere et actum
 sua cum pavore mapalia repetere." This story seems peculiar to Orderic.
 On the use of "crepuit" compare the description of the death of Boetius
 with the Anonymus Valesianus 723 ; "Acopta chorda in fronte diutissime
 tortus ita ut oculi ejus creparent."

CHAP. XXI. over to Otto the goldsmith, a man whose skill in the William's Teutonic craft had been rewarded by William, when living, with fair estates on English soil.¹ The coffin itself, wrought of a single stone, and supported by three small columns of white marble,² was surmounted by a shrine of splendid workmanship, blazing with all the precious materials which had been entrusted to the cunning hands of Otto.³ On that shrine the epitaph of William was graven in letters of gold. Many poets had striven for the honour of thus commemorating their master; but the verses which were chosen to be placed on William's tomb were the work of Archbishop Thomas of York.⁴ The Northumbrian Primate had put on some of the feelings of an Englishman; he could not bring himself to sing of the conquest of England or of the harrying of his own province. From William's epitaph no one would learn that he had ever reigned in England, any more than any one would learn from Domesday that he had won the Crown of England by the sword. The verses of Thomas told how small a house was now enough for the great King William, and how the great

Epitaph
by Arch-
bishop
Thomas.

England
not men-
tioned
in the
epitaph.

conquered the Bretons, how he overcame the Cenomannian CHAP. XXI.
 swords and brought the land of Maine into subjection to
 the laws of his dominion.¹ But on the tomb of the Con-
 queror of England the name of England was not graven.
 The tomb thus adorned, the tomb rather of the Norman Recasting
of Saint
Stephen's
choir.
c. 1250.
 Duke than of the English King, lived on untouched through the changes which recast the eastern limb of Saint Stephen's into the form which it now bears.² At last a The tomb
destroyed
by the
Hugue-
notes.
1562.
 storm burst upon Caen fiercer even than the storm which had already burst upon Waltham and Crowland, and the relics of William were dealt with as the relics of Harold and Waltheof had already been. In the wars and tumults of the sixteenth century the church and monastery of Saint Stephen were plundered and ruined, the minster was un-roofed, the great tower was broken down, the shrine of William was swept away, the coffin itself was broken open, and the bones, vaster, men deemed, than those of ordinary men, were scattered and lost in the havoc.³ A single bone, the thigh of William, was kept by the pious care of a monk of the abbey, and when the church was repaired and restored to religious uses, this one fragment was replaced with sacred rites in a new tomb of less gorgeous workman-The church
restored.
1626.
The tomb
restored.
1642.

¹ Ord. Vit. 663 D;

"Qui rex rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos
 Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
 Et Cenomannenses virtute coercuit enses
 Imperique sui legibus applicuit,
 Rex magnus parvæ jacet hic Guillelmus in urna,
 Sufficit et magno parva domus domino.
 Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque duobus
 Virginis in gremio Phœbus, et hic obiit."

"Britanni" may take in the *Bretwealas* on both sides of the sea.

² See Bouet, Analyse Architecturale, 65-74.

³ See the account of the destruction in Hippo, 181; Bouet, 157. A contemporary, M. de Bras, writes, "Estoient encore inherentes à la teste les machoires et plusieurs dents, les autres ossements, tant des jambes, cuissées que des bras, fort longs." The whole account of the desecration of the abbey and its restoration by the energetic Prior Jean de Baillehache is most interesting.

CHAP. XXI. ship than the first structure of Otto.¹ A hundred years later, this second tomb was deemed inconvenient for the services of the church, and the one remaining bone of William was translated to another part of the choir and covered with a new stone and a new epitaph.² Fifty years later, another storm of revolution again broke over the abbey; the third tomb of William was rifled, and the last fragment of him was lost for ever. And now, after so many changes, while all trace of Harold and Ælfred has vanished from the minsters of their founding, a modern stone, with an inscription in which the words England and Conqueror are not forgotten, marks the place where the bones of William the Great no longer lie.

Summary. I have told my tale, the tale of the Norman Conquest of England. I have traced the earlier events which made it possible for a foreign prince to win and to keep England as his own. I have traced the course of the work of Conquest itself, the work of war and policy and legislation, by which William knew both how to conquer and how to

have traced the causes of the Conquest, we have now to CHAP. 3
trace its results. We have to look on the land as it is set
before us in the picture of the great Survey, in those
details, legal, social, and personal, which enable us to call
up the England of the days of William as a thing living
and breathing before us. We have to trace the lasting
results of the Conquest on law and government and
religion and art and language. And we have to follow, at
least in its broad outline, the general course of our history
till the Conquest in some sort undid itself, till the very
overthrow of England led to her revival, and her momentary
bondage led to her new birth of freedom. We have to pass,
however lightly, over those times of silent growth and
revolution, those times, as it proved, of salutary chastise-
ment, which part off the earlier freedom of England from
the later. Our task will be done when the foreign nobles
and the foreign King have in truth become our country-
men, when the *wergild* of the heroes of Senlac has been
paid in full on the battle-field of Lewes, and when the
great Assembly which welcomed the return of Godwine
rises again to life in the Parliaments of Earl Simon and
King Edward.



A P P E N D I X.

NOTE A. p. 26.

THE THREE COMMISSIONERS FOR REDEMPTION OF LANDS.

I THINK that, if we put together the passages from the Chronicle and from Domesday quoted in p. 25, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that they all refer to the same transaction, and that Bishop William, Engelric, and Ralph the Staller were joined in such a commission as I have spoken of in the text. Two of the Commissioners we already know; a short notice of the third may not be out of place.

The mention of Engelric shows that the notices must refer to a transaction which could not be very late in William's reign, and that the Bishop intended must be William of London. At first sight, in an entry in East-Anglia, one might have thought that the person meant was William Bishop of Thetford, who appears in the Survey as the Bishop in possession. But he was not consecrated till 1086, and he could only have just taken possession when the Survey was made. But by that time the lands of Engelric had passed, either by death or confiscation, to Count Eustace. The Bishop must therefore be the London William, and the matter referred to must be before his death in 1075. And the comparison of the several passages seems to fix it to this date in 1068.

That Engelric was an Englishman seems plain. He appears as holding T. R. E. in ii. 26 b, 27 b, 32 b, under Harold, under the Bishop of London, and under the church of Saint Paul. In 32 b, 33, we find him holding, seemingly by regular grants from William, lands which had been held by Harold and other Englishmen. But we also find him recorded as guilty of various "occupations," "invasiones," and other wrongful doings, several of which are distinctly said to have been done in the days of King William. See i. 137, ii. 5 b, 6 b, 26, 28 b, 29 b, 30, 31 b, 34, 55 b, 102 b, 106 b. One entry (ii. 5) is capable of misconstruction; "Ingelricus abstulit unam feminam Bricetavam tenentem xviii. acras." This does not imply any personal carrying off of Brihtgifu, but simply that Engelric took possession of her land or of her lord's rights over it.

Engelric however was a benefactor of the Church. A gift of his to the church of Saint Martin—that is Saint Martin-le-Grand in London—is recorded in ii. 14. But even his good works seem to have been tainted with illegality, as it is added that the gift was made, “ut consulatus [= ‘scira’ or ‘comitatus’] testatur, sine jussu Regis.” The reader must judge for himself as to the accounts in the *Monasticon*, viii. 1323–1325, where, on the strength of an alleged charter of William recited in an *inspeximus* of Henry the Sixth, Saint Martin’s church is said to have been founded in King Eadward’s time by Engelric and his brother *Gerard*. The other places in Domesday where Saint Martin’s church is mentioned are ii. 29, 32, where the only benefactors spoken of are “Ailmarus unus teinnus Regis Edwardi” and Count Eustace, who gives some of the lands which had formerly been Engelric’s. I suspect that the whole tale, especially that part of it which makes Engelric to have been the first Dean of his own foundation, comes from the same mint as the tale (see vol. iii. p. 662) which makes his daughter the mother of William Peverel. The charter is said to have been granted at the Christmas Feast of 1068 (evidently meaning 1067), and to have been confirmed at the coronation of the Queen at the following Pentecost. It is signed by a crowd of names, English and Norman, among whom I doubt about Hugh Bishop of Lisieux, of whose

able. It is plain that he was, both by office and by extent of property, one of the first men in Berkshire, but it also strikes me that there are other reasons for the prominence given to him in the Survey. His memory seems to be dealt with in somewhat the same way as the memory of Harold. The entries seem to reveal a certain anxiety to represent him as a wrong-doer.

That Godric was Sheriff of Berkshire appears not only from the Abingdon History as quoted in the former Note, but from a writ of Eadward for Berkshire (Cod. Dipl. iv. 200) where he is addressed along with Bishop Hermann and all Thengs of the shire. In Domesday also (60 b) we read of his estate at Fifhicle or Fyfield, near Abingdon, where an ancient manor-house of the fourteenth century no doubt marks the site of Godric's dwelling; "Godricus vicecomes tenuit de abbate et non potuit ire quolibet cum istâ terrâ." This Fifhicle was only one of several possessions of Godric in Berkshire, some held of the King and some of the abbey; and as his neighbour Thurkill had two Kingstons, so Godric had another Fifhicle held of the King. The Fifhicle which belonged to the abbey was a grant of King Eadgar (see the charter in Hist. Ab. i. 323), and it was held by Godric on the usual terms for three lives. That Godric was also Sheriff of Buckinghamshire appears from the entry which I have quoted in p. 35. In the same shire (152) we read of "Aluric homo Godric vicecomitis," and he again appears (144) as a land-owner in close connexion with various members of the house of Godwine. Of Weston, a manor then held by Bishop Odo, we read; "De terrâ hujus manerii tenuit Leuuinus comes ix. hidas et dimidiam, et Godric vicecomes iii. hidas et dimidiam pro uno manerio, et ii. homines ejusdem Godrici iii. hidas et dimidiam, et unus homo Tosti comitis ii. hidas, et ii. homines Leuuini comitis i. hidam et dimidiam. Omnes vero vendere potuerunt." Godric's estates in Buckinghamshire were therefore not large, and there are one or two other persons of the same name from whom he seems to be purposely distinguished; such as Godric the brother of Bishop Wulfwig (144) and Godric the man of Ansgar the Staller (151). In these latter passages the title of "Vicecomes" might simply be added for distinction, but the grant to the embroiderer was clearly an official act, and makes it plain that he was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire. Whether he was not also Sheriff of Bedfordshire is less plain, but a landowner in that shire (213) is described as the man of Godric the Sheriff.

In Buckinghamshire Godric was succeeded in his office by the Norman Ansulf, who was dead at the time of the Survey, but whose son William held large estates. He seems to have acted after the usual manner of Sheriffs, as we find him (148 b) wrongfully dispossessing a Norman holder. As to the succession to the office in Berkshire, the entries bearing on it in Domesday are not very clear. At one of the places called Sparsholt (57 b) lands were held by Henry of Ferrers "quæ, sicut scira testatur, remanserunt in firmâ Regis quando Godricus vicecomitatum perdidit." Of the other Sparsholt we read (60 b) that it was then held by Henry of Ferrers, and that it had been held by "Godricus unus liber homo." But of some of the lands in the same lordship we read, "Hanc terram dicit Henricus fuisse Godrici antecessoris sui, sed, sicut hundreda testatur, Godricus eam occupavit super W. Regem post bellum de Hastings, nec umquam tenuit T. E. Regis." These passages are difficult. The former of them would certainly at first sight imply that Godric had lived to be deprived of his office by William. But it seems impossible to set aside the distinct statement of the local history that he was killed in the battle. Possibly however "quando vicecomitatum perdidit" may mean "when he was killed," the office being *ipso facto* forfeited by Godric's treason in joining Harold. The death of a man already attainted would, on this view, be a sort

possession of Henry of Ferrers. The name Godric is so common that it is almost in vain to seek for the Sheriff's possessions in other shires, or even in Berkshire when he is not in some way marked out from his namesakes; but he can hardly fail to be the same Godric who appears in Wiltshire (72) as holding lands which at the Survey were held by Henry of Ferrers.

NOTE C. p. 45.

WIGGOD OF WALLINGFORD AND ROBERT OF OILY.

SIR HENRY ELLIS (ii. 267) quotes, as from William of Poitiers, the story that Wiggod of Wallingford (see vol. iii. p. 543) received and entertained William at Wallingford till Stigand and others came thither to make their submission. There is most certainly nothing like this to be found in William of Poitiers, but the notices in Domesday and elsewhere make it highly probable that something of the kind really happened. It is plain that Wiggod was a man of rank and influence under Eadward, and that he was afterwards in favour with William. His case in short is the opposite to that of his neighbour Godric. An Englishman of high rank contrives to make his peace with the Conqueror, to retain wealth and influence, and to hand them on to his descendants in the female line.

"T. R. E. Goduinus Alfit tenuit homo Wigoti, et potuit de eo facere quod voluit." The "Wigot" in Shropshire (252) and Hertfordshire (134 b) must have been a different man, as well as "Wigot venator Regis E." in Bedfordshire (217). Of the entries in pp. 236 and 239 nothing can be said either way.

These various entries set Wiggod before us as one who kept great wealth and power under William, and had opportunities of either protecting or oppressing his less fortunate countrymen. The same evidence also leads us to believe that Robert of Oily and Miles Crispin succeeded Wiggod in an orderly way, without any violence or confiscation. The only difficulty is as to those lands of Wiggod in the West which had passed to the Crown. But the whole evidence falls in with the tradition that Robert and Miles succeeded by marriage. The wife of Robert undoubtedly bore the English name of Ealdgyth. "Alditha uxor mea" (*Mon. Angl.* viii. 1462) consents to his gifts to the college of Saint George in the castle of Oxford. That this Ealdgyth was a daughter of Wiggod is the received tradition. With regard to Miles the case is not so clear. Genealogists do not agree as to his wife. "He married the heiress of Wallingford," says Kelham (36), which does not rule whether she was Wiggod's daughter or grand-daughter. Sir Henry Ellis (i. 402), after Dugdale (*Baronage*, i. 413), marries him to "Maud, daughter and heir of Robert de Oilgi, through whom he became possessed of the honour and castle of Wallingsford." But Robert of Oily never held Wallingford castle (*cf. Domesday*, 56, 56 b), and it appears (*Mon. Angl.* vi. 251) that he died without issue. It is therefore almost certain that Miles as well as Robert married a daughter of Wiggod. Miles' wife, Matilda by name, is mentioned in the *Abingdon History*, ii. 106, 110. Most likely, like Eadgyth the daughter of Malcolm, she changed her name. Miles' connexion with Wallingford appears also in *Domesday*, 56, and in the *History of Abingdon* (ii. 12) he is expressly called "Milo de Walingaford, cognomento Crispin."

Robert of Oily is a more important person on account of his connexion with Oxford. He figures at great length in the local *History of Abingdon*, where he is described (ii. 7) as "ipse prædives, castelli vero Oxenefordensis oppidanus," and (ii. 12) as "constabularius Oxoniæ, in cuius custodiâ erat illo tempore provincia illa in præceptis et in factis, adeo ut de ore ejus proferretur illi actio." The character goes on; "Dives enim valde erat;

diviti nec pauperi parcerat exigere ab eis pecunias, sibique gazas multiplicari." This may possibly account for the state of the town of Oxford. Robert was for a while an enemy to the monks of Abingdon, and seized on some of their possessions. But by dint of prayers, sickness, and visions, he was brought to repentance; he was forced by his wife ("cogente eum uxore suâ," ii. 14) to restore the lands of Saint Mary, and he became altogether another man. He not only helped to rebuild the minster of Abingdon, but he restored various ruined parish churches within and without the walls of Oxford ("alias parochianas ecclesias dirutas, videlicet infra muros Oxenfordiæ et extra, ex sumptu suo reparavit"). Of his work in this way there is little doubt that we have a specimen in the existing tower of Saint Michael's at Oxford. (On his works see Mr. James Parker's History of Oxford, pp. 38 et seqq.) He was also bountiful to the poor and full of good works of all kinds. Among other things we read (ii. 15, cf. 284) that "pons magnus ad septemtrionalem plagam Oxonie per eum factus est." He was buried (ii. 15) with his wife in the chapter-house of Abingdon, but the local writer does not mention her name or parentage. He however describes (ii. 12) Miles and Robert as acting together to do honour to the Ætheling Henry when he visited Abingdon in 1084.

Domesday, 160), and to that of Gloucester (see the Gloucester History, i. 176, 177, where both she and her husband appear in very strange shapes). We have come across Roger's name in our history as guardian of the castle at Rouen; see p. 638.

Robert had two brothers, Nigel and Gilbert, whose consent is recited in his foundation charter of Saint George's college (Mon. Angl. viii. 1462). Nigel is constantly mentioned in the History of Abingdon. He seems to have succeeded his brother Robert on the latter's death without issue. He was succeeded by his son, the second Robert of Oily, the nephew of the first, who figures in the wars of Stephen and Matilda, and is described in the *Gesta Stephani* (74) as "Robertus de Oli civitatis Oxnefordiæ sub rege præceptor." In 1129 (*Oseney Annals*; *An. Mon.* iv. 19; *Mon. Angl.* vi. 251) he began the foundation of the priory of Oseney, a house of Austin Canons, in partnership with his wife Eadgyth. She is said by Leland and others to have been a mistress of Henry the First, and that this was the case appears from two documents in the *Monasticon*, vi. 253. In both of these Henry of Oily, the son of Robert and Eadgyth, appears as the brother of "Robertus Henrici regis filius," who must therefore have been a son of Eadgyth by King Henry. He appears distinctly in John of Hexham (X *Scriptt.* 70) as "Robertus filius Edæ et Henrici regis nothus." Eadgyth may also have been the mother of Henry's daughter Matilda (see *Will. Gem.* viii. 29), Countess of Perche, who was drowned in the White Ship. For in the Pipe Roll of Henry (155) we find mention of "Editha mater comitis de Pertico." Still this would be rather a singular way of describing the wife of Robert of Oily. Robert and Matilda may have been children of two mothers of the same name. In any case the name Eadgyth points almost certainly to an English descent. I do not say that it is absolutely certain, because William of Warren and Gundrada had a daughter so named (*Will. Gem.* viii. 8), who may probably have been a god-daughter of the widow of the Confessor (see vol. ii. p. 345). Robert and Eadgyth left two sons, Henry and Gilbert, who therefore, as well as the descendants of Miles Crispin, were probably of English descent by the mother's side. English names also survived in their foundation of Oseney. The second Prior and the first Abbot (1138-1168) bore the name of Wiggod, and must surely have been of the family of Wiggod of Wallingford. His successor (1168-1183) bore the less distinctive name of Eadward. See the *Oseney Annals* under those years.

NOTE D.

ROBERT AND SWEGE

OF Robert the son of Wymarc, Esq., we have already often heard (see vol. i. as a large landowner in various parts. He died before the time of the Survey and was succeeded by his son, who was Englishman or Dane enough to say "Postquam Rex advenit, dono Regis Suenus filius ejus adjunxit iv. hidias sui." But nearly the whole of the estate of England had before the Survey passed great estate in the Eastern shires was lands in Somerset (92 b), Hertfordshire (186 b, 187), Cambridgeshire (193 b), away from the family. So had part of his estate (207), but another part (205 b) was still in the hands of his son as lands in Oxfordshire (160) whose name is mentioned. Some parts of his Suffolk and Norfolk estates (287 b, 295 b) had also passed from him to others, as he had received considerable grants from W. (see ii. 42, 47 b, 48). The last entry is of Swegen holds land which had belonged to his father (p. 649); "Hanc terram tenuit iste liber homo R. E. ut hanc terram utlagavit, et R. accepit te s." A distinction seems to be drawn between T. R. E. (ii. 43 b, 45 b, 46 b, 47), his son, and R. E. (ii. 44 b, 45 b, 46 b, 47), his grandson.

freemen ; "Sicut Angli dicunt, Ravengarius abstulit terram ab uno illorum, et Robertus filius Wimarc alteram terram ab altero, modo vero nesciunt quomodo venerit ad episcopum." And a still more distinct case appears in ii. 101; "Hanc terram invasit Robertus filius Uuimarc T. R. Willelmi, et adhuc tenet Suenus." So in ii. 42 we read, "Tenet Osbernum de S. quod tenuit Aluuen libera femina T. R. E., et nescitur quomodo venerit ad Robertum filium Wicmarc." So in ii. 46 b, an English tenant of Swegen, Eadmær by name, holds thirty-seven acres, thirty of which had been held by a freeman T. R. E., "et ille vii. acree sunt additæ post adventum Regis Willelmi, quæ fuerunt cujusdam alius liberi hominis." But the most curious entry is in ii. 47 b, where of the lands of a certain Godric, most of which seem to have been granted to Robert, one lordship was granted to Swegen, who gave it to his father ; "S. tenet hoc manerium de dono Regis Willelmi, quod dedit patri suo Roberto."

That Robert was Sheriff of Essex under Eadward we have seen in vol. ii. p. 345. Of his tenure of the office under William we get an incidental notice in the Survey (ii. 98). Grim the Reeve holds lands of which it is noted ; "Hida est una de hominibus forisfactis erga Regem, quam post adventum Regis addidit G. ad suam aliam terram per Robertum filium Wimarc vicecomitem, sicut ipse G. dicit." He was probably succeeded in his office by Swegen, of whom we hear as Sheriff in 1 b, 2, 6, 7, 19 b, but it appears from 2 b ("Suen inde abstulit postquam perdidit vicecomitatum") that he had lost the office before the Survey was taken. One curious story of Robert's official life is found in ii. 401 b. There was a certain Brungar, a freeman in Suffolk, who was commended to Robert, but over whose lands Saint Eadmund had the rights of sac and soc ; "Eodem tempore fuerunt furati equi inventi in domo istius Brungari, ita quod abbas, cuius fuit soca et saca, et Robertus, qui habuit commendationem super istum, venerunt de hoc furto ad placitum et, sicut hundret testatur, discesserunt amicabiliter sine judicio quod vidisset hundret."

Swegen seems, from ii. 401 and other places, to have taken the name of Essex as a sort of surname, and he was father or grandfather of Henry of Essex, whose cowardice in the Welsh war in 1159 is recorded by Gervase (X Scriptt. 1380), and his punishment by Roger of Wendover, ii. 296 (see also Dugdale's Baronage, 463 ; Madox, History of the Exchequer, 28, 42 ; Ellis, i. 489). The Eadward son of Swegen in ii. 98 b ("tenuit Eduuardus filius Suani

dimidiam hidam; modo tenet Edeva uxor ejus") is certain son of Swegen of Essex. Swegen built the castle of in Essex (ii. 53 b) on land which had not belonged to hi He had also land in the town of Maldon, about which we following curious entry (ii. 48); "In hac terrâ habet solidos de consuetudine, et facit adjutorium cum aliis bur invenire caballum in exercitu et ad navem faciendam; cete consuetudines habet Suenus." Swegen's invasions of eccl and other property are recorded in 2, 42 b, 59 b, 101; of his victims (42 b) was "Bricteva libera femina"—doubt same Brihtgifu of whose wrongs at another hand we have heard (see above, p. 724)—"quam Suenus addidit prædicta

NOTE E. p. 64.

EADRIC THE WILD.

OUR earliest notice of Eadric is in Orderic, 506 B, w is said to have been one of those who submitted to Wi Barking (see p. 21). We there get his surname of "Wi we are told that he was the nephew or grandson of Eadric S "Edricus quoque cognomento *Guilda*, id est *Silvaticus* Edrici pestiferi ducis cognomento *Streone*, id est acqui

therefore he is doubtless the Eadric intended by four other entries of the same name in the same page. In 256 b and 258 b we again have Edric Salvage holding lands in Shropshire which had passed to Earl Roger. He may also be the Eadric of 254 b, 255 b, 256 b, 257, 258, 258 b, 260, in which last entry the land has passed to Osbern the son of Richard. In 256 b we may suppose he is a different person from the Eadric who is mentioned just above him, with the addition "homo liber fuit," and he may or may not be the same as the Eadric who appears in 257 as a tenant of the Bishop of Hereford; "Edric tenuit de episcopo de Hereford, et non poterat ab eo divertere, quia de victu suo erat et ei præstiterat tantum in vitâ suâ." (As usual, the reversionary right of the Bishop had not been regarded, and the land had passed to a tenant of Earl Roger.) This is the whole of the evidence of Domesday, and it leaves it uncertain whether Eadric were dead or alive at the time of the Survey, and whether his lands had passed from him by forfeiture or otherwise. All we know is that they had not passed to his own descendants.

This is all that is really known about Eadric, a man about whom we should gladly know much more. Some tales about him, which have often been accepted as history, can easily be shown to be fable. In the account of the foundation of Wigmore priory in the Monasticon (vi. 348), Eadric is represented as defending Wigmore castle against Ralph of Mortemer, as being at last taken prisoner by him, and as being condemned by William to perpetual imprisonment; "Radulphus, tamquam strenuissimus pugil, in Marchiam, et præsertim contra Edrichum, Salopiæ comitem et Wygemoniæ ac Melenythiæ cum pertinentiis dominum, conquestui adhuc non parentem, directus, post longam laboris obsidionem ipsum in eodem castro obtentum, dictasque terras et plures alias in Marchiâ, vi gladii et fortunâ, suo quam gloriose mancipavit dominio, quem et perpetuis carceribus mancipandum ad dominum suum Regem adduxit vincutum, dictamque mancipationem castri de Dyneythâ in Melenyth, per eum constructi, tuitione quam bellicose munivit." That this story is wrong may be easily shown from Domesday. Neither Wigmore castle nor its site ever belonged to Eadric, nor is Eadric called Earl in any authentic record. Of Wigmore castle the account in Domesday, 183 b, is, "Radulfus de Mortemer tenet castellum Wigmore. Willelmus comes fecit illud in wastâ terrâ quæ

vocatur Merestun, quam tenebat Gunuert T. R. E." I can give no further account of Gunwert except that he is found, with a name spelled in various ways, in several parts of Herefordshire and Shropshire, and generally in the near neighbourhood of Eadric, so that he is not unlikely to have been a sharer in his exploits.

Eadric the Wild of Herefordshire must not be confounded with the East-Anglian Eadric mentioned in p. 121, and in vol. iii. p. 729. On his outlawry Bishop *Æthelmar* took possession of his lands; "Episcopus Almarus invasit terram" (*Domesday*, ii. 200). Most likely the land was held by one of the common leases, and when Eadric's right in it was ended by his outlawry, it legally reverted to the Bishop. But as the Crown was sure to put in some claim, rightful or wrongful, to the lands of an outlaw, the Bishop's occupation was called an "invasio."

NOTE F. pp. 77, 106.

THE EARLDOM AND DEATH OF COPSIGE.

COPSIGE, the Coxo of the Normans, and his relations to Tostig and to William, have already been spoken of in vol. ii. p. 480. For his relations to Tostig, our best evidence is to be found in two passages of Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Eccl. Dun.* iii. 14 (X Scriptt.

singulari et fortitudine et probitate Regi, post et optimo cuique Normanno, placuisse audivimus." Later in his story he tells us of his death, which he evidently puts during William's absence in Normandy in 1067. After telling the story of Eustace and the Kentishmen he adds (158); "Eodem fere tempore Coxo comes, quem placuisse Normannis diximus, morte occidit immerita, et quam deceat propagari." He then goes on with a panegyric on the virtues and loyalty of Copsige; "Hic Regis causam et ipsum favore multo probabat." He then tells us of the many temptations and exhortations by which Copsige's followers and the rest of his countrymen tried to move him from his constancy to William;

"Sui vero satellites ab ipso dissidebant, factionum deterrimi fautores ac socii. Proinde eum ab officio transvertere tentabant, saepe monentes, quasi per amicitiam, de privato honore, ut libertatem a proavis traditam defenderet; nunc obsecrantes atque obtestantes, tamquam gratia rerum publicarum, ut, extraneos deserens, optimorum hominum sue nationis et consanguinitatis voluntatem sequeretur. Sane diutinâ variâque calliditate haec suggerebant, et hujusmodi alia."

Copsige however withstands all temptations, and dies a martyr to his faith towards William (see p. 107).

We turn from the rhetoric of the Archdeacon of Lisieux to the plainer narrative of our own Simeon (*Gest. Regg. A.* 1072), who at least gives us dates, though it is the dates themselves which at first sight raise the difficulty. The story comes in one of Simeon's insertions in the chronicle of Florence, and, as happens with several of those insertions, it is put out of its place, in the account of the succession of the Northumbrian Earls (see vol. i. p. 644), which comes in incidentally under the year 1072 (p. 91). He had just mentioned the appointment of Oswulf to the Bernician earldom by Morkere in 1065 (see vol. ii. p. 487). He then adds; "Capto postmodum et custodiae mancipato Morkaro, Rex Willelmus comitatum Osulfi commisit Copsio, qui erat partis Tostii comitis, viro consiliario et prudenti." He then goes on to tell the tale of Copsige's death, of which he gives an exact date, fixing it to March 12, five weeks after his appointment to the earldom, but without mentioning the year. I have quoted the passage in p. 107.

The difficulty lies in the words "capto postmodum et custodiae mancipato Morkaro." It is certain that Morkere was not avowedly

put in bonds till after his revolt in 1071 (see p. 474). I was therefore once inclined to think that the whole of these events were to be placed after William's reconquest of Ely in 1071. But there are several reasons against this date. First there is the Norman version, which speaks of Copsige as Earl and as being killed in the course of 1067. Then Simeon goes on to tell us, in the passages following those which I have just quoted, how Oswulf was himself killed not long after the death of Copsige, and how Gospafric then begged, or rather bought, the Bernician earldom of William (see p. 134). But Gospafric is called Earl in the Worcester Chronicle under the year 1068, and the account which Simeon gives (see p. 523) of the events of the year 1072 implies that it was in that year that Gospafric finally lost his earldom. I therefore place this account of Copsige, his appointment to his earldom and his death, in the year 1067 (p. 77). We must therefore suppose a certain laxity of speech on the part of Simeon in the words in which he speaks of an imprisonment of Morkere. In 1067 Morkere was outwardly in the highest favour with William. But the character in which he accompanied William to Normandy was practically that of a hostage (see p. 76). It was a pardonable exaggeration or confusion to apply to such a state of things language which strictly applied only to his actual imprisonment at a later time.

The account in the Durham Chronicle printed in the *Monasticon*,

second time by his own name, or something like it, after William's capture of York in 1069. That is to say, Thierry read the account in William of Poitiers, and also the account in Simeon of Durham, or rather in the Chronicle in the *Monasticon* founded on it. But he did not find out that they both referred to the same person, and that his Kox and his Kopsi (which his English translator brings a degree nearer in the form of Kopsig) were the same man. The history of Kox is told at i. 286, without any hint as to the part of England to which the story belongs;

"Un chef saxon, nommé Kox, reçut de semblables messages, au nom de la vieille liberté anglaise, et n'en tint aucun compte ; irrités de son refus, les conjurés lui envoyèrent des ordres, puis des menaces ; et, comme il persistait toujours dans son amitié pour les vainqueurs, les menaces furent exécutées, et il périt dans une émeute, malgré la protection étrangère. Les historiens normands le célèbrent comme un martyr de la foi jurée, digne d'être cité partout comme exemple, et dont la gloire doit vivre d'âge en âge."

The history of Kopsi (i. 326) is more romantic. It is placed in the last days of 1069 or in the first days of 1070, while William is following up his conquests beyond the Tyne. I do not know how Thierry got over the difficulty about the imprisonment of Morkere in Simeon's account, because in his own version Morkere is at this moment in arms against William ;

"Quand les Northumbriens, après avoir chassé Tostig, frère de Harold, dans une insurrection nationale, eurent choisi pour chef Morkar, frère d'Edwin, Morkar avait mis, de leur aveu, à la tête du pays situé au-de-là de la Tees, le jeune Osulf, fils d'Edulf. Osulf garda son commandement jusqu'au jour où les Normands eurent passé la Tyne ; alors il fut contraint de fuir comme les autres dans les forêts et les montagnes. On mit à sa place un certain Saxon appelé Kopsi, homme que les habitants de la Northumbrie avaient chassé avec Tostig, qui avait à se venger d'eux, et que, pour cette raison même, le nouveau roi leur imposa pour chef. Kopsi s'installa dans son poste sous la protection des étrangers ; mais, après avoir exercé quelque temps son office, il fut assailli dans sa maison par une troupe de déshérités conduite par ce même Osulf dont il avait reçu la dépouille. Il prenait tranquillement son repas, sans s'attendre à rien, quand les Saxons tombèrent sur lui, le tuèrent, et se dispersèrent aussitôt."

NOTE G. p. 78.

THE POSSESSIONS OF THE AETHELING EADGAR.

WILLIAM of Poitiers (148) enlarges on the favour which William at this time showed to Eadgar, and on the large estates which he granted him; "Athelinum, quem post Heraldi ruinam Angli Regem statuere conati fuerant, amplis terris ditavit, atque in carissimis habuit eum, quia Regis Edwardi genus contigerat; ad hoc ne puerilis ætas nimium doleret non habere honorem ad quem electus fuerat." The lands now granted would doubtless be confiscated on Eadgar's revolt (see p. 185), and the whole or part would be granted again on his reconciliation (see p. 570). But the actual entries in Domesday (142) of Eadgar's possessions hardly agree with the "amplissimæ terræ" spoken of by William of Poitiers, nor yet with the "magnum donativum" spoken of by William of Malmesbury at a later time (see p. 570). Whether Eadgar held anything T. R. E. may be doubted. The only entry which looks like it is one in Essex (ii. 3 b), where we read, "Cestrefordam tenuit comes Edgarius T. R. E." I know of no other case (see vol. iii. p. 794) where Eadgar receives the title of Earl; on the other hand, no other Earl of the name is mentioned in the days of Edward. In Domesday, 142,

NOTE H. p. 130.

THE POSSESSIONS OF COUNT EUSTACE.

THE Count Eustace of Domesday is not Eustace the Second of Boulogne, who plays so important a part in our history, but his son Eustace the Third. According to the *Art de Vérifier les Dates* (ii. 762), Eustace the Second died, and Eustace the Third succeeded, in 1093, which would make Eustace the Second the landowner at the time of the Survey. But Sir Henry Ellis (i. 385, 416) quotes a charter in which his second wife Ida is described as "venerabilis Ida tunc vidua" as early as 1082. And the fact that Ida herself appears as a landowner in Domesday, though not of itself proving that her husband was dead, falls in with that belief. But it was doubtless the elder Eustace who was the original grantee of the lands held by his son, and the entries with regard to him throw some light on his history as I have told it in the text.

The first wife of Eustace, Godgifu, the Goda of the Normans, the own sister of King Eadward, appears as a landowner T. R. E. in Sussex (17, 19, 19 b, 25), Surrey (34, where she is distinguished as "Goda Comitissa, soror R. E.", 36 b), Dorset (75 b, 76), Middlesex (130), Buckinghamshire (151 b), Gloucestershire (166 b, 170), Nottinghamshire (280, where she is distinguished from her namesake "Godeva comitissa," the wife of Leofric, 287). Not a scrap of these large possessions was kept by Eustace after the death of his wife. Some of the estates of Godgifu were at the time of the Survey in the King's hands; the rest had been granted out to various ecclesiastical and private owners. The date of the death of Godgifu is not exactly known, but it seems to have happened before 1056. (See *Art. de Vérifier les Dates*, ii. 762.) She therefore could not have been a holder "*éâ die quâ Rex E. vivus fuit et mortuus.*" Her appearance in Domesday is therefore a parallel case to entries where Earl Godwine appears as the owner T. R. E. But her appearance seems to show that her lands passed to her husband. If the lands of Godgifu had been from 1056 to 1066 in the hands of King Eadward or any grantee of his, we should hardly find her name in the Survey. It is a natural guess that Eustace succeeded to the lands of his wife, that they were confiscated by William after his treason in 1067, and that the estates which

Eustace afterwards held were later grants after his reconciliation. It strengthens this view that three lordships in Dorset (85) were held at the time of the Survey by Ida the second wife of Eustace, which she is also said to have held T. R. E. This looks as if Edward had made grants to the second wife of his friend, which were not confiscated by William along with the lands of her husband. At the time of Eustace's trial in 1067 the power of William had not yet reached into Dorset.

The Domesday holdings of Eustace were therefore grants later than his reconciliation with William; yet one is tempted to think that some of the lands held by Eustace in the southern shires must have been earlier grants which were restored. His estates in Kent (14), Surrey (34), Hampshire (34 b), had been mainly held by Godwine, Gytha, and Harold, which looks as if they were early grants of William. They were also of no great extent, which looks as if William did not choose to make him too powerful in a country where he had once shown himself dangerous. The great bulk of the estates of Eustace lie in the Eastern shires, especially in Essex (ii. 26-34), and a large part of them could not have been made in William's first days, as they consist of estates which had been held by Engelric (see above, p. 723), and in one case (ii. 27) by the Lady Eadgyth. But other entries of land which had been held by Harold were most likely earlier grants which were restored.

daughter of Malcolm and Margaret, to Bermondsey Abbey. See the Bermondsey Annals, 1114, 1115, 1127; Ann. Mon. iii. 432, 435.

NOTE I. p. 135.

THE EARLDOM OF GOSPATRIC.

THE career of Gospatric would have been much clearer if Simeon of Durham, or whoever is the Northern interpolator of Florence, had given us the events of his life under their proper years, instead of throwing them into a kind of appendix under the year 1072 (p. 92, Hinde), the date of his deposition. He there says distinctly that it was on the death of Oswulf, in the autumn of 1067, that Gospatric begged or bought the earldom. This fixes his appointment to the first possible moment after the death of Oswulf, that is, to the Midwinter Gemöt of 1067–1068; and the next time we hear of him is soon after Pentecost in 1068, when he leaves William's court for Scotland (see p. 185). The difficulty arises from Simeon's incidental way of telling the story. Having mentioned Gospatric's appointment at Christmas, 1067, he goes on to say, “*Tenuit comitatum donec Rex causis ex supradictis ei auferret; fugiens ergo ad Malcolmum non multo post Flandriam navigio petit*” (see p. 524). This of course refers not to his first flight in 1068, but to his final flight in 1072. Simeon himself mentions the flight of 1068 under its proper year, and in describing Gospatric's appearance at York in 1069 (p. 84) he gives him the title of Earl, which he bears also in the Worcester Chronicle (see p. 254); and this is to be noted, because the mention of Gospatric in 1069 is one of Simeon's additions to the text of Florence. Between these two events, in the beginning of 1069, the Worcester Chronicle and Simeon place the grant of the Bernician earldom to Robert of Comines (see p. 235), which is not mentioned by Florence. It would seem then that William treated Gospatric's earldom as vacant through his flight to Scotland; Robert was his successor, and William (see p. 523), afterwards at least, looked on Gospatric as having been an accomplice in the resistance in which Robert lost his life. Gospatric's reconciliation with William and his restoration to his earldom in the winter of 1069 is mentioned by Orderic only. Simeon, in recording his acts in the next year, 1070, treats him as

having been Earl all along. He speaks, as we have seen, of his share in the attack of York, and he does not mention him again till he records his attack on Cumberland in 1070 (p. 87; see p. 506), when he introduces him afresh, with reference to his first appointment in 1067; "Gospatricus comes, qui, ut supra dictum est, a Rege Willelmo comitatum Northanhymbrorum pretio assecutus fuerat." He acts again as Earl when he receives Bishop Walcher at Durham in 1071 (see p. 513); he is finally deposed in 1072, but he had been received again into partial favour before the taking of the Survey (see p. 524).

The seeming puzzle arises wholly from the way in which Simeon put his History together, namely by enlarging the chronicle of Florence by such insertions as he thought needful. Gospatric was naturally a much more important person in the eyes of Simeon than he was in the eyes of Florence. He therefore felt called on to speak of him several times when Florence had not mentioned him, and the way in which he made his insertions was a little irregular and incoherent.

The course of events then is something like this;

Appointment as Earl	Christmas	1067
Earldom forfeited by flight to Scotland	Summer	1068
Appointment and death of Robert	January	1069

forgiven, and the relations between Malcolm and Gospatric do not greatly differ from those between Malcolm and Tostig. Besides, the two stories which are said to be inconsistent both come from the same authority, that of the Northern interpolator.

The lands of Gospatric in Yorkshire appear in Domesday, 330, but to a large part is added the fatal entry "wasta," and in one case "non colit." He also held largely as a tenant of Earl Alan; see 309 b, 310 b, 311 b. In some cases he held under Alan what he had himself held T. R. E.; in others he held lands which had belonged to Archill, which was also the case with some of the lands which he held of the King.

On Gospatric's children (see p. 524) see Mr. Hinde's note, p. 92, and Dugdale's Baronage, 54. We also find in Orderic, 543 D, 872 D, "Guallevus Angligena, Crulandensis coenobii monachus, frater Gospatritii de magna nobilitate Anglorum," who became Abbot of Crowland in 1124. "Waltheff filius Gospatrici," "Gospatricius, filius eorumdem," and "Alanus filius Waldevi" all appear, along with nearly every one else in Yorkshire, French and English, among the benefactors of Saint Mary's abbey at York. Mon. Ang. iii. 550. Alan the son of Waltheof illustrates the law by which English names gave way to French.

The younger Gospatric appears as established in Scotland in 1138. See John of Hexham, X Scriptt. 264, where, and in Richard of Hexham, ib. 323, we hear of his natural son Eadgar. We should have less expected to find, as we find in the *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 72, Richard Abbot of Saint Alban's (1097-1119) making grants "Gospatrico filio consulis Gospatrici, et Waldet filio ejus." But the grants seem to have lain among the northern possessions of the abbey. Both Gospatric and Eadgar are mentioned again at i. 95.

NOTE K. p. 136.

ÆTHELSIGE ABBOT OF RAMSEY.

I HAVE here given the best account which I could put together, from various scattered notices, of the chequered life of a remarkable man. Of Æthelsige's appointment to the abbey of Saint Augustine (see vol. ii. p. 451) there is no doubt, and the local history is explicit

as to his being further invested by Eadward in the government of Ramsey. The writer (c. 119) describes the sickness of Abbot Ælfwine, and adds words which are equivalent to a resignation; "Crescente indies languore, et spem ei omnem reddituræ sanitatis penitus adimente, forinsecæ administrationis renuntians officio, omne perfunctoriæ potestatis onus, ut secum quietior habitaret, abjecit." He goes on to say that the brethren took good care of him for the rest of his days, and then adds; "Quibus audiis Rex Edwardus, amicissimi viri adversis condolens casibus et ecclesie ipsius providâ dispensatione consulens utilitati, cuidam Ailfso, viro prudenti et industrio qui tunc temporis monasterio Sancti Augustini abbatis jure presidebat, domus Ramesiensis curam commisit." (The form *Ailfius* in this extract might seem to imply the name *Ælysige* rather than *Æthelsige*, but it clearly should be *Ailfius*, *Ail* being the usual Latin abbreviation of *Æsel*.) It seems plain then that *Æthelsige* held the two abbeys in plurality before the death of Eadward, and that he was appointed Abbot of Ramsey during the lifetime of Ælfwine. But in the act of 1072 touching the submission of the see of York to Canterbury (Will. Malms. iii. 298; see p. 357), we read among the signatures "Ego Elfwinus, abbas cenobii quod Ramesege dicitur, consensi." There is also a charter printed in the Monasticon, ii. 559, and in Cod. Dipl. iv. 148, but marked as doubtful, the signatures to which seem to speak of *Æthelsige* and

and he is described as having been, at some former time, in high favour with the King, as having been in Denmark for some cause or other, and also as having been at one time outlawed. Further, in the *Chronologia Augustinensis* in Elmham's History (p. 28, ed. Hardwick), we read "Egelsinus fugit" under the year 1070, and the story is told more at length in W. Thorn's Chronicle (X Scriptt. 1787). Some of the Normans had unlawfully seized ("violenter occupaverunt") some of the lands of the abbey; "Egelsinus perpendens se odium incurrisse Regis propter libertates Kanciæ [this refers to the legend about Stigand and Æthelsige securing the liberties of Kent, see vol. iii. p. 538] prædia et possessiones monasterii sui Normannis, timore compulsus, invitis suis fratribus, concessit. Tandem attendens iram Regis erga se implacabilem, plus suæ saluti quam gregis sibi commissi consulens, exhaustis pretiosis quibuscumque monasterii sui thesauris, in Daciam navgio affugit, nec usquam comparuit."

Putting all this evidence together, there seems hardly room for doubt that Æthelsige of Saint Augustine's and Æthelsige of Ramsey are the same person, that he forsook his preferments in 1070 and fled to Denmark (an act equivalent to outlawry), that, during his absence, the former Abbot Ælfwine resumed his functions, but that at some later time Æthelsige regained William's favour, and was restored to Ramsey, but not to Saint Augustine's. The "nec usquam comparuit" of the Canterbury writer is quite accounted for by his not appearing again at Saint Augustine's. But out of all this another question arises, namely as to the embassy of Æthelsige to Swegen. The direct evidence for this comes only from sources which are greatly mixed up with legendary matter. Langebek (iii. 252) has collected three Church legends of the origin of the Feast of the Conception of our Lady, from one of which I copy the part which bears on the history of Æthelsige;

"Eo tempore, quo Wilhelmus Dux Normannorum potentissimus, prostrato Rege Anglorum Haraldo, Angliam sibi subjecisset, contigit ut Danorum Rex, auditâ morte Haraldi consanguinei, venire in Angliam disponeret, ut et mortem ejus vindicaret et terram sibi subigeret, quam dicebat suam esse; quo audito, Wilhelmus omnia castra Angliae militibus et expensis fortissime munivit, et ad resistendum Danis se, quantum poterat, præparavit. Initio autem

consilio cum suis optimatibus, abbatem Helsinum, virum prudentem ac Deo ac beatæ Virgini devotissimum, in Daciam misit, ut et propositum Regis agnosceret et pro pace obtinendâ a Rege Danorum, quantum esset sibi possibile, laboraret.

" Navigans igitur venerabilis abbas, in Daciam prospere venit, Regique se præsentans, munera ac servitia ex parte Wilhelmi novi Regis Angliæ obtulit, ac proceres terræ muneribus honoravit. Reverenter igitur a Rege Danorum receptus et habitus, non modico tempore apud eum mansit. Tandem quum negotia pro quibus missus fuerat ad placitum peregisset, licentiâ redeundi a Rege dati, iter per mare cum sociis aggressus est." (iii. 253.)

The story will also be found at greater length in an English poem of the fourteenth century, quoted by Sir Henry Ellis, ii. 99.

It is of course open to any one to accept the facts that *Aethelsige* took refuge in Denmark during his outlawry and that he afterwards returned, but to look on the story of the embassy as a legend growing out of these facts, devised to explain his presence in Denmark. But the three lessons given by Langebek, though they run off into an ecclesiastical legend, are yet perfectly probable and consistent in their description of the political state of things. There is nothing unlikely, but quite the contrary, in William's sending an embassy to Swegen. Indeed the singular failure of Swegen to send help at the time when it would have been most effectual, his not coming in

titles, which vary somewhat in different shires. Of the great heads of Crown lands, the first (75), headed "Dominicatus Regis ad Regnum pertinens in Devenescirā," contains nothing which had belonged to Godwine's family, and nearly all the estates there entered had been held by King Eadward himself. The like is the case with the next head (80), "Dominicatus Regis in Sumersetā." But the next head, "Dominicatus Regis in Devenescirā" (84), consists, with the exception of a single lordship, wholly of lands which had belonged to Gytha and her sons. The members of the family who appear under this heading are Gytha herself, Eadgyth, Harold, and Leofwine. The names are spelled in various ways, and in one place (90) Gytha appears simply as "mater Haraldi comitis." In 90 is the entry, "Terre Regis dominice in Cornu Galliæ," consisting of twelve lordships which had been held by Harold, answering to the entry in the Exchequer Domesday, 120, which has the note at the end, "Has præscriptas xii. terras tenuit Heraldus comes T. R. E." Then in 94 follows the heading, "Terre Regis quas tenuit Godwinus comes et filii ejus in Sumersetā." The lands under this head had belonged to Gytha, Harold, Tostig, "Godwinus filius Haroldi comitis" (96), "Gunnilla filia comitis Goduini," 96, 99, and Eddeva, 97, of whom more anon. In 104 is a distinct entry of "Terra Editdæ Reginæ in Sumersetā." Also in 26 is the entry "Dominicatus Regis in Dorsetā," consisting of seven lordships which had been held by Harold, six which had been held by King Eadward, one by Gytha entered as "mater Haraldi Comitis," and two churches at Dorchester and elsewhere held by Brihtweard the priest.

It is thus plain that the lands of the house of Godwine formed a large part of the Crown lands kept by William in the western shires. Only very small portions of them were allowed to pass into any other hands, and those chiefly in the hands of William's brother Earl Robert. The conquest of the West was, alone among William's later successes, a distinct triumph over the house of Godwine. He seems to have purposely kept their lands in his own hands as a kind of trophy.

Among the members of the house of Godwine who appear in this list, the largest holdings are those of Gytha, Eadgyth, and Harold. Leofwine has several lordships in Devonshire; in Somerset only one for certain, namely, Combe (Exon, 142; Exchequer, 87 b),

and a vague account is given of the descendants of the marriage ; “Cujus filii duo confestim in Daniem cum sorore migrarunt. Quos Sueno, paterni eorum meriti oblitus, consanguineæ pietatis more exceptit, puellamque Rutenorum Regi Waldemaro, qui et ipse Jarizlavus a suis est appellatus, nuptum dedit. Eidem postmodum nostri temporis dux, ut sanguinis ita et nominis hæres, ex filiâ nepos obvenit.” By Holmgard is meant Novgorod and Northern Russia generally (see Karamsin, *Histoire de Russie*, ii. 411). I cannot pretend to any minute knowledge of Russian history, but, with such light as I can find in Karamsin and the *Art de Vérifier les Dates* (ii. 112), I cannot identify these princes. Jaroslaf, who reigned from 1019 to 1055, had both a son and a grandson of the name of Vladimir, one of whom is doubtless intended. But the son died in 1052 (Karamsin, ii. 40), and whether the grandson, Vladimir son of Usevolod, who reigned from 1113 to 1125, married a daughter of our Harold I cannot say. Karamsin (ii. 39, 211, 417) admits the marriage, but seemingly not from any Russian authorities, and he certainly knows of no Russian prince named Harold. Vladimir's son and successor was Mstislaf, who reigned at Kief from 1125 to 1132. Lappenberg (557) says, “Die Söhne flohen nach Irland, Gythe zu ihres Vaters Vetter Svend von Dänemark und wurde mit Waldemar, Czar von Russland, des Wsewold Sohn, vermählt, dem sie den Sohn Mistislav-Harold und durch diesen eine fernere erlauchte Nachkommenschaft gab.” But I do not know Lappenberg's authority for giving any Russian prince the double name of Mistislav-Harold.

I have already hinted (see p. 142 and vol. iii. p. 791) that these three sons and two daughters of Harold were most likely the children of Eadgyth Swanneshals. None of the three sons who were grown men in 1068 could have been children of Ealdgyth. Nor is it likely that either of the daughters was hers. Sir Henry Ellis (ii. 80) and Lappenberg (557) assume a former marriage of Harold, of which they make these children the offspring, but they quote no authority for such a marriage, and on the whole it seems easier to make them children of Eadgyth. And their position and that of their mother may have been as good as that of Sprotta and “the other *Ælfgifu*” and their sons.

As to children of Harold and Ealdgyth, it is certain (see Florence, 1087) that Harold had a son Ulf, who, at the time of William's

— — — — — we read how Mag
Haroldo filio Haroldi Regis quonda
about Ulf is so distinct that we can
Harold who had no share in the wa
West, but who was a captive in the h
fail to have been a son of Ealdgyth.
But the statement which gives Harold
inconsistent with the other. Any chi
must have been born after his father's
may have been posthumous twins, like
tainly, though most likely not posthum
and the other Ealdgyth. In this case w
was saved like Lewis from-beyond-Sea
Ulf was taken.

Gunhild the daughter of Harold mu
her aunt of the same name, the daughte
is recorded in Domesday, and I see no re
tainty of her epitaph. See Ellis, ii. 136,
small tract on the two Gunhilds, the da
pp. 451, 743) and the daughter of Godwi
1833, for a sight of which I have to than
The inscription is as follows;

“Pater noster; Credo in Deum Patrem
Apostolorum sunt scripta.

“Gunildis nobilissimis orta parentibus
Godwino comite, sub cuius dominio maximam
matre Githa, illustri prosapia Dacorum
veret adhuc puella virginalem castitate
conjugium, sprevit connubia nonnulloru
Haec omnia datur.

et modesta, erga extraneos benivola et justa, pauperibus larga, suo corpori admodum parca; quid dicam, adeo ut omnibus illecebris se abstinentendo, per multos annos ante sui diem obitus non vexeretur carnibus, neque quidquam quod sibi dulce visum est gustando, sed vix necessaria vitæ capiendo, cilicio induita, ut nec etiam quibusdam pateret familiaribus, conflictando cum viciis vicit in virtutibus. Dehinc transiens Bruggas, et ibi transvolutis quibusdam annis et inde pertransiens in Dacia, huc reversa, virgo transmigravit in Domino, Anno incarnationis domini millesimo LXXXVII, nono kalendas Septembbris, luna XXII."

NOTE N. p. 164.

EADNOTH THE STALLER.

OUR slight notices of Eadnoth raise a certain interest in him. There is a temptation to find out as much as we can about a man who was in high place alike under Eadward, Harold, and William. And, if there is reason to believe that he was the forefather of a great English house, the pedigree acquires an interest which does not belong to those pedigrees, real or mythical, which go up only to the sharers of William's spoils. That Eadnoth was Staller under Eadward appears from Cod. Dipl. iv. 204, which also shows that he was Sheriff of Hampshire. In that writ he is addressed along with Stigand as Archbishop and Harold as Earl. But he does not often sign the charters of Eadward, though his name is attached to the two spurious Westminster charters (Cod. Dipl. iv. 180, 189) with the title of "Eadnoðus minister." In Domesday he once distinctly appears as "Ednod stalre," in Berkshire, 58 b. This estate had passed to Abingdon abbey by the gift of Hugh Earl of Chester, and it is added in a significant way, "Non erat tunc in abbatia." Of this land we find another notice in the History of Abingdon, ii. 19, according to which the land had been held by Eadnoth of the abbey, and was restored by Earl Hugh in 1090, which hardly agrees with the entry in Domesday, "Hunc [viculum Scipena dictum] de abbatia tempore Eadwardi regis quidam ipsius constabulus, nomine Eadnotus, tenebat cuius viri terrarum metus postea Hugo Cestrensis comes adeptus cum didicisset prædictum

viculum hujus abbatiae juri pertinere," &c. The name Eadnoth is a common one, and it is not easy to say which of the various entries under it in Domesday belong to our Eadnoth. He most likely is the "Ednod dapifer" of p. 69, but he cannot be the Ednod (nor yet the Alnod) of p. 124 b. Moreover, there can be little doubt that Eadnoth is the person intended by some of the entries of Alnod, Alnodus, Elnod, in Domesday. Those forms ought to represent, not *Eadnoth*, but *Ælfnoth*. Still the case seems clear, and all that we can do is to think of δάκρυ and λακρίμα, Ὀδυσσεύς and *Ulysses*, *Ægidius* and *Giles*. Eadnoth undoubtedly had a son Harding, who was living when William of Malmesbury wrote, and of whom he gives (iii. 254) a very curious description; "Vocabatur is Ednodus, domi belloque Anglorum temporibus juxta insignis, pater Herdingi qui adhuc superest, magis consuetus linguam in lites acuere quam arma in bello concutere." (So Orderic (846 A) describes Robert, son of Henry Earl of Warwick, as "faecundia prædictus, sed dexterā frigidus, et plus linguā quam lanceā fueratus.") We have thus a Harding son of Eadnoth the Staller, and we have further evidence of his connexion with Somerset and Devonshire. "Heardinc Eadnōtēs sunu" appears among the witnesses to a Somerset document in Cod. Dipl. iv. 234, and we also find him selling a slave at Topsham in Devonshire; "Wulward bohte

I have quoted in vol. ii. p. 546; "Ednodus tenuit T. R. E. . . . Hanc terram abstulit Godwinus comes Sanctæ Mariæ Wiltunensi, et *tunc eam recuperavit Ednodus.*" This looks as if "Ednodus" had some claim on the land earlier than the claim of the abbey, which was asserted on his behalf by Godwine.

There can then, I think, be little doubt as to identifying Eadnoth the Staller with the "Alnod," "Elnod," or "Ednod" of the western shires. He was in all probability a man who had risen by the favour of Godwine and Harold. Of his earlier estate we may perhaps get a glimpse in a Berkshire entry in Domesday, 60; "Ednod tenuit de Heraldo, et non potuit ire quolibet." He rose to high office under Eadward; he kept it under Harold, and he seemingly kept it under William also. And he would also seem, like so many others, to have abused his personal or official influence both under Eadward and under William. He left a son who was alive when William of Malmesbury wrote, and who appears as a landowner in Domesday. But the strange thing is that no part of his estates passed to his son. Harding's property in Sonerset, where we are most certain that we are dealing with the right Harding, was held T. R. E. by "Toui," that is doubtless the Sheriff "Touid" or Tofig (a different man of course from Tofig the Proud), who appears as Sheriff of Somerset in two of Eadward's writs in favour of Gisa. (Cod. Dipl. iv. 197, 199.) This does not prove that Tofig was dispossessed in favour of Harding, as Harding may have inherited from Tofig. One Wiltshire estate under the name of Harding (74) had been held by the same owner T. R. E. There is a most curious entry in the same shire (67 b), how Harding held lands of the church of Shaftesbury T. R. E. which at the Survey were held by "Turstinus," who may be either Thurstan a Dane or Toustain a Frenchman. It is added, "Hanc terram reddidit sponte suâ ecclesiæ Hardingus, quia in vitâ suâ per conventum debebat tenere." But in Gloucestershire (170 b) Harding holds lands in pledge ("in vadimonio") of a certain Brihtric, which Brihtric had held T. R. E., and the lands held by him in Buckinghamshire (153) had been held T. R. E. by Wulfred and others. There were other lands of which a Harding, whether the same or another, had been dispossessed in favour of various foreign owners. Lands in Wiltshire had passed from him to the Count of Mortain (68 b) and to Earl Alberic (69), and thence to the Crown (see p. 672. This looks

like more than an official loss). Others in Warwickshire (239 b) and Leicestershire (231) had also gone to Count Alan and to the Crown, and others in Dorsetshire (82 b) to Berenger Giffard. Nowhere does anything of Eadnoth's appear in the hands of Harding. This apparent confiscation of the estate of a man who died in William's service suggests that Harding had given some personal offence which was visited by partial loss of lands. If he be, as is most likely, the "Hardingus Reginæ pincerna" who signs the Waltham charter (Cod. Dipl. iv. 159), he probably had a friend at court to plead for him.

As to the descendants of Harding, it seems in the highest degree probable that this Harding was the father of Robert Fitz-Harding of Bristol, the forefather of the second line of the lords of Berkeley. Local antiquaries call Harding of Bristol a son of "the King of Denmark," a follower of William the Conqueror, Mayor of Bristol, and what not. The unlikelihood of a son of Swegen Estrithsson being in the service of William never strikes them. On the other hand, nothing is more likely than that a Theng holding lands in Somerset and Gloucestershire, but who clearly held a much smaller amount of land than his father, and who was of the peculiar and unwarlike disposition described by William of Malmesbury, should throw in his lot with the burghers of the great city which lay on the confines of the two shires and should rise to eminence among

Chentiscus teignus R. E.; and in Northamptonshire (220), "Alnod Cantuariensis." To identify this "Alnod" with *Æthelnoth* is a matter of conjecture, but it seems at least a more probable conjecture than to make Alnod Cild the same as Wulfnoth the son of Godwine. Sir Henry Ellis (ii. 21) takes this from Kelham (174), who seemingly takes it from a Kentish county history, and it is repeated as if there were no doubt about it, but without any reference to Kelham, in Mr. C. H. Pearson's Historical Maps, p. 60. But this notion rests only on the unlucky guess of Kelham's Kentish writer, who seemingly thought that "Cilt" was the same as "Clito," and that Wulfnoth was called "Cild" "from the royalty of his kindred." Now I do not profess to know exactly what this most puzzling title of "Cild" means; it is undoubtedly applied to the *Ætheling* Eadgar, but it is also applied to people who are clearly not so called from the royalty of their kindred, of whom I have collected instances in vol. i. p. 649. Another case (Domesday, 193 b), "Goduinus cilt, homo Eddeve pulcre, qui non potuit recedere," might almost go some way to justify M. Emile de Bonnecose's explanation (see vol. i. p. 651) of "Cild" by "*churl ou chef*." I do not remember that the title of "Cild" is ever given to any of the members of the house of Godwine.

NOTE O. p. 165.

BRIHTRIC AND MATILDA.

ALL our real knowledge of Brihtric comes from Domesday. His father was named *Ælfgar* (163 b), and his lands, or the greater part of them, were granted to Queen Matilda. Of many Brihtrics in the Survey the one with whom we are concerned is most likely the same who signs the Waltham charter with the title of "princeps" (Cod. Dipl. iv. 159). We find some men of the name in Domesday, as in Berkshire (61 b, 62, 63 b), who may be our Brihtric, and others, as in Somerset, (96, 98 b), Cornwall (124 b), Gloucester (170 b), who cannot be. But our Brihtric appears distinctly as a great landowner in most of the western shires. We meet him in Dorset (75 b, Exon, 30) as the former owner of three lordships held by Queen Matilda, with the heading "Has subter scriptas terras

tenuit Mathildis Regina." In Devonshire (101, Exon, 100) we have the still more distinct heading, "Infra scriptas terras tenuit Brictric et post Matildis Regina." The Queen however had not received the whole of Brihtric's lands in Devonshire, as we find (112, 112 b) some of his lands in possession of William of Clavile, and in Exon (370) he is clearly distinguished as "Bristicus filius Algari" from another who is called "Bristicus Ulestanus." It is hopeless to ask to which of these two Brihtrics those entries in the same shire belong to which we have no further clue. One more Devonshire entry must be mentioned. In 113 we read, "Rogerius de Busli tenet de Rege Sanforde; Brictric tenebat T. R. E." and at the end of the entry is added, "Regina dedit Rogerio cum uxore suâ." In Cornwall (120) we find an entry, "Infra scriptas [terras] Brictric tenebat; post Mathildis Regina." We pass into Gloucestershire, where we find (163 b), "Hoc manerium [Clifort, part of which had also been given by the Queen to Roger of Busli] tenuit Brictric filius Algar T. R. E., et has subscriptas terras aliorum teinorum ipso tempore in suâ potestate habuit." Then follow six entries with the note at the end, "Qui T. R. E. has terras tenebant et se et terras suas sub Brictrici potestate submiserunt." One of these the Queen is said to have granted to Reginald the Chaplain and John the Chamberlain. Then follow four more lordships of Brihtric (including Fair-

in the Survey as a marked man, almost in the same way as the members of the house of Godwine. As for the legend which I have mentioned in the text, it is hard to say whether it grew out of the fact that Matilda received so large a portion of Brihtric's lands, or whether that fact is to be taken as any confirmation of the legend. It is certainly slightly in its favour that he is described as being seized at Hanley, which we see from Domesday was really one of his lordships. The story comes from the Continuator of Wace, and will be found in Ellis, ii. 55, and Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, i. 73. The story, as far as we are concerned with it, runs thus :

"Laquelle jadsi, qant fu pucele,
 Ama un conte dengleterre,
 Brichtrich Mau le oí nomer
 Apree le rois ki fu riche ber ;
 A lui la pucele enuera messager
 Pur sa amur a lui procurer,
 Meis Brichtrich Maude refusa
 Dunc ele m'lt se coruca,
 Hastiuement mer passa
 E a Willam bastard se maria :
 Qant Willam fu corune
 E Malde sa feme a reine leue,
 Icele Malde se purpensa
 Coment vengier se purra
 De Brichtriche Mau kele ama,
 Ki a femme pr'ndre la refusa.
 Tant enchantea son seignor,
 Le rei Willam le Conqueror,

Ke de Brichtrich Mau lad grante
 De faire de lui la volente ;
 La reine par tot le fist guerreier
 K'ele li uolt deaheriter,
 Pris fu a haneleye a son maner,
 Le ior ke Saint Wlstan li ber
 Sa chapele auoit dedie ;
 A Wynocestre fu amene,
 Ilokes morut en prison
 Brichtrich Mau par treison ;
 Qant il fu mort senz heir de sei
 Son heritage seisit le Rei,
 E cum escheit tint en sa main
 Dekes il feoffa Rob't fiz haim :
 Ki oueke lui de Normandie
 Vint od m'lt grant cheualerie
 La t're ke Brichtrich li leissa
 Franchment a Robert dona."

We find the story also in the Chronicle of Tewkesbury, printed in the Monasticon, ii. 60, where we find "Haylwardus [Ælfweard, Æthelweard, or what?] Snew dictus propter albedinem, ex illustri prosapiâ Regis Edwardi senioris ortus," who flourishes under Æthelstan in 930, and who, with his wife Ælfgifu, founds in 980 a monastery at Cranborne, to which he makes Tewkesbury, of which he was patron, a cell. "Haylwardus" is the father of Ælfgar the father of Brihtric, a piece of chronology which, as usual, attributes a wonderfully long life to the persons concerned. The story is then told much as in the French poem;

"Postea, versa vice, scilicet anno Domini mxvi. Willielmus Dux

Normanniæ Angliam adquisivit, qui duxit secum nobilem virum atque juvenem, Robertum filium Haymonis, dominum de Astremvillâ in Normanniâ. Et quum Matildis Regina (uxor Conquestoris) haberet nobilem virum, scilicet dictum dominum Brichticum Meaw, et dominum honoris Glocestriæ, exosum, eo quod nollet ei in matrimonium copulari, quum ipse esset in transmarinis partibus circa negotia regia imbassatoria, et illa erat sola, sed postea maritata domino Willielmo Conquestori, que tempore opportuno reperto, licentiata a Rege, Regeque jubente, ipsum in manerio suo de Hanleyâ capi fecit et Wyntoniam adduci; qui ibidem mortuus et sepultus sine liberis discessit. Rex vero Willielmus dedit honorem Brichtici Matildi Reginae, que totum honorem Brichtici, scilicet Gloucesteriæ, quoad vixit, occupavit; mortuâ vero ipsâ Reginâ anno Domini mxxxiii. mense Aprili, Rex Willielmus ipsum honorem in manu suâ cœpit. Defuncto igitur Willielmo Conquestore anno Domini mxxxvii. successit sibi Willielmus Rufus filius ejus. Iste Willielmus processu temporis dedit honorem Brichtici Roberto filio Haymonis, cum omni libertate et integritate quibus pater suus vel etiam ipse Brichticus umquam tenuerunt, et hoc egit propter magnos labores quos prædictus Robertus sustinuit cum patre suo."

The reader must judge for himself how much he will believe of
This above T cannot be learned the fact in Domesday

possessions assume a sort of special and systematic character. His estates in Somerset and Devonshire are very large, but in Cornwall they are more than an estate however large. Robert holds a special position somewhat like that of the Earls Hugh in Cheshire and Roger in Shropshire. He holds the whole shire with certain comparatively small exceptions. In Cornwall however there were some Crown lands, though very small. All the rest was Robert's, save the lands of the churches, and two lordships in private lay hands, one in those of Judahel of Totnes, the other in that of Goscelinus, who also appears as a considerable landowner in Devonshire. Robert's wide and reckless spoliation of ecclesiastical bodies strikes one almost at a glance at the Survey. At the head of page 121 is a distinct entry; "*Hæ infra scriptæ terræ sunt ablatae Sancto Petroco; comes Moritonensis tenet et homines ejus de eo.*" A number of separate notices of the same kind follow, and they come out still more clearly in the Exeter Domesday (183), where we have a smaller series of entries with the heading "*De ecclesiâ Sancti Germani ablata est.*" Elsewhere (182, 470) we find a curious entry of an incidental wrong done by Robert to the see of Exeter. The Bishop had a market on Sundays in his lordship of Saint German's, which was brought to nothing by an opposition market set up by the Count; "*In eâ mansione erat i. mercatum eâ die quâ Rex E. fuit vivus et mortuus in Dominicâ die, et modo ad nihilatur [ad nihilum redigitur, Exchequer 120 b] propter mercatum quod ibi prope constituit comes de Moritonio in quodam suo castro in eâdem die.*" A more direct wrong of the same kind was done to the canons of Saint Stephen's in their lordship of Lanscavetone (120 b); "*De hoc manerio abstulit comes Moritonensis unum mercatum quod ibi T. R. E. jacebat et valebat xx. solidos.*" On the opposite page there is a plaintive lament from the canons of Saint Piran, touching two of their estates in their manor of Lanpiran, which "*reddebant canoniciis T. R. E. firmam iv. septimanarum, et decano xx. solidos per consuetudinem.*" The entry goes on, "*Ha- rum unam tenet Bernerus de comite Moritonensi, et de aliâ hidâ, quam tenet Odo de Sancto Pireano, abstulit comes totam pecuniam.*" Complaints of the same sort occur throughout the whole record. One, specially to be noticed, is the alienation of Gytha's gift of Crowcombe in Somerset from the church of Winchester, of which I have spoken in vol. ii. p. 350.

and Ecclesiastical Documents merging of the Cornish dioceses at Saint German's, but with a The church of Bodmin was 1 slaves in the Codex Diplomatic Mr. Haddan (676). These hel day we should hardly have g were common in Cornwall in th Welsh names were common also. on the church of Saint Petroc, t the story (see Mon. Angl. ii. 4^t lands. Besides the lands which also (121) a suspicious list of lo powerful tenant, held of the chu six lordships in his own hands.

As for the two mounts and the there is no doubt but that the less times a cell to the greater one in the two to one another, and of t which we are concerned, are anyth (ii. 515) spoken of an alleged ch vii. 989. It professes to be a gran "Tradidi Sancto Michaeli Archani videntium in eodem loco, Sanctum cum omnibus appenditiis, villis & attinentibus." Doubtful as this panies it from the same cartula professes to be a grant of the one, made by Count D.



Saint Michael appear, but there is no hint as to any connexion between the two, or as to Count Robert standing in any relation to either of them, except in his ordinary character of a spoiler. Saint Michael of Cornwall appears in the Exchequer Domesday (120 b), and more fully in Exon (189); and we read, "Sanctus Michael habet i. mansionem quæ vocatur Treival, quam tenuit Brismarus eā die qua Rex E. fuit vivus et mortuus. . . . De hac mansione abstulit comes de Moretonio i. de prædictis ii. hidis quæ erat de dominicatu beati Michahelis." This is the only mention of the house that I can find, and it would seem to imply a foundation between 1066 and 1085. Brismar was a man of large property in all the three shires, who contrived to keep one Somerset lordship (99, Exon 455, where he is distinguished as "Brismarus Anglicus"). He is not unlikely to have been the founder, and, if so, he must have founded it, or at least have given this estate, after Eadward's death. At all events we have no trace of Robert in any such character. Elsewhere (65) the Norman Saint Michael appears as holding a hide of land and two churches in Wiltshire on lordships held by the King, one of which had belonged to Earl Harold and the other to the Lady Eadgyth. Also three lordships in Devonshire (104), two of which had belonged to Harold and one to Gytha. There is one more entry in Hampshire (43); "Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis de Monte tenet de Rege i. ecclesiam cum i. hidâ et decimâ de manerio Basingestoches . . . Walterius episcopus [Herefordensis sc.] tenuit de Rege, sed non erat de episcopatu suo." It seems pretty plain then that whatever possessions in England were held by the Norman Saint Michael were acquired after William's accession, and that, whoever was the founder of the Cornish house, it was not Count Robert. A note in the Monasticon, vii. 989, speaks of another tradition as naming Robert's son William as the person who gave the Cornish house to the Norman one. Here we most likely have the clue to the mistake.

NOTE Q. p. 179.

THE TITLES OF QUEEN AND LADY.

It will be noticed that in the words of the Chronicle quoted in the text the *Lady* Matilda is said to be hallowed to *Queen*. The

passage is not unlike an earlier one in 1051, where the Peterborough Chronicler (see vol. ii. p. 154) says of Eadgyth, "þa forlet se cyng þa hlæfdian, seo wæs gehalgod him to cwene." (Cf. Cod. Dipl. iv. 209, "on Eadgiðe gewitnyasse ƿære cwene.") Otherwise Eadgyth is always spoken of as Lady down to the day of her death (see p. 586). With this exception, from the coronation of Matilda "cwen" becomes the usual word; see the Chronicles in 1083, 1100, 1115, 1118, 1119, 1121, 1123, 1126; besides 1097 and 1100 where it is applied to Margaret of Scotland, and in 1140 to a French Queen. But it must be remembered that, while "Lady" was still the regular title in English, "Regina" had long been familiarly used in Latin. This difference is analogous to that which I mentioned in vol. ii. p. 661 with regard to the wives of Earls, who in English have no title, but whom the Norman writers and Englishmen writing in Latin freely call "comitissa." In Cod. Dipl. iv. 72 the words "Leofric eorl and his gebedda" become in the Latin version more reverentially "Leofricus comes et Godgiva comitissa." On the other hand, the style of the Empress Matilda is "Angliae Normanniaeque Domina," Will. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii. 42, 44, and so in a charter in Rymer, i. 14; "Matilda Imperatrix, Henrici Regis filia, et Anglorum Domina." But a Queen regnant was something wholly new both in England and in Normandy, and

the flight of Gytha. Then come the King's Easter at Winchester and the Queen's coronation at Pentecost. Then William hears of hostile movements in the North, and goes and builds castles at Nottingham, York, Lincoln, and elsewhere. Then "Gospatric eorl and þa betstan menn fóron into Scotlante." Lastly comes the account of the landing of Harold's son or sons and the death of Eadnoth.

It is plain that in this account there is one great breach of chronological order. The flight of Eadgar, which is said to be in the summer, is put before William's Easter feast on March 23, to say nothing of the way in which it is thrust in between two events so closely connected as the surrender of Exeter and the flight of Gytha. Florence, clearly with this Chronicle before him, corrects the order of events. The flight of Gytha is put in its natural place. The flight of Eadgar is put immediately after the coronation of Matilda, the later passage about the flight of Gospatric and others is left out, and the account (1068) stands thus; "Post haec Marleswein et Gospatric et quique Northumbranæ gentis nobiliores, Regis austoritatem devitantes, et ne, sicut alii, in custodiam mitterentur formidantes, sumptis secum clitone Eadgaro et matre suâ Agathâ, duabusque sororibus suis Margaretâ et Christinâ, navigio Scottiam adierunt, ibidemque, Regis Scottorum Malcolmi pace, hiemem ex-
erant" Florence also leaves out the account of the North

Morkere submit at Warwick (see p. 192). Then William goes on to Nottingham, York, &c.

Now, in comparing these accounts together, we can have little doubt as to accepting the revolt and submission of Eadwine and Morkere on the strength of the Norman account. It is far more likely that the Chroniclers should, from whatever cause, have left out the doings of the two Earls than that William of Poitiers should have invented an elaborate romance without any obvious motive. On the other hand, we have just as little reason to distrust the English account of the flight of Eadgar and his companions. It is plain that there is no direct contradiction between the two stories. If we take them as two isolated events, happening without any reference to each other, there is not only no contradiction but no difficulty. The real difficulty is that we can hardly fancy the two events taking place without some reference to each other. A flight of the leading Northumbrian Thegns to Scotland is not likely to have taken place just at the same time as a great stir in Northumberland, followed by a submission of Eadwine and Morkere to William, unless the two things had something to do with one another. The obvious explanation would be that all the persons spoken of in the two different accounts had a share in the Northern movement, that Eadwine and Morkere dealt with their comrades as they had dealt both with Harold and with Eadgar, that they submitted to William and were again received to favour, while the more stout-hearted sought shelter in Scotland till the coming of the Danish fleet in the next year. This is in itself a probable and consistent narrative. The only question is whether it can be made to agree with the words of the Chronicles, "And þes sumeres Eadgar cild for út," &c. At first sight these words would certainly not lead us to think that the going out of Eadgar and his companions was the consequence of anything which could be called a campaign. The motive assigned by Florence for their going out looks still less like it. His account would seem to apply only to men who were living in William's court, or at any rate were wholly in his power. Yet the words of the Chronicle, "for út" (see p. 255), may be taken as pointing to something like warlike doings on the part of Eadgar and the others, and, if so, we must throw aside Florence's interpretation of their motives as an unsuccessful guess on his part. This is the more likely, as it is not easy to see who,

of which I shall discuss in Note Y. Then comes the Danish capture of York and all that followed it.

In all this there is no contradiction between Orderic and the English Chroniclers. But now comes the singular fact that in the narrative of Florence the coming of Robert of Comines to Durham and the first revolt of York are both left out. That is to say, he leaves out all that appears in the Peterborough Chronicle under 1068, all that appears in the Worcester Chronicle under that year, except the Devonshire expedition of Harold's sons. Florence in short records nothing between their two expeditions in 1068 and in 1069.

Now Florence certainly wrote with one or both of the Chronicles before him, and a great part of his work was to arrange under their proper years the events which the Chronicles record with some chronological confusion. His services in this way I fully accept, and I have taken his chronology as the groundwork of my own narrative. But are we therefore to follow him when he leaves out several important events which, however confused may be the chronology, are told in the Chronicles with perfect distinctness and are confirmed by other authorities? The story of Robert of Comines no one probably would reject, told as it is in both Chronicles, in Orderic, in Simeon's Durham History, and in the Northern interpolations of Florence, whether those come from Simeon or from any one else. The first revolt of York is not quite so clear. A revolt of York in the spring, in which Eadgar appears and which William comes to crush in person, might be easily taken for a mere forestalling of that undoubted revolt of York in the autumn at which also Eadgar appeared, and which also William put down in person. Florence would hardly have struck one of the revolts out of the narrative in the Chronicles, unless he had thought that the one was a repetition of the other. And this is the more remarkable, because he keeps both accounts of the two expeditions of Harold's sons, which it is quite as tempting to look on as two accounts of the same event as to look in the same way on the two revolts of York. Florence's judgement accepted the double story in one case and rejected it in the other. But the weight of his judgement is somewhat weakened by his also striking out the story of Robert of Comines, of the truth of which there can be no reasonable doubt. On the other hand his judgement may be held

to be somewhat confirmed by the way in which Simeon (if Simeon it be) treated his narrative. He restored the story of Robert of Comines and inserted a notice of the foundation of Selby abbey; but he did not restore the account of the spring revolt. But the negative authority of Simeon is again weakened by the fact that he has not merely failed to insert, but has positively struck out of the narrative of Florence, a most important piece of Northumbrian history, of which there can be no doubt, and which is indeed necessary to the understanding of his own narrative. This is no other than William's northern march and occupation of York in 1068, without which we cannot understand the presence of the Normans at York in the autumn of 1069. And when we look at the narratives of the spring revolt in Orderic, we shall certainly be inclined to think that details like the death of Robert Fitz-Richard, the message of William Malet, the building of the second tower (see p. 240 and the note at p. 204), could not be mere inventions or confusions. There is really nothing unlikely in the story that Eadgar and the Northumbrians tried their own powers early in the year, and that, on being worsted, they tried again in the autumn with the help of the Danes. I therefore accept the double revolt and double submission of York, reading the entries in the Peterborough Chronicle under 1068 and 1069 as the events of a single year, and that year 1069.

having been thus run together, the events of 1069 were assigned to 1068. Then the short account of the early events of 1070, the reconciliation of Waltheof (see p. 301), and the plunder of the monasteries (see p. 327), which, according to the reckoning followed, should have come into the annal for 1069, has, probably in some attempt at correction, got shoved on to 1071, and the reckoning of this Chronicle remains a year in advance till it breaks off. In Peterborough the confusion is of a different kind. The entry for 1067 stands thus :

"*Her* for se cyng ofer sse, and hæfde mid him gislas and sceattas, and com þes oðres geares on Scē Nicolaes mæssedæg . . . and þes sumeres for Eadgar cild út," &c.

This entry follows two ways of reckoning. William's going into Normandy was "her" or in 1067, if the year began at Christmas or on January 1. But the reckoning which begins at Easter would place it in 1066, and, according to this reckoning, Saint Nicolas' day in 1067 would be "þes oðres geares." Again, reckoning William's voyage to 1067, the flight of Eadgar in the summer of 1068 would be "þes oðres geares," though not in the same year as William's return. The Chronicler must have had accounts before him which followed both reckonings. The events of 1067 and 1068 thus got jumbled together. To make matters straight, the events of 1069 were divided into two years, but from the latter part of 1069 onward the reckoning goes on rightly.

We now come to the great Northern campaign of 1069-1070. The English account here is simply fragmentary. The two Chronicles, Florence, and his Northumbrian editor, confine themselves wholly to the events at York; oddly enough, they take no notice of the movements along the whole western side of England, from Cornwall to Chester. Nor do they take any notice of the earlier course of the Danish fleet and its attempts on south-eastern England (see pp. 250-252); they are content to begin their story when the fleet enters the Humber. They then describe the taking of York by the Danes and English and its recovery by William, and then record the devastation of Northumberland. But the rich and varied details, which show that the campaign was not a mere local warfare, but a warfare spread over the greater part of England, come mainly from Orderic, who doubtless followed William of

Poitiers. For the whole western side of England, with the single exception of the Devonshire expedition of Harold's sons, Orderic is our only guide. In the extreme North we can compare him with the Durham writers, who do not always pick out the same facts specially to dwell on, but who certainly confirm the general run of his story.

The accounts given by the two Chroniclers of the events at York seem quite independent of each other. Each supplies some facts which are wanting in the other. For instance, Worcester gives the names of Gospatric and Mærleswegen among the English and Thurkill among the Danes, while Peterborough mentions only Eadgar, Osbeorn, and the sons of Swegen—two in Peterborough, three in Worcester. Worcester reckons the fleet at two hundred and forty ships, Peterborough at three hundred. Worcester alone mentions the burning of the minster, and Peterborough only mentions that the Norman commanders were among the captives taken ("þa heafodmen hæfdon on beandon." See p. 268.) But the two accounts essentially agree, except in one point where the Worcester writer seems to be led away by a local feeling. The thing which mainly strikes him is the death of Archbishop Ealdred, formerly his own Bishop, which he puts before the Danes came at all (see p. 264) whereas, when he died, they were already in the Humber, but had not yet reached York. Florence corrects this, and gives more

Another question arises, whether William's third and final occupation of York (p. 287) happened only after a valiant resistance on the part of the English, either on the field of battle or in defence of the walls. Such a picture may be found in Thierry, i. 316;

"Alors il marcha sur York, à grandes journées, avec ses meilleures troupes. Les défenseurs de la ville apprirent en même temps l'approche de la cavalerie normande et le départ des vaisseaux danois. Tout délaissés qu'ils étaient, et déchus de leurs meilleures espérances, ils résistèrent encore, et se firent tuer par milliers sur les brèches de leurs murailles. Le combat fut long et la victoire chèrement achetée. Le roi Edgar se vit contraint de fuir, et ceux qui purent s'échapper comme lui le suivirent jusqu'en Ecosse."

The authority to which he sends us for this is no other than the so-called Matthew of Westminster, 1069. His narrative is a strange jumble. He makes the English nobles make peace with William; then William storms York, which is defended by the Danes, and takes it with the slaughter of many thousands of men;

"Rex Gulihelmus prudentissimus, videns periculum sibi imminere, humiliavit se illis, compescens elationem suorum Normannorum et sic revocaris multis Anglorum nobilibus fædere cautius cum omnibus confirmato, Eboracum, ubi fuit Danorum receptaculum, potenter cum ibi inventis expugnavit, et multa milia hominum ibidem interfecit."

Now, if this story were worth anything and could prove anything, it would prove the exact contrary of that which Thierry uses it to prove. Matthew, or whatever we are to call him, tells us that the English made peace with William, and that William fought against the Danes. Thierry makes the Danes go away and leave the English to fight with William. But, besides the utter worthlessness of the authority, the story in Matthew of Westminster is nothing but a blundering perversion of an equally worthless story in Roger of Wendover (ii. 6) and Matthew Paris (i. 12). From that account comes the picture of the slaying of many thousands of people. Only, while in the later version they are Danes slain by William, in the earlier account they are people, of whatever nation, slain by Waltheof and his companions. Roger of Wendover tells us how Eadgar, Waltheof, and the rest, "Junctis viribus ad Eboracum venientes, urbem cum castello quantocius occuparunt, et multa ibidem hominum millia

peremerunt." This is plainly nothing in the world but the passages from the Chroniclers and Florence which I have quoted in p. 269. But then follows a description in which, as far as anything can be made out of it, the harrying of Northumberland is turned about and attributed, not to William, but to Eadgar and Waltheof;

"*Majores urbis et provinciæ vinculis constringentes, tamdiu eos crudeliter torquebant, quoisque omnes facultates eorum ab eis extorsissent. Tunc ibi inter duo flumina Usam et Trente hiemantes, omnes regionis incolas immisericorditer affligebant.*"

Then when the winter is passed, William comes and slays or puts to flight all his enemies. The famous exploits of Waltheof are removed to this point ("Waltheofus, ample prosapia comes, in eadem pugna plures Normannorum solus detruncaverat, singulos per castelli portas decapitans gradientes"), but William overcomes all, and Eadgar submits. Nothing can be plainer than that in this story all the various takings and retakings of York are hopelessly jumbled together.

It is curious that Thierry, instead of quoting such an utterly worthless authority for his story, might have quoted something which would have made a far better show in the form of passages from both William of Malmesbury and William of Jumièges. The truth is that William of Malmesbury, writing without any regard to chronology, and William of Jumièges, writing in a foreign country

case with the account given by William of Jumièges, vii. 40. After the passage which I have quoted at pp. 187, 194, he goes on to record the intervention of Swegen and the setting up of Eadgar, and then describes a battle in the neighbourhood of York, probably that which I have spoken of in p. 242, followed by a siege and storm of York, which is probably the same as that of which I have spoken in p. 240. His account runs thus;

"Quorum temerarios actus vel conatus Willelmus rex ut agnovit, Normannorum catervas produxit, et quantocius ad confutandum contumaciam eorum perrexit. Seditiose autem audaciâ et viribus fisi, ex civitate prosiluerunt et contra regalem exercitum ilico aciem direxerunt. A quo protinus ita profligati sunt ut quam plurimi perimerentur, et reliqui intra mœnia oppidi refugere compellerentur. Normanni vero et vestigio eos consecuti sunt et muri ambitum, quo confugerant, cum ipsis irruperunt, atque tam ferro quam igne a puero usque ad senem totam pene urbem deleverunt. Incentores autem totius doli per Humber fluvium navibus dispendium mortis effugrunt."

The confusion in all these accounts is obvious. It comes from not distinguishing a whole series of distinct revolts and captures. But those narratives which distinguish them, those of the Chronicles, Florence, Simeon, and William of Poitiers as represented by Orderic, give no ground whatever for supposing that William's final capture of York was accompanied by any storm or other fighting.

We must also remember that it is quite possible that the coming of the Danes in 1069 may have been further confounded with their coming in 1075; see p. 585.

From the Chronicles and Florence however we should hardly have found out that the warfare of 1069-1070 touched any part of the country beyond Yorkshire, and even Simeon would hardly take us beyond Northumberland. For the rest we must go to Orderic, that is to William of Poitiers. It is much to be regretted that in large parts of his narrative we have no means of checking him by any English writer; but I see no reason to doubt the general truth of his story. It is our only detailed narrative of the real Conquest of England; the English writers give us only fragmentary portions of the process. The story is probable and consistent, except in two places. One is the extraordinary confusion which seems to

make the same force march at once to Shrewsbury and to Exeter (see p. 277), a confusion the more strange in Orderic, who was born in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury. Of this I cannot suggest any explanation, but the geographical difficulty in Orderic's account of William's march after Christmas 1069-1070 (see p. 304) is fully explained by Mr. Hinde's correction. William sets forth to chastise certain enemies who are said (515 B) "in angulo quodam regionis latitare, mari vel paludibus undique munito." These enemies he follows as far as the Tees ("ad flumen Tesiam inse quitur"); they were therefore somewhere near the mouth of the Tees, on the Yorkshire side. But directly after (515 C) we read "Haugustaldam revertebatur a Tesia;" the difficulties of the march are set forth, and as the goal of the journey we read of William as "Eboracum reuersus." A march from the mouth of the Tees, or from any part of the course of the Tees, to York by way of Hexham, which must be meant by "Haugustalda," is of course a geographical absurdity. I have somewhere seen it proposed to read "Eboracum" for "Haugustaldam." But no copyist would put the less known Hexham for the better known York with the further result of turning sense into nonsense. But if the right reading be, as Mr. Hinde suggests, Hamelac or Helmsley, nothing was more likely than that a transcriber might turn it into Hexham, a name less known than York, but incomparably

built by the King himself. The castle, including the square tower which still remains, was the work of Robert of Oily and was not built till 1071 (Ann. Oseney. in anno; Ann. Mon. iv. 9), or 1072 (Mon. Angl. vi. 251). On the other hand the prodigious destruction of houses in Oxford which is recorded in Domesday (154) seems to imply a siege, and a most devastating siege. Four hundred and seventy-eight houses were so ruined as to be unable to pay taxes, leaving only two hundred and forty-three still taxable. "In ipsâ villâ tam intra murum quam extra sunt cc. et xlvi. domus reddentes geldam, et exceptis (his) sunt ibi quingentæ domus, xxii. minus, ita vastæ et destructæ quod geldam non possint reddere." This is far greater destruction than could be involved in the mere building of the castle. And there is a tempting way of explaining the difficulty, which however is soon found to be delusive. In William of Malmesbury's description of the siege of Exeter (iii. 248), one manuscript (see Sir T. D. Hardy's note) for "Exoniam" reads "Oxoniam." This reading is also followed by many manuscripts of Roger of Wendover (ii. 4), and again by most of the manuscripts of Matthew Paris (see Sir F. Madden's edition, i. 10). And Matthew Paris seems distinctly to connect the siege spoken of with William's march to York in 1068. This would of course apply much better to Oxford than to Exeter, and the one incident mentioned in William of Malmesbury's account of the siege is not mentioned in the fuller accounts of the siege of Exeter. All this might tempt one to suppose that the description in William of Malmesbury did not belong to the siege of Exeter, but to a siege of Oxford somewhat later in 1068. But the truth is that the reading "Oxoniam" is a mere mistake, as has been clearly shown by Mr. James Parker in his History of Oxford, p. 36. "Oxoniam" in truth is not a form used anywhere by William of Malmesbury, who (ii. 179 and Hist. Nov. ii. 20) uses the form "Oxenfordum." "Exonia," on the other hand, he does use, though he also uses "Excestra" (ii. 134, 165, 201). In the Gesta Pontificum also he uses "Excecestra" in a formal way, as quoting the English name, but he speaks familiarly of "Exonia." But Oxford and Oxfordshire he calls (312, 315) "pagus Oxenfordensis," "Oxenfordensis civitas," "Oxenfordia." There can be no doubt that "Exonia" is the true reading in William of Malmesbury, that his account refers to the siege of

Orderic. Afterwards (i. 299, 3
of Oxford from Matthew Paris.
which is mere romance ; "Les
Frideswide, suivant l'exemple des
privent les armes pour défendre l
expulsés, après la victoire des No
to " Monast. anglic. t. i. p. 984
new Monasticon. The manuscri
quoted is evidently very imperfect,
Thierry's whole story is a dream, a
Saint Frithswyth's at all at that
temporary substitution of monks for
date between 1066 and 1122. The
viris Normannorum Angliam sub
ecclesia ista cum possessionibus su
spoliati igitur bonis suis et sedibus
memorati et monachis res addicta pe
titionibus servi . . . postea, sicut se
cujusdam beneficio consilii deliberati
restituta et usque ad annum MCXX
Now, whatever is to be made of so ls
from Domesday that, at the time of t
Frithswyth's were in full possession
of the fighting monks of Oxford woul
in an historical novel, as it does not t
but contradicts them.

like Wiggod of Wallingford, contrived to win the Conqueror's favour, and to keep, or even to increase, their estates under his government. He stands out more conspicuously in Domesday than any other Englishman, his lands filling more than four columns (240 b-241 b). Two lordships were held of him in pledge by no less a person than Robert of Oily, of one of which we read (241), "Ailmarus tenuit, et licentiâ Regis vendidit Aluuino vicecomiti patri Turchil." In the same page and the next, it is noted of two of Thirkill's lordships, "Aluuinus pater T. tenuit." This gives us a Sheriff *Ælfwine* as the father of Thirkill, and the Survey helps us to a little more knowledge of *Ælfwine* himself. He was a benefactor to the abbey of Coventry in the time of King Eadward, but his benefaction had shared the fate of so many other ecclesiastical lordships and had passed into the hands of a lay stranger. We read in Warwickshire (238 b, 239 b) of lands which had been held by Earl Alberic and were now in the hands of the Crown; "Ipse comes tenuit Clipstone. Aluuinus vicecomes tenuit T. R. E. et cum terrâ liber fuit." A marginal note adds, "Hanc terram dedit Aluuin ecclesiæ de Coventre pro animâ suâ T. R. E.; comes Albericus abstulit." The earlier entry adds that *Ælfwine*'s grant was made "concessu Regis E. et filiorum suorum et testimonio comitatûs," and the act of Alberic is put more strongly; "injuste invasit et ecclesiæ abstulit." We seem to find him again in Oxfordshire (160 b), where we read, "Alwi vicecomes tenet de Rege ii. hidias et dimidiā. . . . Hanc terram emit ab eo Manasses sine licentiâ Regis." This however may perhaps be a different man, *Ælfwig*, not *Ælfwine*, for the entry sounds as if the person spoken of were still alive at the time of the Survey, while the death of *Ælfwine* is distinctly implied in a notice of the second marriage of his widow, which is the most curious piece of information which we get about the whole family. It appears from two entries in Gloucestershire (167) that *Ælfwine*, like other Sheriffs and other officers of all ranks and nations, made free with the King's lands. Of lands and a fishery in the hundred of Westbury we read, "Aluinus vicecomes tenuit et uxori suæ dedit. Haec tamen fuerunt de firmâ Regis in Westberie." And just above we learn the fate of the widow thus unlawfully jointured. Of other lands it is said, "Rex E. tenuit et accommodavit Aluuino vicecomiti suo, ut in vitâ suâ haberet, non tamen dono dedit, ut comitatus testatur. Rex W.

redit Ricardo cuidam juveni uxorem ejus et terram. Nunc Wi-
mus successor Ricardi ita tenet hanc terram." Thurkill's mother or more probably his stepmother, was given away to young Richard I know not how young Richard became "antecessor" to a certain William Gozenboded, who holds several lordships which belonged to *Ælfwine*, but of whom I can give no further account but they appear again in the same relation in Worcestershire, 17 where we get the further information that young Richard, doubtless a Norman favourite, had been in possession in King Eadward's days; "Willelmus Gozenboded tenet Celvestune et Willelmus de Ricardus juvenis tenuit T. R. E." If "Aluui" and "Alunin" are two men, we meet with two notices of the former in Gloucestershire (162 b, 163), where we read of one estate, "præstitit Aluui vicecomes," and of another, "Aluui vicecomes misit extra firmam

Thurkill has become a kind of mythical person in local history and has got mixed up with Warwick castle and with other things with which authentic records do not bring him into connexion (Dugdale's Warwickshire, pp. 301, 606). His Domesday description is "Turchil de Warwic," but there is nothing in the Survey which connects him in any special way with Warwick castle, though he holds houses in the borough (241 b, 238). In the Abingdon History (ii. 8, 20, 21) he appears as a benefactor of that abbey. He is described as Thurkill of Arden—"Turkillus de Ardene," "T

Our first impression from its words would certainly be that the marriage took place almost immediately on Eadgar's first reaching Scotland, but then we know from the longer Worcester account that this was not so. We are in fact driven to believe that the shorter account, no less than the longer one, follows the order of ideas and not of time; indeed the Peterborough account looks very like an abridgement of that of Worcester. And the chronologic confusion of these years must not be forgotten (see above, p. 772: the flight and the marriage are in both Chronicles put under 1067, whereas, on any showing, they did not happen till 1068).

Florence records the flight of Eadgar and his sisters, and their reception by Malcolm, under 1068. He nowhere records the marriage, though he implies it in his narrative of the deaths of Malcolm and Margaret in 1093. But in the entry of 1068 he uses an expression which is of some importance. Eadgar and the rest, including his sisters, "navigio Scottiam adierunt, ibidemque Regis Scottorum Malcolmi pace, *hiemem exegerunt*." We know that the stay of Eadgar and the Northumbrian chiefs in Scotland was not long. They stayed there during the winter of 1068; but in 1069 they twice left Scotland and once returned to it (see pp. 238, 242, 254). The words of Florence would seem to imply that Margaret and Christina also left Scotland in 1069; they certainly seem quite inconsistent with the notion of Margaret marrying

reign (iii. 249), where he is grouping together several classes of facts, not by their dates but by their subjects, he says, "Malcolmus omnes Anglorum perfugas libenter recipiebat, tutamentum singulis quantum poterat impendens; Edgarum præcipue, cuius sororem, pro antiquâ memorâ nobilitatis, jugalem sibi fecerat." No date can be got out of this; for, if the words were pressed too strictly, they would mean that Malcolm had married Margaret before his reception of her brother. Indeed Orderic (701 B) makes Malcolm himself say as much; "Fateor quod Rex Eduardus, dum mihi Margaritam proneptem suam in conjugium tradidit, Lodonensem comitatum mihi donavit." One can hardly help connecting these last words with the entry in the Durham Annals quoted in vol. ii. p. xxx. If we take these expressions, not of an actual marriage, but of a mere betrothal, the thing is certainly possible, but no one would guess it from the Worcester Chronicle. And we must not forget the existence of Malcolm's other wife Ingebiorg, the widow of Thorfinn (see vol. iii. p. 345). Malcolm could not have married her before 1064, the year of Thorfinn's death. Was the betrothal with Margaret earlier than this, and did Malcolm, like our Harold, forsake the betrothed maiden for the widow, and, like Harold Hardrada and the solar heroes (see vol. iii. p. 342), come back to his first love in the end? Anyhow we have to dispose of Ingebiorg at some time between 1064 and 1068. And we have to dispose of her in such a way that a saint could consent to take her place. Malcolm may have put away wives as readily as Uhtred, but Margaret would surely be more scrupulous than her great-aunt (see vol. i. p. 327). And we can hardly conceive that the widow and mother of Earls of Orkney could have been taken "more Danico."

In all this, as it seems to me, we find nothing to fix the marriage to Eadgar's first stay in Scotland in 1068-1069. And we have another distinct account which puts it in 1070 or 1071. This is in those Northumbrian insertions in the chronicle of Florence which I am still inclined to call by the name of Simeon. In this version (pp. 86-88) Malcolm is ravaging northern England, and is in the very act of burning the church of Wearmouth (see p. 505), when he sees the ships in which Eadgar and his sisters and other English refugees are again seeking shelter in Scotland. He welcomes them and promises them a friendly reception in his king-

dom (see p. 506). By the time Malcolm has got back to Scotland the English exiles get there also, and the marriage seems to take place pretty soon; "Quo [in Scotiam] etiam elitonem Eadgarum sociis supra nominatis prospero pervexit cursu. C. Eadgari sororem Margaretam Rex Malcolmus, consensu propinquorum illius, matrimonio sibi junxit." The account goes on with Margaret's panegyric, setting forth the good effect which she had upon Malcolm, and the number and names of her children.

Now this insertion is one of those passages which Mr. Hinde undoubtedly the best modern writer on Northumbrian matters picks out specially to assail the authority of the Northumbrian interpolator. "The first thing which startles us," he says (i. 18) "is the circumstance of the author placing contemporaneously the flight of Edgar with his mother and sisters to Scotland and the embarkation of Bishop Egelwin for Cologne, and assigning as common date the year 1070. This date is correct as regards the departure of the Bishop, but all our authorities, including Florence, with whose work the above quotation is interpolated, agree in fixing the flight of Edgar into Scotland, and the marriage of his sister to Malcolm, at all events two years previous."

Mr. Hinde forgets that there is no one event which can be called "*the flight of Edgar into Scotland*." The Chronicles record one such flight in 1067 (1068), and another in 1068 (1069) after the

own celibate tastes, utterly offensive to Margaret. By all accounts it took some time to overcome her scruples; to me it seems that they were not overcome till 1070.

Of the two last and best writers of Scottish history, Mr. E. W. Robertson (i. 135) distinctly accepts the later date for the marriage. Mr. Burton (i. 405, 406) is less clear. Speaking of 1068 he says, "one of the sisters, Margaret, was afterwards married to Malcolm;" but in the next page he speaks of Malcolm as already Eadgar's brother-in-law in 1069.

NOTE W. p. 204.

THE NOTICES OF WILLIAM MALET IN DOMESDAY.

As in the last volume some difficulty was found in tracing out the exact nature of that connexion of William Malet with England which clearly existed in some shape or other, so there is something puzzling about the way in which his name appears in Domesday. He was dead before the Survey was taken; and I hope presently to show the manner of his death; but there are many entries in which his name appears, and there is something remarkable about most of them. His son, Robert Malet, held a vast estate in Suffolk and had large possessions in other shires, and the entries on his Suffolk estate are among those parts of Domesday which are richest in knowledge in various kinds. But it may be doubted whether his lands had, as a rule, come to him from his father. At least it is but rarely that they are distinctly said to have been held by William Malet. Such however is the case in ii. 305 and ii. 313; and there are several entries in which the mother of Robert Malet, without mentioning her name, appears as holding lands. In most cases only the name of the English *antecessor* is given. But of course this would in no way imply that William Malet may not have held the lands meanwhile, were it not for this special mention in one or two cases. And in one place in Lincolnshire (350 b) we find that lands which had been held by William Malet had passed to Ivo Taillebois. And there are several entries which might imply that William Malet lost his lands, or some of them, before his death. This comes out in those passages which prove the fact of those early

grants to him which are spoken of in the text. In the Clamo de Euruicscire in Domesday, 373-374, we find several entries speaking of lands as being held by William Malet "antequam et tellum captum fuisse;" "donec invasum est castellum;" "dofractum est castellum;" "quamdiu tenuit castellum de Eurnic" "usque Dani cuperunt illum," and in some cases "quamdiu Euruicscire terram tenuit." These lands passed into the hands of various owners; but, in some cases, Robert Malet is represented as claiming them on the ground of their having belonged to his father. Thus in 373 b William of Percy holds lands of which it is said "testantur ad opus Roberti Malet, quia pater suus habebat, sic superiores terras." The names of the former possessors are given, including a long string of Danish names in Holderness. But the only one (373) which awakens any personal interest or curiosity is a woman named Asa—it is hard to see what English name can be meant—who had been, on what ground we are not told, divorced or separated from her husband Beornwulf (cf. p. 51). All her lands, which she held in her own right "ut domina," free from control of her husband, were given to William Malet, who held them "donec invasum est castellum." The jurors witnessed that the land ought to belong to Robert Malet. In some cases in 374 the formula is "debet habere Willelmus Malet," as though he had still been alive. In one case in the same page of lands held by Osbern,

shire in the legend of Selby (see below, p. 799). There is a question about the house in the city of York which belonged to one Uhtred, and which was then held by William of Percy;

"Dicunt burgenses W. de Perci asportasse sibi in castellum postquam de Scotia rediit. Ipsi vero Willelmus terram ejusdem Uctred negat se habuisse, sed per Hugonem vicecomitem domum ipsius dicit se in castellum tulisse primo anno post destructionem castellarum."

We may guess that the time when William of Percy went to Scotland was the time of William's great march thither in 1072; but he claimed the house as having been given him by Hugh as Sheriff in 1070, the year after the destruction of the castles. Hugh, who appears in the Survey as a large landowner in Yorkshire, must have been appointed Sheriff at once on the recovery of York.

We know nothing of the length of William Malet's captivity or in what way it came to an end, but we should be inclined to guess that he was released when the Danish Osbeorn entered into his faithless agreement with William (see p. 317). It almost looks as if others had seized on his lands during his captivity, and as if his son was trying to recover them by a kind of *postliminium*. It is even possible that the false hopes with which he had filled the King as to the chance of the city being able to resist, may have brought him for a while into disfavour with William. It must be further remembered that the wife and children of William Malet were (see p. 268) taken prisoners along with him.

It is from the second volume of Domesday that I am able to put together the evidence which leads me to believe (see p. 471) that William Malet was killed in the war with Hereward. That volume contains a crowd of references to the death of William Malet at some time before the date of the Survey; see pp. 294, 334 b, 373 b, 380 b, 407, 440 b, 441, 442 b, 444. Most of these are cases in which the land had passed away from his son Robert to various owners, among them the East-Anglian bishopric. But these passages give us no hint as to the manner of his death. In three other entries things get more distinct. In 247 we read of land being held "die quo pater R. Malet ivit in servitium Regis." In 332 b we read of lands in Suffolk "ex hoc erat sesitus Willelmus Malet quando ivit in servitium Regis ubi mortuus est." Lastly, in

133^b we find lands in Norfolk claimed by Robert Malet, who "dic quod pater suus eam tenuit quando *ivit in maresc*, et hoc testatur hundret, et tamen non tenebat eam die quam mortuus fuit." This certainly looks to me as if William had been killed in the campaign in the Fenland.

NOTE X. p. 206.

THE FIRST SUBMISSION OF MALCOLM.

MR. E. W. ROBERTSON (ii. 480) calls this submission of Malcolm in question, mainly because it is recorded only by Orderic, who does not record the homage at Abernethy in 1072. If we weed out our history on this principle, there would be little left for us to believe; a large part of our narrative has to be made up by piecing together this fact recorded by one writer and that fact recorded by another. The insertions and omissions in all our authorities are singularly capricious; and, if it is reason enough to reject a statement that is found in Orderic only, we must cast away most of the details of the campaigns of 1068-1070, that is, our only connected narrative of the real conquest of England.

Of that narrative this submission of Malcolm is a part, and the story hangs quite well together. Malcolm had engaged to help

advantage by insisting on conditions which he had no immediate means of enforcing.

On the other hand, Mr. Robertson is quite successful over Sir Francis Palgrave on another point. Sir Francis (Eng. Comm. ii. cccxxxi) has conjured up an invasion of Scotland in 1068–1069, in which William's son Robert plays the leading part, and the result of which is the submission of Malcolm. This comes, as Mr. Robertson truly says, from transferring hither a passage from the Abingdon History which really belongs to the year 1080 (see p. 671). An invasion of Scotland in 1068 is utterly impossible, and young Robert would be a most unlikely commander to be sent on such an errand.

Sir Francis Palgrave does not seem to repeat the story in his History of Normandy and England, but his narrative just at this stage is not very clear.

NOTE Y. p. 225.

THE EXPEDITIONS OF HAROLD'S SONS.

IT IS, I think, clear that two distinct attempts were made by the sons of Harold in the West of England, in two successive years. 1068 and 1069. As so often happens, there is no contradiction among our authorities, though each fills up omissions in the others. The expedition of 1068 mainly affected Bristol and Somerset, and was repulsed by the citizens of Bristol and the English forces under Eadnoth. The expedition of 1069 mainly affected Devonshire, and was repulsed by the Breton Count Brian. It is thus easy to see why the Norman writers speak of the second attempt only.

The fullest account of the attempt of 1068 is that given in the Worcester Chronicle, which I have followed in the text. Florence is fuller only in mentioning three sons of Harold and giving their names, Godwine, Eadmund, and Magnus, while the Chronicler simply mentions one son without giving his name. Here is no contradiction; Godwine was doubtless the eldest brother and the commander of the force, and Eadmund and Magnus might be mentioned or not. Godwine's name appears also in the Winchester Annals (see p. 227), in a version which, whatever we think of it,

is at any rate independent, and which fixes, from what source I know not, the number of his ships at fifty-two. William of Malmesbury (iii. 254) brings in the story in his usual incidental way, not in its chronological order, but as an illustration of William's policy in setting Englishmen to fight against Englishmen. But he makes no special mention of Harold's sons; the adventurers are simply some Englishmen who had taken shelter in Ireland and Denmark; "Contra quosdam, qui post primam infelicitatis omnium pugnam Danemarchiam et Hiberniam profugerant, et validâ congregatâ manu tertio anno redierant, Angligenam exercitum et ducem objecit." See p. 226.

The Worcester Chronicle alone mentions the first harryings at the mouth of the Avon and the unsuccessful attempt on Bristol; the account in Florence begins with the landing in Somerset and the battle with Eadnoth. He however adds the harryings in Devonshire and Cornwall after the battle, which the Chronicle does not record.

The second expedition in 1069 is also recorded by the Worcester Chronicler and by Florence. It is not mentioned by William of Malmesbury or by the Winchester writer, but it is mentioned by Orderic (513 A), and by William of Jumièges (vii. 41). It is from these two latter writers that we get the name of King Diarmid as the protector of the exiles. All the accounts agree

NOTE Z. p. 228.

THE BIRTH AND EDUCATION OF HENRY THE FIRST.

IT is plain from Orderic (510 D) that the birth of Henry the First took place in the course of the year 1068, at some time later than his mother's coronation in May (see pp. 178, 227); "Decorat regio diadematè matrona, priusquam annus perficeretur, filium nomine Henricum peperit." As William left Matilda in Normandy early in December 1067 (see p. 124), the birth of Henry could not have happened later than August or September. But we need not infer from the words of the Winchester Annalist (1068 Ann. Mon. ii. 27) that Henry's birth followed very soon after Matilda's coronation. He says, "Matildis consecrata est . . . e post non multos dies Henricum filium suum in lucem protulit." The words of Orderic would certainly seem to imply the latest possible time of the year.

As for the place of Henry's birth, I know of nothing to fix it except the vague Selby tradition which will be found in the *Monasticon*, iii. 485. As usual, a particular building was shown as his birth-place, and, as usual, the building was of far later date. Indeed, however freely we may construe the words of Simeon under the next year 1069, "Cenobium Sancti Germani de Seleb-

unusual amount of his learning, there seems to be no doubt. The only question is how far his education was an English one. Orderic himself says (510 D), "Hic dum dociles annos attigisset, literarum scientiam didicit." And in another passage (665 D), "Hic in infantia studiis literarum a parentibus traditus est, et tam naturali quam doctrinali scientiâ nobiliter imbutus est." And in 812 D he appears incidentally as "literatus Rex." Elsewhere (782 D) he says of him, "Hunc Angli optaverunt habere dominum, quem nobiliter in solio regni noverant genitum." William of Malmesbury (v. 390) enlarges still further on his literary acquirements, and Matthew Paris (i. 168), representing the tradition of a later time, speaks of him as "vir literis addictus et jam eleganter in grammaticâ et jure eruditus, mente sagax corpore decorus viribus integer." And William of Malmesbury also tells us yet more plainly than Orderic that, on account of his royal birth, he was the only one of William's sons who was looked on as entitled to the English Crown. That this latter argument had a sound foundation in English law I have already shown (see vol. i. pp. 107, 262). The whole passage runs thus; "Henricus, junior filius Willelmi magni, natus est in Angliâ anno tertio postquam pater eam adierat; infans jam tum omnium votis conspirantibus educatus egregie, quod solus omnium filiorum Willelmi natus esset regie, et ei regnum videretur competere. Itaque tirocinium rudimentorum in scholis egit literalibus, et librorum mella adeo avidis medullis indidit ut nulli postea bellorum tumultus, nulli curarum motus, eas excutere illustri animo possent." And it is here that he quotes the proverb which elsewhere (see vol. ii. p. 270) has been put into the mouth of Fulk the Good of Anjou. Henry "pueritiam ad spem regni literis muniebat; subinde, patre quoque audiente, jactitare proverbium solitus, 'Rex illiteratus, asinus coronatus.'" So Will. Gem. viii. 10; "Plurimi sunt lætati, quod modo Regem natum de Rege et Reginâ, natum et nutritum in Angliâ, habere meruissent." It is also worth noticing that Henry was—at least after his mother's death—sometimes left in England while his brothers were in Normandy. We find him at Abingdon at Easter 1084 (see above, p. 732), when it is specially added (*Hist. Mon. Ab.* ii. 12), "suis in Normanniâ cum patre fratribus constitutis." All these hints look in the same direction. The earliest signs which I have come across of the traditional name *Beauclerc*

I do not remember that he is bears the equivalent title "C English title itself is freely § 649 B, 702 B, 851 B, 869 B). *Aetheling*, taught the English to is more likely in itself. Henry about the time when his father learn the language of his new k wish that his English-born son, i would be no such burthen as it read English from the first. S that I can venture to assert the Sir Francis Palgrave (iv. 225, that I know is the passage of Ms I have said something in vol. iii. I thus;

"Pur amur le cumte Willaume,
Le plus vaillant de cest royaume,
M'entremis de cest livre feire
E de l'Angleiz en Roman treire.
Ysopet apeluns ce livre
Qu'il traveilla et fist escrire ;

Count William is said by M. de Ro Salisbury, who died in 1257. Mai reign of Henry the Third. If He hardly doubt that Henry the First life of Henry the Second or of He either of them translating Greek falish. Henry the Second —

either mean that the royal translator simply translated from Latin into English or that he translated the Greek, first into Latin and then into English. The latter certainly seems the more obvious meaning. I know of no direct evidence that Henry the First understood Greek; still of all the Kings before Henry the Eighth he was the most likely to have done so. We may, I think, take the witness of Mary as showing that some King of England translated fables into English, certainly from the Latin and perhaps from the Greek. The very strangeness of the story makes it unlikely that any one would invent it without some ground. If then the translation was made by any King of England after the Conquest, we can hardly doubt as to setting down Henry the First as the translator. In him alone is a knowledge of Greek the least likely, and special care in the study of English exactly suits the circumstance of his birth and position. If the translation was really made by Henry, it would doubtless be, as I suggested in my former volume, a youthful exercise at some stage of his learned education.

There remains however the question whether "Henris" is the true reading, and whether we ought not rather to adopt some of the other shapes in which the King's name appears. For "Henris" other texts read "Amez," "Auvert," "Auvres," "Mires," "Alurez," "Affrus." Whatever we make of "Mires" and "Amez," the other forms seem to be corruptions of *Ælfred* (see vol. i. p. 747). Now would a transcriber be more likely to put *Ælfred* instead of Henry or to put Henry instead of *Ælfred*? There is something to be said both ways. A copyist who was struck with the strangeness of the literary exploit attributed to Henry, especially if he were actually writing under Henry the Third, might be tempted to substitute the name of *Ælfred*, a name which in the thirteenth century was already surrounded by a thoroughly mythical atmosphere as regards both his literary performances and his other actions. On the other hand, a transcriber meeting with any of the unintelligible forms which I have just quoted might think it a clever hit to substitute some familiar name, Henry or any other. As to the internal probability of the work being *Ælfred*'s, we know pretty well what his attainments were, what he wrote and what he translated. There is no evidence that he ever translated any fables, and there is nothing to show that he had any knowledge of Greek. In fact the knowledge of Greek, if we are to suppose that it is implied,

is about an equal difficulty in either case. There is also the difficulty, a lesser difficulty certainly, which is pressed by M. Roquefort (ii. 37), that the English of *Ælfred* would hardly have been intelligible to Mary in the thirteenth century. There is no force in his argument (ii. 37, 39) that the fables are full of ideas and expressions, titles of offices and the like, which suit the time of Henry but do not suit the time of *Ælfred*.

On the whole then I think that *Ælfred* cannot have made the English translation of the fables which Mary of France translated from English into French. I am strongly inclined to think that Henry the First was the real translator. The learned education of Henry is certain, and it may perhaps have gone so far as to take in a knowledge of Greek. His English education is so probable that we may look upon it as certain, and the witness to his English education is just the same whether he understood Greek or no. But whether the young *Ætheling* appeared as a translator of Greek books into English is a point which I think not unlikely, but which I cannot, with Sir Francis Palgrave, venture to assume as proved.

NOTE AA. p. 230.

THE FOUNDATION LEGEND OF SELBY ABBEY.

will find by the banks of the Ouse, not far from the city of York. He is there to found a cell in honour of Saint German on a piece of ground belonging to the King. After some strange adventures, he reaches England with a finger of his patron, and by a confusion of names he is led to Salisbury instead of Selby, for, as the writer truly adds (p. 599), "nomen Salesbyriæ percelebre fuit, Selebiæ vero tunc temporis satis incognitum." At Salisbury he is kindly received by a certain Eadward, of whose merits a glowing description is given (p. 598); "Fuit tunc temporis in Salesbyriâ civis quidam, Eduuardus nomine, vir omni morum honestate præfulgens, et inter secularia vitam et morem diffitens secularem, habitu tamen et specie specimen in eo secularitatis apparebat, qui etiam, non minus censùs quam sensùs locupletatus honore, propter diversarum opum affluentem congeriem Dives cognominabatur." Another friend whom he found was a clerk named Theobald, who acted as his interpreter (p. 600). But being puzzled at not finding the river Ouse and the city of York anywhere in that part of England, and being again further warned by his patron, he set sail at Lyme (Luma) in a merchant ship bound for York. He is landed at the spot called Selby, which we are told means in Latin "marini vituli villa," on the banks of the Ouse, separated from York by about ten miles of wood. Here Benedict made himself a dwelling under a great oak-tree which was called by the natives *Strihac* (p. 600). This, we are distinctly told, happened in the year 1069, in the fourth year of King William, a date which, if it be exact, is fatal to the pretensions of Selby as the birth-place of Henry the First.

The fame of the anchorite was gradually spread abroad, and at last the cross on Benedict's cell was seen by the Sheriff of the shire, Hugh the son of Baldric, who was sailing along the river, accompanied by a large body of soldiers, a way of travelling which was necessary in those times on account of the attacks to which all Frenchmen were liable at the hands of the revolted English. The description is worth quoting (p. 602); "Comitabatur eum [Hugonem] non modica militiæ multitudo, quia bellicæ classis immanitate perdurante non adhuc perfectæ pacis tranquillitas ab armis et acie militem absolverat. Fregit hoc in illis finibus Anglorum indomita ferocitas et invicta constantia, qui semper ad vindictam suam in Gallos insurgentes ultra vires et posse, ubicumque sibi invicem obruebant, quis eorum plus posset in viribus experiri

nitebantur. Hac de causâ tantâ militum multitudine prædict Vicecomes constipatus incedebat." The Sheriff has an interview with Benedict; he leaves him his own tent as a temporary dwelling place, and orders the building of a chapel for his use.

The friendly Sheriff next bethinks himself that Benedict, holy he is, is after all only a squatter on the King's land. He accordingly takes him to William—clearly at York or at least somewhere in those parts—by whom he is favourably received, and obtains a small grant of land, on which he begins to build his monastery. Brethren now flow to him, but he is troubled by a person described (p. 60) as "quidam princeps latronum, nomine Suuam filius Sigge, qui i vicinis nemoribus cum adhærentibus sibi complicibus assiduis di cursibus vagabatur." In this outlaw we may see a disinherited Englishman of the name of Swegen. Miracles of course follow, one of them being wrought on behalf of Hugh the son of Erneis Burun ("Ernius Deburum"), who is described as Sheriff of Yorkshire. Lastly, as far as we are concerned—for the story of Abbot Benedict runs on into the days of William Rufus, and his later history is not specially honourable—we see Benedict blessed as Abbot by Thomas Archbishop of York. The new house was, we are told (p. 601), the only monastery in Northern England, except Durham; "per totam Eboraci siriam, exceptâ Dunelmensi congregatione. nec monachus nec monachorum locns alienis in illis diebus

ticon, iii. 499, 500. One of them, a grant of Gilbert Tison, is made very suspicious by the signature of Archbishop Ealdred, as well as by its being granted "ad instantiam nobilis Regine^æ Anglie, Matildis nomine, pro animabus Regis Sancti Edwardi et Willielmi Bastardi, parentum et successorum meorum." Another grant of the same benefactor is made, in more decent language, "pro animâ domini nostri Willielmi Regis," and, amongst other things, it confirms a grant made by "quidam ex hominibus meis, nomine Suanus," who may be the repentant freebooter of the legend.

The value of this story lies in the names which it introduces. Eadward of Salisbury, Sheriff of Wiltshire, appears in Domesday as a great landowner in Wiltshire and the neighbouring shires. Who he was I do not feel at all certain, whether an Englishman of the school of Wigged and Thurkill or a Norman who bore the name of one of the *Æthelings*. There is indeed a story in the Monasticon (vi. 501), in the account of Lacock abbey, which makes him the son of a person described as "miles strenuus Normannus, Walterus le Ewrus, comes de Rosmar," and it is added, "cui propter probitatem suam Rex Guillelmus dedit totum dominium de Saresburia et Ambresburia." Walter's son Eadward was born after his coming to England; "Walterus le Ewrus genuit Edwardum, natione Anglicum natum, postea vicecomitem Wiltes." The impossibility of this story has been shown by Mr. Nichols in the Salisbury Volume of the Archaeological Institute, p. 213. So far as it is good for anything, it is in favour of Eadward's English birth, and thereby of the English descent of the Earls of Salisbury who sprang from him. The Selby legend also clearly looks on Eadward as an Englishman, for the Frenchman—at least Ducal-Burgundian—Benedict needs the services of Theobald as an interpreter, and it should also be noticed that Eadward is called "civis." It looks very much as if we had found another great mediæval family, which was really of English descent, but which invented a Norman forefather for itself.

Some of the other persons mentioned in the story are also well known. Hugh the son of Baldric and Erneis of Burun are real Yorkshire landowners in Domesday, and Hugh appears as Sheriff in Domesday, 280, 298 (see above, p. 788). He was doubtless appointed late in 1069, after the capture of William Malet. All these touches give us confidence in the main outline of the story,

but, the more we believe it, the less we can believe the true
of Henry the First's birth at Selby.

Matthew Paris (*Historia Anglorum*, i. 34), or some interpolator of his manuscript, has a strange story about the foundation of Selby. William's two monasteries in England are oddly described as "cœnobia nobilia, videlicet de Bello in partibus Anglie orientalibus et Selebi occidentalibus." Selby is said to have founded "pro eo quod quemdam sibi consanguinitate propinquus veneno occiderit, timens ne ipsum de regno Anglie supplanteretur vel ducatu vel utroque, quia strenuissimus fuit." This must be some vague glimmering of the death of Conan, on which see vol. i. p. 726. The story goes on to say that William on his deathbed was visited by a holy Bishop, his confessor, who asked whether he repented of this crime. William said that he could not repent. Did he repent that he could not repent? William had got so far in the way of amendment, and with this the Bishop seemed to have been satisfied.

NOTE BB. p. 256.

EARLY NOTICES OF WALTHEOF.

As we have no distinct evidence (see vol. iii. p. 426) what

life by consent of the convent ; "Deprecatus est Siwardus comes abbatem Leofricum et fratres ut quamdiu viveret posset habere supradictas villas, et post illius decesum reverterentur ad monasterium." On the death of Siward however the lands were still not made over to the abbey. An agreement was made in the presence of Eadward ("facta est conventio ante Regem Eadwardum inter Walþeof filium supradicti comitis et Leofricum abbatem"), by which Waltheof received five marks of gold, and was to keep one of the lordships for life, while the other went at once to the abbey. After the death of Eadward—the usual Domesday euphemism for "during the reign of Harold"—this agreement was broken by Waltheof, seemingly by his taking possession of both lordships ; "Hoc actum est apud Regem publice, sed post mortem Regis fracta est conventio ab ipso Walþeofo." Afterwards, moved by penitence, he himself came to the monastery and gave the lands to Saint Peter on the condition that he himself should keep them for life. It was especially provided that they should not be forfeited by any act of their temporary owner ; "nec terras proprio reatu perdere potest." The story is given in a deed printed in Cod. Dipl. iv. 265, which was evidently drawn up while Waltheof was still in possession ; but the lands spoken of, Ryhall and Belmesthorp in Northamptonshire, appear in Domesday (228) in possession of Waltheof's widow Judith, without any account of their former history.

One may guess that some confused notion of this business was present to Mr. C. H. Pearson when he ventured to speak (*North British Review*, April, 1870, p. 65) "of Waltheof, whose first known public act was to invalidate his mother's bequest, whose next was to take part in a butchery, and whose last exploit was an assassination." If this last charge refers to the slaughter of the sons of Carl, for that I have unluckily no defence to make. But, unless Mr. Pearson is wont to speak of the "butcheries" of Marathon and Morgarten, it is odd to apply that name to the storm of York, and it is stranger still to find the widow Godgifu mistaken, as Mr. Pearson would seem to have mistaken her, for the daughter of all the Northumbrian Earls.

Besides this, there is a notice of Waltheof in Domesday, 32, according to which he was, during the reign of Harold, engaged in certain private transactions about land and money. "Hanc terram [Tooting in Surrey] accepit Wallef comes de Swan post mortem

Regis E., et invadiavit pro ii. markis auri Alnodo Lundonie. According to this account, Æthelnoth somewhat unfairly gave land which was not his own to Saint Peter of Westminster for own soul. "Concessit Sancto Petro pro sua anima." But different account of this business is given in a charter in C. Dipl. iv. 205, in which there is no mention of Waltheof, but which King Eadward, by a writ addressed to Bishop Stigand (Bishop of Winchester), Earl Leofwine, and all the Thengs of Surrey, confirms to Saint Peter and the brethren at Westminster grant of lands at Tooting, "swa ful and swa forð swa *Sweyn* may hit formest of me held and into þare halgen stowe geset. This looks as if the Swan of Domesday were no other than Sweg of Essex, the son of Robert of Wymarc. The two accounts clearly refer to the same matter, and it is not easy to reconcile the two. One is half inclined to suspect that the account in Domesday, where there was no temptation to misrepresentation, gives the true story, and that the writ is an early forgery on behalf of the church of Westminster, in order to get rid of any possible objection to their right on the ground of the seemingly illegal grant by Æthelnoth.

NOTE CC. p. 296.

of Champagne, the husband of his sister Adelaide (see vol. ii. p. 614). But Holderness was a barren land and grew nothing but oats, so that, when Odo's wife had borne him a son, who was named Stephen, he asked the King to give him some land which grew wheat, that he might feed his nephew ("petiit a Rege ut daret ei terram ferentem frumentum, unde alere posset nepotem suum"). He therefore gave him the lordship of Bitham and other lands elsewhere. This Stephen was the father of William the Fat, Count of Albemarle, who founded the abbey of Meaux, at a place so called because it had been held (78) by one Gamel the son of Ketel, who had come in William's train from Meaux in France and gave his new abode the name of the old one. "Gamellus filius Ketelli de Melsâ, avus seu pater dicti Johannis de Melsâ, cum Wil-lielmo Notho, Rege et Conquæstore, de prædictâ civitate Galliæ, Meaux Gallice dictâ, exiens, cum aliis, in his partibus Holdernesiæ sortem suæ habitationis est assecutus, et, ob memoriam civitatis suæ egressionis, nomen huic loco quem inhabitabat ut Meaux nuncuparetur imponebat."

Now that this story cannot be strictly true is plain from Domesday. There (323 b et seqq.) one "Drogo de Bevrere" appears as the owner of a vast estate in the parts of Holderness. He is found also in various other parts of Domesday, especially in Lincolnshire (360 b), where he appears as possessor of Bitham. On the other hand, I cannot find Odo of Champagne or his son Stephen in any part of the Survey, though his wife ("Comitissa de Albamarla") appears in ii. 91 b, 430 b. As for Gamel the son of Ketel, a man with such a thoroughly Danish name would be very likely indeed to be a natural Yorkshireman, but very unlikely to have come from France into Yorkshire. The only Gamel to be found in Domesday as a tenant *in capite* is the Gamel who had a share in the Northumbrian insurrection (see vol. ii. p. 477), nor can I find any man of the name even as an under-tenant of the lord of Holderness.

On the other hand, Orderic (522 C) distinctly asserts that William gave what he inaccurately calls the earldom of Holderness to Odo of Champagne ("Odoni Campaniensi, nepoti Theobaldi comitis, qui sororem habebat ejusdem Regis, filiam scilicet Rodberti ducis, dedit idem comitatum Hildernesæ"), and both Odo and his son Stephen play an important, though not a very successful, part in English affairs in the reign of William Rufus. See Florence, 1095, 1096.

NOTE I

THE IMPRISONMENT A.

THERE is no kind of doubt deposition, was put in prison, or restraint, and that he thus reme days. But a good many legends the story. He has been made to Ely, and some clearly mythical prisonment. In Thierry, 215, we in company with "Alexander Bis he goes to Ely; and in p. 59 he Ely in 1071, or, according to I doubt that all this is pure fictio invention. It is however a good up a story out of late and ill-info degree of carelessness indeed not was no such thing as a Bishop was a prelate of Norman descent of this imaginary flight to Scotland. Bishop of Lincoln comes from R followed by Matthew Paris (*Hist. writers takes Stigand to Ely. hand know nothing of Stigand's i straight to Ely. The tale is four that in the Anglia Sacra, i. 609, : edition, 227; "Stigandus interum loca diffugiens vagus latitabat, recenterat tandem*

et in Wintoniæ oppido positus est, ubi, etsi invitus, luit quidquid in archiepiscopatu deliquit."

None of the trustworthy writers know anything of these journeys to Scotland and Ely. In them he is at once put under that degree of restraint, whatever it was, under which he was put. But as to the nature of that restraint there is a good deal of difference of statement, and it is curious enough that the most probable account comes from the Winchester historian, Thomas Rudborne, following his "Auctor de Concordatiis sub litterâ S." (Angl. Sacr. i. 250);

"Habuit Willelmus eum in salvâ custodiâ, viz. in castro Wytoniæ, infra quam custodiam diverteret quo vellet, sed extra limites ei non liceret. Honestissime enim cum eo tractavit, dimitens ei in pace omnes thesauros auri et argenti et aliarum rerum quos ante depositionem suam habebat, et nihil ex omnibus accepit Rex quamdiu Stigandus viveret. Attamen Stigandus ne minimum nummum ex omnibus divitiis super semetipsum expendere voluit. Eo vero defuncto, assignavit Rex Willelmus corpus ejus sepeliri in ecclesiâ cathedrali Wytoniæ, et crucem magnam ex argento cum duabus imaginibus in thesauro ipsius Stigandi inventam, ex omnibus pretiosissimis divitiis quam Rex invenerat ecclesiæ Wytoniensi pro animâ Stigandi solummodo transmisit."

This notion that the captivity of Stigand was not very harsh seems to be quite borne out by an entry in Domesday, 38, which shows that he remained a landowner till the day of his death; "Ipse Rex tenet Menes; Stigandus archiepiscopus tenuit T. R. E. ad opus monachorum, et post quamdiu vixit habuit." There is also another reference to the death of Stigand in Domesday, ii. 173, 173 b. Some lands and rights are reckoned up which had been held by "Algarus de Stigando archiepiscopo," and it is noted that "super hoc manerium et super omnes homines qui erant in eo habebat Stigandus socam, et fuit liberatum Rogero [Bigod], vivente eo." Among the earlier writers, Florence simply says of the deposed prelates in general, "Nonnullos, tam episcopos quam abbates, quos nulla evidenti [sic] causa nec concilia nec leges seculi damnabant, suis honoribus privavit, et usque ad finem vitæ custodiæ manipulos detinuit, suspicione, ut diximus, tantum inductus novi regni." The language of William of Malmesbury (Gest. Pont. 37), speaking of Stigand only, is only one degree less strong as to the injustice of the deprivation; "Et

quamvis ille se blande excusans præceptum Papæ objectaret, n^o tamen opinionem affectatæ depositionis exclusit, quod eum toto ~~s~~ in vinculis Wintoniæ habuerit." The "vincula" of William, which is copied by several later writers, are more distinct than the "cetodia" of Florence. Gervase (Act. Pont. Cant. X Scriptt. 165) speaks of him as "in carcere trusus," and adds, "in ergastulo regis apud Wintoniam mortuus est."

The story of the key appears in William of Malmesbury (Gest. Pont. 37);

"Ibi Stigandus tenui victu vitam toleravit, quod ei parvus de fisco inferebatur et ipse ingenitam mentis duritiam nihil suo inferri pateretur. Quin et hortantibus amicis, et præcepta Reginae Edgithæ, Edwardi Regis relicta, ut se delicatius vestiret, pasceret, per omne sanctum jurabat non se habere nummum ne valens. Huic sacramento soliditatem veri abfuisse probavit ingens opum post mortem ejus in subterraneis specubus inventarum. Ad quarum indicium ut veniretur auxilio fuit clavicula collanearum exanimati dependens, quæ familiaris scrinii esset custos. Ea seruata immissa manifestavit per cartas inventas et qualitatem metallorum et quantitatem ponderum."

This became the stock passage for later writers to copy. Gervase however (Gest. Pont. Cant. X Scriptt. 1652) tells it in

in the winter. But it is plain that, not only William of Malmesbury, but even Florence, confounded the two.

Under 1070 Florence tells us, “Ægelwinus Dunholmi episcopus ab hominibus Regis Willelmi capitur et in carcerem truditur, ubi, dum ex nimio cordis dolore comedere nollet, fame et dolore moritur.” Under the next year we read, “Rex episcopum Ægelwinum Abandoniam missum in custodiam posuit, ubi in ipsa hieme vitam finivit.” This latter is the true account of Aethelwine translated from the *Chronicles*. The former entry belongs to Aethelric, though the *Chronicles* under 1069 carefully distinguish the two brothers. The Worcester *Chronicle* puts these events under their proper date, as part of the acts of the Easter *Gemot* of 1070 (see p. 334), while Peterborough puts them out of order before the coming of the Danish fleet in 1069.

Florence's story about Aethelric refusing to eat seems hardly consistent with his vigorous spiritual action against the spoilers of Peterborough (see p. 461). But it appears again in a still more confused account, given by William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* 271), where the succession of the two Bishops is put in a wrong order, and the actions of both are attributed to Aethelric;

“Post Edmundum fuerunt Edred, Egeluinus, Egelricus. Quorum ultimus sub Rege Willelmo rebellionis accusatus, quod turbasset pacem regiam, piraticam adorsus, perpetuo exilio Westmonasterium deportatus est. Ibi quantum vixit, voluntaria inediâ et lacrimarum affluentia præteritos reatus attenuans et diluens, sanctitatis opinionem apud homines concepit. Denique ab his qui eum viderunt posteris memoriam tradentibus, hodieque tumulus ejus nec votis nec frequentiâ petitorum caret.”

In the printed text of Roger of Wendover (ii. 9) the same confusion appears. The right account is given in ii. 6, but in the latter place the text now stands, “Hoc etiam anno *Egelwinus* episcopus Dunelmensis, apud Westmonasterium sub custodiâ Regis detenus, obiit, et ibidem in portico Sancti Nicolai sepultus est.” But Mr. Luard tells me that all the manuscripts read *Eilricus*. This is translated from the account given by both *Chronicles*, under 1072, where, in recording the death and burial of Aethelric, they give a little sketch of his life (see vol. ii. p. 407), including a second mention of his imprisonment. Florence also translates, keeping the right name.

It is naturally from Simeon of Durham that we get the clear account of the doings of Æthelwine. But he gives no account of Æthelric. Both Chronicles (under 1069) say distinctly, "Her i wrægde þone bispoc Ægelric on Burh, and sende hine to Wymnstre, and utlagode his broðer Ægelwine bispoc." Of Æthe we only hear again how he excommunicated the plunderers of Peterborough; see p. 323. Of Æthelwine we hear again in 1070 how he went to Ely, and how after the capture of the isle he was sent to Abingdon; "þone bispoc Egelwine he sende to Abbandū and he þær forferde sona þas wintres." It is from Simeon that we learn how he was employed between his outlawry and his appearance at Ely. Hist. Dun. iii. 17. Compare 1070. "Reporta in Dunelmum, sicut jam dictum est, beatissimi confessoris corporis Egelwinus xv. sui episcopatus anno, partem thesaurorum ecclesie secum asportans, Angliam relicturus navem ascendit. Sed quia jam cupito itinere versus Coloniam navigaret, vento repulsus Scotiam ibidem hiemavit." This flight was evidently the consequence of the outlawry recorded in the Chronicles. Simeon records the events which happened in the North; the Chronicle records, though imperfectly, the acts of the Council.

NOTE FF. p. 344.

ment can possibly be genuine which imposes penances on all who had taken any share in William's great crusade, and therefore, by implication, on William himself more than on any one else. But the enactments are exceedingly curious. They begin by one decree which, according to Guy of Amiens (see vol. iii. p. 508), would have condemned the Conqueror to a penance of two thousand years ; "Qui magno prælio scit se hominem occidisse, secundum numerum hominum pro unoquoque uno anno pœniteat." Provisions follow for those who do not know whether those whom they struck had died, and for those who cannot remember the number of those whom they killed. The will is punished as well as the deed ; "Qui autem neminem percusserit, si percutere voluerat, triduo pœniteat." Then comes an order seemingly for the special benefit of the Bishop of Bayeux ; "De clericis qui pugnaverunt aut pugnandi gratiâ armati fuerunt, quia pugnâsse illis illicitum erat secundum instituta canonum, ac si in patriâ suâ peccâssent, pœniteant. Pœnitentiæ monachorum secundum regulam suam et Abbatum judicia statuantur." Special provisions are made for the mercenaries and for the archers ; "De sagittariis, qui ignoranter aliquos occiderunt, vel absque homicidio vulneraverunt, tribus quadragesimis pœniteant." Lastly come a series of decrees about acts of violence done after the battle, which have a more genuine sound, and which may be taken in connexion with the accounts which we have of William's strict discipline (see p. 30), and a marked distinction is drawn between acts done before the King's coronation and acts done after ;

"Quicumque, excepto hoc prælio, ante Regis consecrationem, victus quærendi causâ per regnum discurrerunt, et hostibus repugnantibus aliquos occiderunt, pro singulis uno anno pœniteant.

"Qui autem, non necessitate victus sed prædandi causâ discurrerunt, et aliquos occiderunt, tres anno pœniteant.

"Qui autem post consecrationem Regis hominem occiderunt, sicut de homicidiis sponte commissis pœniteant ; hoc excepto, ut si quis de illis quemque qui adhuc repugnabant Regi occidit vel percuisset, sicut supra pœniteat.

"De adulteriis, et raptibus, et fornicationibus quibuscumque, ac si in patriâ suâ peccâssent, pœniteant."

Sir Francis Palgrave (iii. 484) accepts the decrees without hesitation, and fixes the synod to the same date as I do.

NOTE GG. p. 363.

THE LAWSUITS OF LANFRANC AND GUNDULF.

THE great suit between Lanfranc and Odo, the famous scene Penenden Heath, "congregatio illa famosa nobilium Anglia seniorum [þa yldestan þegnas], quæ ex præcepto Regis facta apud Pinnindene," as Gervase (Act. Pont. Cant. 1655) calls it also recorded in the Appendix to the Winchester Chronicle "magnum placitum in loco qui dicitur Pinenden." An account given by Eadmer (Hist. Nov. 9); but the fullest version is that to be found in Bishop Ernulf's Rochester History in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 3. He opens his story, and sets forth the wrong doings of Odo, with much pomp of language;

"Tempore magni Regis Willelmi, qui Anglicum regum armis conquisivit et suis ditionibus subjugavit, contigit Odon Baiocensem episcopum et ejusdem Regis fratrem multo citius quam Lanfrancum archiepiscopum in Angliam venire, atque comitatum de Cantia cum magnâ potentia residere, ibique potestatem non modicam exercere. Et quia illis diebus in comitatu illo quisquam non erat qui tanta fortitudinis viro resistere possit propter magnam quam habuit potestatem, terras complures

dictum Baiocensem episcopum ibi surrexerunt, et etiam inter consuetudines regales et archiepiscopales, quæ primâ die expediri non potuerunt, eâ caussâ totus comitatus per tres dies ibi fuit detentus."

Under any other circumstances the two litigants would themselves have been the presidents of the assembly. We find Lanfranc and Odo acting together in this character in Domesday, 2. A reeve named Bruman had levied T. R. E. certain dues belonging to the abbey of Saint Augustine, "qui postea T. R. W. ante archiepiscopum Lanfrancum et episcopum Baiocensem recognovit se injuste accepisse, et sacramento facto juravit quod ipsæ ecclesiæ suas consuetudines quietas habuerunt R. E. tempore, et ex inde utræque ecclesiæ in suâ terrâ habuerunt consuetudines suas, judicio baronum Regis qui placitum tenuerunt." The actual president, Geoffrey, appears in both accounts. "Huic placito interfuerunt Goisfridus episcopus Constantiensis, qui in loco Regis fuit et justitiam illam tenuit," says Ernulf in *Ang. Sac.* i. 355. And so Eadmer, 9; "Goffridus episcopus Constantiensis, vir ea tempestate prædives in Angliâ, vice regis Lanfranco justitiam de suis querelis strenuissime facere jussus, fecit." The chief witness, the deposed Bishop Æthelric, is not mentioned by Eadmer, but he appears in Ernulf as "Ægelricus episcopus de Cicestra, vir antiquissimus et legum terræ sapientissimus, qui ex præcepto Regis advectus fuit ad ipsas antiquas legum consuetudines discutiendas et edocendas in unâ quadrigâ." No one would have guessed from this description that Æthelric had ceased to be Bishop of any see, and that, while he was Bishop, his see was at Selsey and not at Chichester. He is spoken of again in nearly the same way when his cause, of which we have already heard (see above, p. 342), was finally settled in the Council of 1076; "Fratri nostri Ailrici, Cicestrensis quondam episcopi, caussa canonice definita et ad finem perducta est." Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 367.

Ernulf also uses very emphatic language as to the unanimous approval of the sentence in favour of the Archbishop ("In illâ die quâ ipsum placitum finitum fuit non remansit homo in toto regno Angliæ qui aliquid inde calumniaretur neque super ipsas terras etiam parvum quidquid clamaret"), and how it was afterwards confirmed by the King and his Witan; "Hujus placiti multis testibus multisque rationibus determinatum finem postquam

Rex audivit, laudavit, laudans cum consensu omnium principi suorum confirmavit, et ut deinceps incorruptus perseveraret firmi præcepit."

The definition of the royal and archiepiscopal rights is importe. The royal rights are thus defined in the Winchester Appendix;

"Lanfrancus diratiocinavit se suamque ecclesiam omnes terras consuetudines suas ita liberas terrâ marique habere, sicut Rex habet suas, exceptis tribus, videlicet, si regalis via fuerit effossa; si arba incisa juxta eam ceciderit; si homicidium factum vel sanguis in eâ fusus fuerit; in iis qui deprehensus, et ab eo pignus acceptus fuerit; Regi enim dabit; alioquin liber a Regis exactoribus erit.

They are given more fully by Ernulf, 335, but to the same effect. Compare also the customs of Canterbury in Domesday, 2; "Si quis infra has publicas vias, intus civitatem vel extra, foderit vel palu fixerit, sequitur illum praepositus Regis ubicunque abierit emendam accipiet ad opus Regis."

The rights of the Archbishop are thus defined by Ernulf, 336;

"Etenim ab illo die quo clauditur Allelujah usque ad octavam paschæ, si quis sanguinem fuderit, archiepiscopo emendabit. In omni tempore, tam extra quadragesimam quam infra, quicumque illam culpam fecerit quæ *Cilduuite* vocatur, archiepiscopus aut totam aut dimidiam emendationis partem habebit; infra quadragesimam

mansuras in civitate quas tenuit quædam concubina Heraldi." He appears again in 9 b; "Radulfus de Curbespine tenet de episcopo [Odone] unum jugum in Berfrestone. Ibi una paupercula mulier reddit iii. denarios et unum obolum." He appears also as one of the "optimates" of Kent in an alleged charter of William to Saint Augustine. Hist. Mon. S. Aug. 349. It is not clear whether the name *Curbespine* means crooked back or crooked thorn, but it would seem to be hereditary, as in Orderic (550 D) we find a "Robertus de Curvâ-spina, strenuus miles," father of Gilbert Maminot, Bishop of Lisieux, and perhaps of this Ralph.

The account of this trial seems quite clear, but it is followed in Eadmer (Hist. Nov. 9) by the account of another trial, in which Odo appears as the plaintiff and Lanfranc as the defendant; "Alio tempore idem Odo, permittente rege, placitum instituit contra sœpe-fatam ecclesiam et tutorem ejus patrem Lanfrancum, et illuc omnes quos peritiores legum et usum Angli regni noverat gnarus adduxit." On the first day, as Lanfranc was not present in person, the advocates of the Church were defeated. But the Archbishop, having been warned in a dream by his predecessor Saint Dunstan, appeared on the second with all that strength of legal argument with which he had once overthrown the advocates of Pavia; "Suas causas quodam exordio quasi a rebus quæ tractatae fuerant vel tractandæ penitus alieno, cunctis stupentibus, orsus, ita processit ut quæ super eum pridie dicta fuerunt sic devinceret et inania esse monstraret ut donec vitæ præsenti superfuit nullus exurgeret qui inde contra eum os aperiret."

Alongside of this famous suit of Lanfranc we may place, as illustrating the jurisprudence of the times, the suit in which Gundulf of Rochester got possession of the lands of Fracenham; of which an account is given by Ernulf in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 339. There is also a certain interest about the land itself. The writ given by Ernulf (*Ang. Sac.* i. 336) is addressed to Erfast Bishop and Baldwin Abbot (see vol. ii. p. 585), Picot Sheriff, Robert Malet, "and ealle þa þegenas þæt þis gewrit to cymð." It grants to Lanfranc the land at Fracenham, "swa full and swa forð swa Harold hit fyrnest hæfde þæs deges þe ic fyrnest fram ofer sœ com [it is curious to see this familiar Domesday formulary in the English tongue and in the first person] and swa swa Purbearne and Goti of Harolde heolden." The land which Ernulf (339) describes as

"terra quæ erat de Fracenham et jacebat in Giselham" appears Domesday (190 b) under the latter name. It is held by the Bishop of Rochester "sub Archiepiscopo Lanfranco." There is no mention of Harold or of Goti, but besides "Wulwinus venator Regis E.," read that "xii. soci habuerunt i. hidam sub Turberto [doubtless Thurbearn of the writ], qui omnes dare et vendere potuerunt."

At the first trial we read, "Rex præcepit et omnes illi comitatū homines congregarentur, et eorum judicio cuius ter deberet rectius esse probaretur." Then the Scirgemōt first, for fear of the Sheriff, declares the land to belong to the King ("illi autem congregati terram illam Regis esse potius quam B. Andreæ timo vicecomitis affirmaverunt"). But Odo has his doubts; he therefore requires that twelve members of the assembly should be chosen to confirm the sentence on oath. Twelve men, six of whose names are given, being again threatened by the Sheriff, take the oath ("illi autem quum ad concilium secessissent, et inibi a vicecomiti per internuntium conterriti fuissent, revertentes verum esse quod dixerant juraverunt"), and the land remains in the King's hand. The Bishop of Rochester, hearing of this decision, complained to Odo, and two of the jurors on being examined confessed the perjury. The story then goes on; "Denique mandavit vicecomiti, reliquos obviam sibi Londoniam mitteret, et alios duodecim de melioribus eiusdem comitatū qui cum illi intraverant verum esse

In the Life of Walkelin (*Gest. Pont.* 172), all that William of Malmesbury says is, that Walkelin at first hated his monks, and afterwards repented and did a great deal for them ("et primo quidem novus advena monachos exosus fuerat; sed facile correctus umbraticum illud odium s^ep^ee deploravit"). In the Life of Lanfranc he tells us how Walkelin was a leader of a party among the Bishops to make the change, and how he had his forty canons ready to supplant the monks;

"*Jam enim episcoporum livor increverat, volentium ab episcopalibus sedibus monachos, clericis immissis, extrudere. Auctor hujus factionis fuit Walkelinus Wentanus, ad cetera bonus, sed in hoc ad pravum consiliis susurronum flexus, plus xl canonicos cappis et superpelliciis ornaverat.*"

Eadmer speaks to the same effect, adding that these schemes reached the church of Canterbury itself;

"*Super h^ec suis quoque et eisdem ferme diebus, omnes circiter qui ex clericali ordine per Regem Willielmum in Angliâ constituti pontifices erant, monachos qui in nonnullis episcopatibus Angliæ ab antiquo vitam agebant, inde eliminare moliti sunt; et Regem ipsum in hoc sibi consentaneum effecerunt. . . . Namque pari voto, simili conamine, uno consensu, concordi animo, pontifices quos religionis ordo non sibi astrinxerat eniti cœperunt quatenus saltem de primatu Cantuariensi monachos eradicarent, intendentes se hoc facto facillime alios aliunde exclusuros.*"

The arguments for the change at Canterbury are thus stated; "De illis etenim, potioribus, sicut eis videbatur, rationibus ad id agendum fulciebantur, partim ob sublimitatem primatis sedis, quæ dispositioni et correctioni ecclesiarum per suas personas quâque, per Angliam invigilare habet, partim ob alias multiplices causas quarum executio, juxta quod ipsi configebant, magis clericorum quam monachorum officium spectat."

Of the particular scheme with regard to Winchester he speaks much as William of Malmesbury does;

"*In quo tamen se effectu potituros certi extiterant, ut Walchelinus episcopus adunatos pene quadraginta clericos, canonicorum more tonsurâ ac veste redimitos, haberet, quos, ejectis monachis, Wentanæ ecclesiæ cui præsidebat mox intromitteret.*"

Both writers strongly set forth the general feeling in favour of the change on the part of the King and the chief men of

the kingdom ; "Regem ipsum in hoc consentaneum effec
"Deductus est in sententiam istam rex et alii principes
Lanfranc alone resists with regard both to Canterbury
Winchester. "Sola mora," says Eadmer, "haec peragendi,
requisita ab archiepiscopo Lanfranco licentia fuit. Ut auto
dicto quoque citius impetraret nulla menti ejus [Walkelinis]
tatio inerat." Or, as William of Malmesbury puts it, "Re
sententiam traxerat [Walkelinus], et tantum morae in me
archiepiscopi consensum eliceret; is quominus haberetur
dubitandum. At ille auditum facinus exhorruit, et tot po
excogitatas machinas, ut casses aranearum, solo intuitu di
quinetiam, ne idem auderent posteri, egit ut Alexander Papa s
inhiberet." Then, says Eadmer, "Clerici qui succedere mo
fuerant per Walchelinum collecti, et in sua dimissi sunt, et mo
qui cedere clericorum præjudicio quodam damnati erant,
Dei et instantiâ boni Lanfranci, pristinæ conversationis i
ecclesiâ compotes effecti sunt."

The bull of Alexander the Second with regard to the pro
change at Canterbury is given in Eadmer, 10, and Lanf
Letters, Giles, i. 27. Its language shows that the Papal g
scolding was as vigorous then as it is now;

"Accepimus a quibusdam venientibus de partibus vestr
.....

ancient laws of Eadgar were kept in force; "Magnum id et laudandum, ut quod sedula sanctorum benignitas tempore Regis Edgari inchoaverit iste labefactari non permiserit." Notwithstanding Walkelin's offence against his order, William of Malmesbury elsewhere (*Gest. Regg.* iii. 269) gives him a splendid panegyric; "Cujus bona opera, famam vincentia, vetustatem oblicationis a se repellent quamdiu ibi sedes episcopalnis durabit." See also the local Annals of Winchester, 1086, 1098.

NOTE II. p. 376.

THE LEGEND OF SAINT WULFSTAN.

THE legend of the wonderful way in which the deposition of Saint Wulfstan was hindered first appears in *Æthelred of Rievaux* (X Scriptt. 406), who is followed by Roger of Wendover (ii. 52) and Matthew Paris (20 Wats.). In the *Historia Anglorum*, i. 53, it is given in a much shorter form). It is told also by Giraldus (*Spec. Eccl.* iv. 34), and in Bromton (X Scriptt. 976), each of whom gives one or two touches of his own. In short, as usual, the story grows, and each writer looks at it from his own point of view.

In the original story of *Æthelred*, it comes in as part of the legend of Saint Eadward, to set forth his miraculous powers, and the proposal for Wulfstan's deposition comes wholly from Lanfranc, who is anxious to recast the English Church after a new pattern ("Constitutus a Deo ut evelleret et dissiparet et disperderet, et ædificaret et plantaret ecclesiam Anglorum, ad novam quandam speciem revocare, *legationis sua fultus auctoritate*, conatur.") The words in italic would hardly have been admitted by Lanfranc.) Wulfstan is described as an ignorant man (*vir Domini Wulstanus simplicitatis et imperitiae accusatur, et quasi homo idiota et sine literis deponendus rege consentiente vel etiam hoc ipsum præscribente, decernitur*"). Roger of Wendover, who is followed by Matthew Paris in his larger version, makes some verbal changes, and brings in a somewhat important clause, "qui linguam Gallicanam non noverat nec regiis consiliis interesse poterat." Bromton (975) goes a step further; "Beatus Wolstanus Wigornensis

episcopus, quasi unus et Anglicis superstes, ut homo idiota simplicitatis et imperitiae, tam a dicto archiepiscopo Lanliteraturae insufficientiam, quam a rege Willielmo Gallici se parentiam in ipso prætententibus, pontificatu indignus dece ut sic aliquem Normannicum loco ejus subrogarent."

Giraldus has quite another story as to the way in which W is brought into disfavour with the King. We hear nothing of Wulfstan's ignorance, nothing of his inability to speak French, nothing of Lanfranc's legatine office and schemes of reform; nothing indeed about Lanfranc at all. When the matter comes before the Council, Giraldus tells the story, though in fewer words, yet in essentially the same way as the others. The first part of his tale connects itself with another set of stories, namely those of the oppressions and plunderings of the Saxon Urse and others in Wulfstan's diocese. The enemy is no other than Urse himself; for, towards the end of the story he is named, though he appears at the beginning without a name, simply as a powerful officer of the King in Worcestershire who had seized on many of the lands of the see. He it is who wins over the King to the Bishop's deposition, and that, as it would seem, without bringing any definite charge against him;

"Quidam minister regius et in partibus Wigorniæ p

extrahere prævaluit aut a loco movere." The other addition of any importance to the story is the defiant speech put into the mouth of Wulfstan, which is found only in Bromton (X Scriptt. 976), and he puts it doubtlessly at the end of the story; "Dixerat Regi, ut quidam aiunt, dum baculum figeret, 'Melior te hunc mihi dedit, cui et retrado ; avelle si poteris.'"

It may be noticed also that Giraldus here brings in the rime on the name of Urse, which is commonly put into the mouth of Ealdred (see p. 174), but which is here given to Wulfstan. Urse, notwithstanding the miracle which had been wrought in favour of the Bishop, still went on vexing him in every way; "Unde vir bonus quandoque commotus, et tanquam ad iram provocatus, alludens vocabulo, quo vocabatur ille, scilicet Urs, et adaptans atque subjungens lingua suā rythmice *curs*, juste quam meruit in caput ejus maledictionem intorsit."

It is plain that there is a twofold element in this story. It is partly meant to do honour to Eadward; but we may be certain that it was not invented by Æthelred or any one of his day. The tale breathes the spirit of a much earlier time. The strong assertion of the royal supremacy, which is neither praised nor blamed, but taken for granted as a matter of course, shows that the beginning of the story must date from a time before the dispute between Anselm and Henry the First, from a time when English Kings exercised their ancient powers without dispute. Another object of the story clearly is to make out that the English prelates were bolder assertors of the national freedom than they really were. The tale comes from the same mint as the stories of Archbishop Ealdred (see p. 259), of Abbot Frithric, and of Saint Wulfstan himself (see next page and vol. iii. p. 555). The story probably arose out of some real design on the part of Lanfranc to depose Wulfstan, such as that spoken of in p. 375. The Council in which the scene is said to have taken place is that of 1075, in which the removal of the bishoprics from small towns was ordered.

go into a very small coin
the signature which I have
“ Fredericus abbas Verol.
London in 1075 (Wilki.
Matthew Paris, in the Ge
all its details. His original
Saxonibus claram ducens
consanguineus, et liecalite
appointed Abbot in 1064
Eadward and with Harold
(i. 263) as blocking Willia
hampstead and London before
This seems to come from a
which Thierry himself tells
Lanfranc's advice, designs so
gently. William and Lanfranc
hampstead, and William saves
Eadward. This is of course
Berkhampstead in 1066.]
great revolt, in which E
Bishops Wulfstan and Wal
the chiefs are Archbishop I
“ Aluredum archiepiscopum
elegent capitaneum, austr.
They have many of the citizens
seem to give William a good
“ immisericors,” “tyrannus in
belliger,” contrives to divide
Stigand. an ^{unnoted} 11.

a fierce war goes on between him and the English, headed by Eadgar and Frithric—Ealdred has vanished; “*Exercitum numerosum ac fortissimum conflaverunt, præficientes sibi Eadgarum speciosissimum et fortissimum, in cuius sinu tota spes reposita fuit Angligenarum. Unde in Angliam tale exiit eulogium, ‘Eadgar Ethelyng Engelondes derlyng’*” (i. 47). Frithric also was “*inter omnes Anglos dux et promotor efficacissimus.*” Then comes William’s oath at Berkhamstead, notwithstanding which he goes on crushing the English in detail and giving their lands to Normans. Eadgar flies to Scotland, others of the chief men to Denmark, Norway, and elsewhere. Their loss was great; “*Exsularunt ab Angliâ nobiles, tam milites quam prælati; viri sancti, generosi, ac dapsiles, qui more orientalium, et maxime Trojanorum, barbas et comas nutriebant, armis et fide præclarissimi. Quibus exsulantibus, pristina regni sanctitas ac nobilitas irremedabili exsulavit*” (i. 48). William and Lanfranc now greatly oppress the two patriotic Bishops Wulfstan and Walter. Wulfstan is miraculously delivered in the synod of Westminster, according to the well-known story; Walter seeks shelter in Wales. William himself wonders at his own success, and in full *Gemot* (“*in quodam conventu ubi cuncti prælati cum nobilioribus regni convenerant*” i. 49) expresses his amazement. His other hearers, Norman and English, hold their peace, but Frithric tells him that the cause of his success is that the clergy who hold so large a part of the land of the country have so commonly played into his hands. Had the laity been less liberal, and kept the lands in their own hands, the country would have been better able to resist him. William answers that, if this be so, the country cannot be in a state to resist the King of Denmark or any other possible enemy. Therefore, for the safety of the kingdom, he takes part of the lands of the abbey to distribute among his knights. At last Frithric, fearing that greater evils may come, flees to Ely and dies there, on which the abbey is granted to Paul.

By the Ely writers the story of Frithric, whom they call “*Egfridus*,” Stewart, 221), is mixed up with the story of Stigand (see above, p. 806). They say that he brought with him the relics of Saint Alban, a statement which is indignantly denied by Matthew Paris (*Gest. Abb.* i. 51). Thierry tells the story of Ecgfrith in ii. 12 and that of Frithric in ii. 43, just as he tells the stories of Kox and Kopsi, without seeing that they are the same story.

it evidently did, at Sain
there must have been
both of Frithric and W
play. But all that cer
that he was Abbot of
deposed some time betwee

N
LANFRANC'S DEALING.

THE earliest and most t
dealings of Lanfranc with
that Latin Appendix to th
as the Annals of Lanfranc.
text, but it may be worth v
given by those who wrote i
chronicler, William Thorne (t
the privileges which his hous
things;

"A tempore enim beati P
tini . . . haec illius summa
spiritualis alumna regni Angl
religione primariâ gratiâ on
filios suos frui et non ut fia
sancti patris Gregorii cæteroru
beati Augustini; omnique eccl
est, nec ullus unquam præsulu
ausa est."

He has much .

modo obtineret per se et suos complices machinari non destitut. Hic ergo, postquam aliquot annis dignitate archiepiscopali functus est, abbatem Scotlandum, quasi in magnæ amicitæ familiaritatem, sibi in dolo associavit, ut, sub umbrâ hujus mutuæ dilectionis, quod sœpius optabat celerius adipisceretur. Erant autem quasi compatriotæ," &c.

He then goes on to tell how, after the death of William, Lanfranc went on yet further to vex the abbey, forbidding the monks to ring their bells for any of the hours of divine service until the bells of the metropolitan church had rung. "Non attendens," the Augustinian writer oddly adds, "ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi libertas." Then he comes to the appointment of Guy; but in this version, which is also followed by the later historian of the house, Thomas Elmham (*Hist. Mon. Aug.*, 346), Guy is no longer the enemy from without whom Lanfranc forces upon the monks, he is their own choice whom Lanfranc refuses to allow. The Archbishop is even charged with simoniacal bribery. In this tale Lanfranc first wishes the monks of Saint Augustine's to choose a monk of Christ Church. But they "prudenter animadvertentes fel sub melle latere, pecuniam Lanfranci cum precibus præviis parvipendentes, accepta a Rege licentia, monachum præsentis monasterii, moribus et litteratura insignem, nomine Wydonem, elegerunt libere in abbatem." Lanfranc is very wroth, and refuses the benediction to Guy. But after a while, by the order of William Rufus, Lanfranc is forced to perform the ceremony; and Thorne maliciously adds, "et anno sequenti obiit Lanfrancus archiepiscopus."

There are several charters attributed to William and Odo in Thomas Elmham's History of Saint Augustine's, pp. 350 et seqq., chiefly purporting to restore lands to the abbey which had been alienated by Earl Godwine and Abbot Æthelsige ("Alsinus fugitivus meus," see above, p. 352). One of them, in p. 352, is addressed, among others, "R. comiti de Ou," which of course means, not Count Robert, but his son William of Eu (see vol. iii. pp. 117, 672); in the next he is "R. filio comitis G.," which of course should be "G. filio comitis R." Another charter is signed by "Ælnodus de Lundonia," seemingly the same person who appears in the story of Waltheof (see above, p. 804); and in another Bishop Odo reckons among his men "Æbelwoldus cubicularius." One would not have fancied Odo having an English chamberlain.

NOTE MM. p. 454.

THE LEGEND OF HEREWARD.

THE authentic history of Hereward consists of the notices in the Chronicles which I have mentioned in the text and of the entries relating to him in Domesday. At the time of the Survey he held nothing in chief, but he, or some other person of the same name, held lands in Warwickshire (Domesday, 240, 240 b) of the Count of Mercia, which he had himself held in the time of King Eadward. He had also held (241) other lands in Warwickshire which had passed to Thirkill, and five hides in Worcestershire (173) held of the Bishop of Worcester. It is however possible that the Hereward of these entries may be some other person, but there can be no doubt about the entry in 376 b. Among the "Clamores in Chetsteven" we find "Terram Asford in Bercham hundred dieit wapentak non habet Herewardum die quâ aufungiit." And again in 377; "Terra Sancti Guthlaci quam tenet Ogerus in Repinghale dicunt fieri dominicam firmam monachorum, et Ulchel abbatem commendare eam ad firmam Herewardo, sicut inter eos conveniret unoquoque anno; sed abbas resaisivit eam antequam Herewardus de perditione fugeret, eo quod conventionem non tenuisset." Lastly, in a

son, not the husband, of Eadward's sister Godgifu, so that any English kinsman of Ralph must have been also a kinsman of King Eadward. The mother of Hereward was Eadgyth or Eadgifu (Ediva), a descendant of the famous Earl Oslac in Eadgar's time (see vol. i. p. 264). Hereward was banished by King Eadward at the prayer of his father Leofric, on account of his violent bearing towards other lads of his own age. In his exile he visited North-humberland, Cornwall, Ireland and Flanders; but no special adventures are told of him, except that in Flanders he married a wife Turfida, by whom he had a daughter, who handed on the paternal estate at Bourne to her husband Hugh of Evermouth. Meanwhile the Conquest of England takes place. Hereward hears that his father is dead, and that his estates have been granted to a Norman by whom his mother is badly treated. He comes home with his wife and her mother, the latter of whom before long very considerately takes the veil at the hands of Abbot Ulfcytel. He then receives knighthood at the hands of Abbot Brand of Peterborough, who is said to be his uncle; he becomes the leader of the outlaws in the Isle; and, when the French Abbot Turold succeeds his uncle, he attacks Peterborough, puts the Abbot to flight, and afterwards takes him prisoner and releases him for a large ransom (see p. 483). We hear nothing of his later life or of his death, but, from the mention of his daughter inheriting his estate, we may infer that he was restored to his lands and died in peace.

Geoffrey Gaimar first brings Hereward before us as leader of the outlaws at Ely (Chron. Ang.-Norm. i. 17);

"Des utlaghes mulz i aveit. Uns gentilz hom lur sire esteit,	Ki Hereward aveit à nun, Un des meilleurs del région."
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He records his escape with much detail, and carries him into the Bruneswald. There he withstands the Normans for several years at the head of several companions whose names are given in very corrupt forms, and of whom we are told (21);

"Icil e li autre guerreier Guerreierent issi Franceis ;	Si un d'els encontrout trois Ne s'en alasent sanz assalt."
--	---

Then comes the story of *Ælfthryth*, the share of Hereward in the war of Maine, his reconciliation with the King, and his murder (see p. 484). The tale of his marriage runs thus (22);

" Par plusurs anz tant guerroia
 Si qe une dame le manda,
 Que de li out of parler ;
 Par meinte foiz l'ad fet mander
 Q'a lui vensist, si li plesoit ;
 L'onor son piere li dorroit ;

Et, s'il la pernoit à muiller,
 Bien porroit François guerr
 Ceo fut Alfrued qe ço man
 A Ereward, qe mult ama ;
 Par plusurs foiz tant le man
 Qe Ereward s'apresta."

Of the curious account of Hereward in the Hyde writer (2) have quoted several passages in the text. I may add that he speaks of Hereward "genere quidam infimus sed animo et viribus cipius." He also tells one of the legendary stories about Hereward pretending to be dead, and so being carried into a castle and slain by the inhabitants. This is a story well known to comparative theologists.

The *Gesta Herwardi Saxonis* are printed in the second volume of the *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*. Mr. Thomas Wright, seems to have edited the story from a copy without seeing the original, calls it (p. i.) a "precieux document," and adds, "*si sommes bien informés, il a été écrit dans le douzième siècle.*" Latin text professes to be a translation of an English book written by Leofric the Deacon, who is described as Hereward's prior of Bourne. This text comes from a common source with a great part in the *Historia Eliensis* (ed. Stewart), which is there said (p. 11) to come from the work of a certain Prior Richard who held

for the Irish prince whom Hereward visits, but when he is shipwrecked in Flanders, instead of the renowned Baldwin, he comes across "Comes terre illius, Manasar vocatus nomine" (p. 22). In Flanders he has vehement love made to him by Turfrida, as in the other story by Ælfthryth, and he does many exploits in her honour, somewhat in the style of a hero of Froissart. She is described (p. 26) as "puella nobilis et pulcra, scientia liberalitatis multum dedita, in mechanicaque arte etiam peritissima." Elsewhere (p. 49) we read that she "etiam omnem muliebrem jam superexcedebat mollitiem, in omni necessitate perspicui viri compos saepe probata." At last Hereward comes back to England, and finds his father's house at Bourne in the hands of Frenchmen, one of whom has just killed his brother (p. 41). We get a description of a banquet of the Normans and their female companions, and how "quidam joculator intererat psallendo, exprobans genti Anglorum et in medio domus incompositos quasi Angigenos fingens saltus." Hereward of course takes a fitting revenge, and regains possession of his father's house. He is then knighted by Brand, he kills Frederick of Warren (p. 46), goes back to Flanders, and comes back with his wife Turfrida and his two nephews Siward the White and Siward the Red. He gathers a company whose names are given at length. One or two are remarkable (p. 51), as "Godricus de Corbi, nepos comitis de Warewic, et Tosti de Davenesse, cognatus comitis ejusdem, cuius et nomen in baptismo accepit"—this Tostig Earl of Warwick should be noticed—"et quidam Turbertinus, pronepos Edwyni comitis," who, to say nothing of his remarkable name, must have been great-great-grandson of the still living Godgifu. But another name (p. 50) seems to suggest a lost piece of Teutonic song or legend; "Godwinus Gille, qui vocabatur Godwinus, quia non impar Godwino filio Guthlaci, qui in fabulis antiquorum valde praedicatur," which should be taken along with the mention of the Guthlacingas in Orderic (537 C). Then follows a long account of Hereward's exploits in the Island and of his later years and death, to which I have made many references in the text. But one detail of his domestic life must be mentioned. Though Turfrida is still alive, he has proposals of marriage made to him (p. 88) by one who is described as "præpotentissima mulier, quæ fuit uxor Dolfini comitis," and we are told that "illi formosior nec speciosior fuit in regno, nec opibus pene præclarior." She has made her own peace with

the King, and she offers to win the same favour for Hereward. The hero is tempted, and Turfride makes a way for the new marriage by entering religion at Crowland. But, to keep up the meaning of the tale, we are told (p. 89) that, on this account, "multa commoda ei post evenerunt, quod sapientissima erat et in necessitate magni consilii. Postea enim, sicut ipse saepe professus est non ei sicut in tempore ejus sic prospere contigerunt multa."

Now how much of truth is there in this story? There is nothing in Domesday to connect Hereward with Bourne, which appears (364 b) as having been held T. R. E. by Earl Morkere, except that Bourne had passed to the same owner, Oger the Breton, as some of the former possessions of Hereward. There is nothing beyond the legend to show whether Hereward's father was or was not called Leofric. There is a Leofric who appears several times in Lincolnshire, and once (369) with the title of "Cilt." But he was not the owner of Bourne. The notion of Sir Henry Ellis (ii. 146) that Hereward was a younger son of Earl Leofric comes only from the genealogical roll of the fifteenth century (*Chron. Ang.-Norm.* xi.), of which I have already spoken in vol. ii. p. 658. "Fuit tempore Sancti Edwardi Regis quidam Leofricus comes Cestriæ et Merciorum, cognatus comitis Herfordiae, dominus de Brunn nomine Scarle." The pedigree-maker had the *Gesta* before him but he could conceive only one Leofric and only one Ralph, and i

to make way for *Ælfthryth* is plainly another form of the story in Ingulf which makes, not herself but her mother, do so. The description of the "mulier prepotentissima" as wife of Earl Dolfin sounds as if it were a tradition or confusion of something. Dolfin, we know, was a great Northumbrian name (see vol. ii. p. 477), but no Earl so called is recorded.

The name of *Wake*, given to Hereward by modern writers, comes from the Chronicle of John of Peterborough, a writer of uncertain date and personality. He has several entries about Hereward, which are to the same effect as the story in the *Gesta*. Under 1068 we read, "Herewardus de partibus transmarinis rediens in Angliam ad hæreditatem suam, et reperiens Regem Normannis eam contulisse, occisis occupantibus, cepit contra Regem dimicare." Under the next year we read, "Obiit Brando abbas Burgi, patruus dicti Herewardi le *Wake*, cui ex Regis collatione successit Turoldus." He then goes on to tell the story of Turold being taken by Hereward and ransoming himself. Its appearance at this point shows pretty plainly that it is simply another form of the sacking of Peterborough in 1070. Lastly, under 1071 we read, "Herewardus le *Wake* etiam intra paludes Elienses, cum multis aliis Anglis exlegatis, Regi restituit."

Another question arises as to Hereward's companions in the defence of the Isle. Of the imaginary presence of Archbishop Stigand and Abbot Frithric I have spoken in other Notes. But there is no doubt that Earl Morkere, Bishop *Æthelwine*, and Siward Barn were all there. And the names of Eadwine and Morkere are so closely connected through the greater part of their joint lives that, as Morkere was at Ely, the temptation must have been almost irresistible to carry Eadwine there also. In the *Gesta* (p. 56) the two Earls come in as it were incidentally. Hereward, on going to Ely, is received "a quodam comite de Leycestre Adwino, et a fratre ipsius Morkere comes [sic] de Warwic, et ab alio comite Tosti nomine, qui ad eos in insulâ confugerant." They appear also with their mythical companion Tostig in the *Ely History*, 230. In the same account (245), when the island is taken, we read by a singular turning about of the real history, "Capitur *Ædwinus* et cum eo viri innumeri validi, honoris et potentiae nominati, et artissime vincti. Condolet exercitus [Normanicus, sc.] de effugio

Morkardi." Yet in another place (239) the brothers are made to live on to have a share in the rebellion of Ralph of Wallingford: "Normannorum quoque adeo labefactata est fides et motus adversum naturalem dominum suum prolium procinerent collectaneis et consanguineis, commonente comite Radulfo de Winton ad conspirationem invicem contentiose moverentur, accedit in id Herewardo viro inclito et valido, aliisque præpotentibus Angliæ, Ædwino scilicet, Morkaro, Ædelino, Waldevo, Siwa et Ædgaro; quorum obstinata studia patriam inquietaverunt seditionibus." The defence of Ely is also connected with the rebellion in the *Gesta* (77), where after the story of the python (see p. 472) we read, "Isto autem tempore Radulfus cognominato [sic] Waer, clam coacto simul maximo exercitu quoque de gente Anglorum ad nuptias suas invitaverat et vi secum sub sacramento et dolo tenere coegerat, unde totam terram Norwico usque ad Tedford et ad Sudbiri devastans sibi jugavit. Pro quo tres memorati comites et omnes majores natu in insula erant ad eum jam confugerant, quasi vindicaturus [sic] sibi regnum et patriam, relicto solo Herewardo cum monachis et cum suis ad custodiendam insulam."

I need not prove that Eadwine and Morkere had nothing to do with the rebellion of Ralph and Roger, any more than I need prove that Edgar and Ætheling were not, as the Ely writer seems

Monuments, 290, and *Reginaldus de Vitâ et Miraculis S. Godrici* (Surtees Society), p. 22.

Roger of Wendover (ii. 9) preserves the fact of a castle bearing the name of Hereward; “*Castrum ligneum in ipsis paludibus construxerunt, quod usque in hodiernum diem castellum Herewardi a comprovincialibus nuncupatur.*” He of course brings Eadwine thither.

NOTE NN. p. 482.

THE SUCCESSION OF ABBOTS OF ELY.

THERE is a good deal of confusion as to the dates of the Abbots of Ely, and neither the version in Stewart's *Historia Eliensis* nor the version of Thomas of Ely in *Anglia Sacra* is quite consistent in its chronology. From the Winchester Annals (Ann. Mon. ii. 33) it seems plain that Simeon was appointed, not in 1086, but in 1082. Godfrey administered the church of Ely for seven years (Stewart, 251). This takes us back to 1075, in which year, according to Wharton's note in *Anglia Sacra* (i. 610), Theodwine died in the month of December, after an incumbency of two years and a half. He could not have died in 1074, as Thomas of Ely says in his text, because he signs the decrees of the Council of London in 1075. It follows therefore that Theodwine's predecessor Thurstan probably died early in 1073. He could not have lived till 1076, nor yet have died, as Thomas of Ely makes him, in 1071, because he signs the decrees of the Council of Windsor in 1072 (Will. Malms. iii. 298). The confusion is probably due to a mistake of the writer of the *Historia Eliensis*, who mistook the five years assigned to Thurstan's abbacy by Thomas of Ely (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 610) for five years after the surrender in 1071. But the reckoning of five years must be wrong, because both Thomas of Ely (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 609) and the *Ely History* (Gale, ii. ch. 44) make Thurstan appointed by Harold in 1066. Thurstan therefore was Abbot just seven years; Thomas of Ely probably got his five years by confounding the surrender in 1071 with Thurstan's death in 1073. The order will therefore stand thus;

Thurstan	1066—1073.
Theodwine	1073—1075.
Administration of Godfrey	1075—1082.
Simeon	1082—1094.

Comitum Flandriæ (I've
curious, and Richildis,
been far from young at
By her former husband
conveniently made Bishop
pro nimiâ simplicitate
launensi episcopio subli
usurpatâ." She and Ba
Bishop of Cambray on th
Hermann, but Pope Leo
partly released them in th
p. 111); "Hanc merueru
sed absque carnali commi
the same account, their so
1070.) During her regenc
her "tyrannis," "superbia,"
et populum sœviebat," and es
Her dealings with William I
rixosa et callida . . . nec
nubere cuidam Guillelmo s
quoque commovens ampliu
cipes et populum." Rober
Ghent and demands the p
"paternum regnum," but
injuriosis responsonibus]
siones" taking the form of
King Philip, who promises
who "consilio Regis comp
librarum auri

terested, except so far as they come under the general head of "Normanni." We also hear of the reformation of Richildis, and of the holy life of her later days.

NOTE PP. p. 565.

THE COMPLAINTS OF THE ENGLISH WOMEN.

THE picture given by Orderic (523 B, C) of the state of things at the time of which I am speaking in the text runs thus;

"*Adeptis itaque nimiis opibus quas alii aggregabant, Normanni furentes immoderate tumebant, et indigenas divino verbere pro reatibus suis percusso impie mactabant. . . Nobiles puellæ despiciabilium ludibrio armigerorum patebant, et ab immundis nebulonibus oppressæ dedecus suum deplorabant. Matronæ vero elegantia et ingenuitate spectabiles desolatae gemebant: maritorum et omnium pene amicorum solatio destitutæ magis mori quam vivere optabant. Indociles parasiti admirabantur, et quasi recordes e superbiâ efficiebantur, unde sibi tanta potestas emanasset, et putabant quod quidquid vellent sibi liceret. Inskipentes et maligni cur cum totâ contritione cordis non cogitabant, quod non suâ virtute, sed Dei gubernantis omnia nutu, hostes vicerant, et gentem majorem et ditionem et antiquorem sese subegerant; in quâ plures sancti prudentesque viri Regesque potentes micuerant, multisque modis domi militiæque nobiliter viguerant.*"

The case as laid before Lanfranc is thus stated by Eadmer, Hist. Nov. 57;

"*Quando ille magnus Willielmus hanc terram primo devicit, multi suorum, sibi pro tantâ victoriâ applaudentes omniaque suis voluntatibus atque luxuriis obedire ac subdi debere autumantes, non solum in possessiones victorum, sed et in ipsas matronas et virgines, ubi eis facultas aspirabat, nefandâ libidine cœperunt insanire. Quod nonnullæ præudentes et suo pudori metuentes, monasteria virginum petivere, acceptoque velo sese inter ipsas a tantâ infamiâ protexere. Quæ clades, quum postmodum sedata et, pro temporis qualitate, pax rebus data fuisset, quæsitum ab eodem patre Lanfranco est quid de his quæ tali refugio suam pudicitiam servaverunt ipse sentiret; essentne videlicet constringendæ in monasterio velum*

I do not know that given from Eadmer need of in the very first days of the question to one of the time in the first half of Eadmer's description, and Orderic would seem to have reached.

NOT THE CONNEXION OF WA

THE story of the Norman invasion is generally speaking of the massacre of Normans and English long before Waltheof. One might have looked for his own hagiographer; but there is none in the *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes* of Florence and Orderic. But we find a very curious passage, in which Orderic often does. He describes Waltheof's reconciliation with William and goes on;

"Non permansit in fide, per compatriotis enim omnibus, vel subjectis, etiam in Radulfus

ad stipulationi Divinitas suffragari videtur, miracula multa, et ea per maxima, ad tumbam illius ostendens. Aiunt enim in catenas conjectum quotidianis singulisibus perperam commissa diluisse."

A little way on (iii. 255) he gives an account of the bride-ale, its magnificence, and the drunkenness of the guests, adding, "quod Normannorum gulæ jam Anglorum luxus influxerat." He then says that Roger, Ralph, Waltheof, and many others conspired the King's death ("in necem Regis conjurant"), but the next day, when they were sober, the more part repented ("major pars facti poenitens a convivio dilapsa"). He then adds, "Unus eorum (Weldeof fertur), qui, consilio Lanfranci archiepiscopi, Normanniam ulro navigans, rem Regi, causâ suâ duntaxat celatâ, detulit." There is something singular in this last incidental mention of Waltheof, and in the way in which it is insinuated that Waltheof's confession was not an honest one.

Roger of Wendover (ii. 14), who is followed by Matthew Paris (i. 19), distinctly says, "Radulfus, cui Rex Willelmus dederat Est-Angliæ consulatum, consilio Welteofi et Rogeri comitum, Regem Willelmum a regno expellere moliuntur." He then describes the bride-ale, and adds, "erant hujus factionis complices Rogerus, Weltheofus et Radulfus comites, plures episcopi et abbates, cum baronibus et bellatoribus multis." All these join in the embassy to Denmark; all league with the Welsh (meaning Bretons), all ravage the country. Nothing is said of Waltheof's confession. When William comes back, Roger speaks of him as "subito rediens," to which Matthew adds "ad instar fulminis."

The Hyde writer (294), as usual, has an independent account, and a very curious one. He makes no mention of any but English conspirators, and speaks of Ralph of Norfolk a little further on, without mentioning any relation between him and Waltheof;

"Willelmus Rex, quum regnum paci studendo modeste conaretur disponere, quidam principes Anglorum invitæ subjectionis jugum excutere cupientes, rebellare contra eum ad suum interitum non formidavere. Comes autem Waldevus [so Professor Stubbs corrects for the meaningless *Edmesau Waldeth*] unus ex antiquis et ditissimis Angliæ principibus, staturâ quoque corporis et formâ tam decorus ut alter esse Absalon videretur, tanto iracundia igne est accensus ut nullis precibus, nullis muneribus, nec propter consanguineam Regis Juditham, nomine pacis dotæ, ut fertur, sibi

intensis insistens, orat
ipsum Regem postea i
servitio perpetuo manc
ad quamdam ecclesiam
crebraque ad sepulcrum

In this story Waltheo
again arraigned and co
most likely arose out of
discussed in two assembl
London (Westminster) the
prayer to be allowed to
William's sorrow for not
worthy of attention, and he

My own belief, compari
that in Orderic, is that V
spiracy at the bride-ale, but
franc and William, and had

NO:

THE FALSE INGULF AND

I NEED hardly, at this time,
genuineness of the so-called
own appointment by ten
reigning at Constantinople
into England, and who made
Le Mans.

(Gale, 73) Ulfcytel be deposed, on the accusation of Ivo Taillebois and others, in the first assembly held in London after Waltheof's translation. But it is certain that Ulfcytel was not deposed till the Gloucester Assembly of 1085-1086 (see App. Chron. Wint.). Orderic also (542 C) seems not to have known how many years passed before the deposition ; "Post non multum temporis præfatus abbas, quoniam Angligena erat et Normannis exosus, ab æmulis accusatus est, et a Lanfranco archiepiscopo depositus et Glestoniæ claustro deputatus est." But here is no formal charge ; and it is not at all unlikely that the false Ingulf may be reporting the genuine tradition of the house when he says that the "debita reverentia sancto martyri habita" was by his accusers turned into a charge of "idolatria." The story in short forestalls the later saying,

"De par le roi ; defense à Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu."

Our knowledge of the real Ingulf comes from Orderic, 542. We there read, "Ingulfus Fontinellensis monachus abbatiam Crulandiæ dono Guillelmi Regis recepit, et xxiv. annis per plurimas adversitates rexit. Hic natione Anglicus erat ; scriba Regis fuerat." There is nothing here to imply, as is asserted in the false history, that Ingulf attached himself to William during his visit to England in 1051. As he entered religion in a Norman monastery, the Duke had plenty of ways of gaining a knowledge of him.

We are then told of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in describing which Orderic, by not mentioning the names of any Eastern Emperors, keeps himself out of difficulties ;

"Hierusalem perrexerat, unde reversus Fontinellam expetiit, et a viro eruditissimo Gerberto ejusdem cœnobii abbate monachilem habitum suscepit, sub quo jam in ordine instructus prioratum administravit. Hunc ab abbe suo Rex, qui prius eum noverat, requisivit et Crulandensibus præposuit."

We here see where Ingulf really got his learning, not at Westminster or at Oxford. Saint Gerbert, Abbot of Saint Wandrille from 1062 to 1089, was a German by birth and a great philosopher. See Neustria Pia, 169.

Of Ingulf's translation of Waltheof and the miracles which followed, Orderic's account stands thus ;

"Corpus Guallevi comitis de capitulo jussit in ecclesiam transferri, et aquam, unde ossa lavarentur, calefieri. Sed postquam

et honorabiliter sepulto
sepissime. Hoc veraciter
optatæ sanitatis gaudium c.
to read in the same page th
comitis miracula demonstra
miracles" of Earl Waltheof
of Mr. Baxter." And it
valde lætati sunt, et Anglica
quem a Deo jam glorificari
gaudio novæ rei quam pro su
adcurrunt." Presently come
In the second volume of the
there is a special tract, "M
tyris." Most of them are w.
English or Danish names, b
materfamilias religiosa, Athelis
Compare the analogous tract,
Halliwell's Rishanger, p. 67;
Office in Wright's Political So
document in Rymer, ii. 525, ab
part of those of Waltheof.

NOTE

THE N

THE received story as to the
called in question.

agree. Perhaps some confusion may have arisen from the different meanings of the word *forest* then and now. To make a forest did not imply planting the whole forest region with trees. The true relation between the ideas of *wood* and *forest* in those times comes out in some of the New Forest entries in Domesday, 51, 51 b. We there find more than one such entry as “*silvam Rex habet in foresta* ;” and in one case there is an addition which cannot be gainsayed, “*ubi maneant vi. homines.*”

The passage in the Chronicle is,

“He sætte mycel deor frið, and he lægde laga þearwið, þæt swa hwa swa slege heort oððe hinde, þæt hine man sceolde blendian; he forbead þa heortas swylce eac þa baras; swa swiðe he lufode þa heah deor swilce he wære heora fæder; eac he sætte be þam haran þæt hi mosten freo faran. His rice men hit mændon, and þa earme men hit beceorodan, ac he wæs swa stið þæt he ne rohte heora eallra nið, ac hi moston mid ealle þes cynges wille folgian, gif hi woldon libban, oððe land habban, oððe eahta, oððe wel his sehta.”

The “mycel deor-frið,” a word which it is hard to express in modern English, doubtless means the New Forest. Henry of Huntingdon clearly took it in this sense. After translating a good deal, he goes on (Scriptt. p. Bed. 212 A); “Amavit autem feras tanquam pater esset ferarum, unde in silvis venationum, quæ vocantur Noue Forest, ecclesias et villas eradicari, gentem extirpari, et a feris fecit inhabitari.”

The words of Florence (1100) are not less distinct. After mentioning the death of William Rufus “in Novâ Forestâ quæ linguâ Anglorum Ytene nuncupatur,” he goes on to say,

“Nec mirum, ut populi rumor affirmat, hanc procudubio magnam Dei virtutem esse et vindictam. Antiquis enim temporibus, Eadwardi scilicet Regis et aliorum Angliæ regum prædecessorum ejus, eadem regio incolis Dei cultoribus et ecclesiis nitebat uberrime, sed jussu Regis Willelmi senioris, hominibus fugatis, domibus semi-rutis, ecclesiis destructis, terra ferarum tantum colebatur habitatione, et inde, ut creditur, causa erat infortunii.”

I do not profess to know with certainty what Florence here means by the word “Ytene,” which he gives as the English name of the New Forest, but some light is thrown upon it by a passage in the genealogies attached to his Chronicle, i. 276,

calls it "the Jetten-V
To the same effect spe
Foresta . . . locus est
desertis villis per trigin
ferarum redegerat." A
oddly uses "Silva" as e

"Nunc Silva . . . vi
quis temporibus ibi pop
tioni competentibus abi
tonæ pagum solerti curâ
Guentanæ urbi multiplic
lelmus autem primus, pos
nemorum, plus quam lx.
alia loca transmigrare con
et voluptatem venandi ha
Paris, i. 29, Madden.

On the supposed curse
Malmesbury is emphatic ;
fortunia, quæ habitatorum
moria." He then mentions
two Richards. Florence &
and Orderic adds (781 A)
bilater apparuit, quibus co
derelictas Dominus sibi disj

Of the members of Willia
Forest, the death of Williar
Vit. 573 C) to have hap
time the N

“*Magnanimo spes laudis eras, Richardo, parenti,
Et supra fratres gloria dulcis eras
Te mores animosque suos intrasse canebat
Quodque spos actus effigiare queas.*”

Of his death William of Malmesbury says, “*Tradunt cervos in Novā Forestā terebrantem tabidi aëres nebulā morbum incurrisse.*” Orderic’s account (573 C) is more intelligible; “*Dum prope Guentam in Novā Forestā venaretur, et quamdam feram caballo currente pertinaciter insequeretur, ad sellæ clitellam valido corili ramo admodum constrictus est et letaliter læsus.*” The Continuator of William of Jumièges (viii. 9) tells the story the same way, and adds, “*Ferunt multi quod hi duo filii Willelmi Regis in illā silvā judicio Dei perierunt, quoniam multas villas et ecclesias propter eamdem forestam amplificandam in circuitu ipsius destruxerat.*”

There is a most remarkable story in Domesday, 141, 141 b, of lands in Hertfordshire restored by William to their ancient owner as an offering for Richard’s soul, but again, it would seem, brought wrongfully into dependence on a Norman lord; “*In Teuuinge tenet Aldene de Petro [“de Valongies,” see above, p. 213] v. hidas et dimidiam Hoc manerium tenuit isdem Aldene teignus R. E. et vendere potuit. Sed W. Rex dedit hoc manerium huic Aldene et matri ejus *pro anima Ricardi filii sui*, ut ipse dicit et per brevem suum ostendit. Modo dicit Petrus quod habet hoc manerium ex dono Regis.*” An alleged gift of Queen Matilda for the same object is also recorded in Exon.

I do not understand the title of “*Beorniæ Dux*” on Richard’s tomb at Winchester.

The other Richard was one of two sons whom Robert had by a priest’s wife or concubine in the time of his wanderings. See the story in Orderic, 780 D. Of his death Florence (1100) says, “*Dum et ipse in venatu fuisse, a suo milite sagittā percussus interiit.*” Orderic (780 C) gives the same account more in detail. William of Malmesbury (iii. 275) adds, “*Vel, ut quidam dicunt, arboris ramusculo equo per transeunte fauces appensus,*” which seems a confusion with the death of the other Richard.

With regard to the different forms of hunting, the passage in Asser (M. H. B. 486 A) runs thus; “*Interea tamen Rex, inter bella et præsentis vitæ frequentia impedimenta, necnon paganorum infes-*

Ælfred's literary and pious
The passage of William
Reg. ii. 155 ; " Qui etiam
regno exterminare cogitare
imposuerit ut sibi quotanni
taret." The same distinctive
hunting is drawn out more
of Blois, 56 (vol. i. p. 166, C
is pronounced to be "ex inv

The *stabilitio*, so often sp
Kelham, 338 ; "One man we
station in the wood; viz. fo
shooting them; or into buck.
Compare the remarks of Mr. L
ning with the words, "The is
totally different from that of
exercise and sport, but then th
of fresh meat."

NOTE

THE STRICTNESS

THE strict justice which Wi
his interest to do otherwise, is
Chronicles. But it may be as
own immediate panegyristic
William's character is brought
strongly, in the *Brevis Relatio*
"C."

So in the hymn on William's death, in the same collection, p. 73, the change which followed his loss is put forth in the same spirit as in the passages quoted from Orderic in pp. 702, 710.

<p>"Rex Willelme, te claudit tumulus, Sed per orbem te plangit populus ; Plangunt omnes facta mirifica, Largitates, bella pacifica. Quanto magis labuntur tempora, Tanto de te suspirant pectora. Quisquis iret per tuam patriam Nec timebat hostis injuriam. Timor eras in multitudine, Securitas in solitudine.</p>	<p>Nunc et lege non est securitas, Nunc defendit sua pluralitas : Heu post tanti principis obitum, Summus honor tendit ad exitum. Casus ille plangendus nimium Qui honori præstat exilium, Terra suis orbata viribus Pressa jaces longis mororibus. Et merito, nam nulli similis Ille potens, ille mirabilis."</p>
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So also Prior Godfrey in the Satirical Poems, ii. 149 :

"Mæchus, perjurus, fur, raptor, prædo, tyrannus,
Te vixisse diu, non doluere mori.
Justitiæ facies erepto judice marcer,
Fracta gemit virtus, pax fugitiva latet."

NOTE UU. p. 625.

THE ENGLISH WARANGIANS.

THAT a fresh movement towards the East began in the later days of William seems quite plain from Orderic's account (508 A), though he has put it quite out of chronological order at the very beginning of William's reign. The English exiles "militiæ Alexii Imperatoris Constantinopolitani sese audacter obtulerunt, . . . contra quem Rodbertus Wiscardus Apuliæ dux cum suis omnibus arma levaverat. . . . Exsules igitur Anglorum favorabiliter a Græcis suscepti sunt, et Normannicis legionibus, quæ nimium Pelasgis adversabantur, oppositi sunt." But in the second account of their exploits (640, 642), where he gives an account of the campaign of Dyrrhachion, he does not mention the exploits of the English in the battle. He has a curious panegyric on Alexios, and tells us (641 B) of his taking the English into his especial favour; "Anglos qui, perempto Heraldo Rege, cum proceribus regni Albionem reliquerant et a facie Willelmi Regis per pontum in Thraciam navigaverant, Alexius in amicitiam sibi ascivit, eisque

..... a description used the name of very likely have fancied really did. English force all along, but the English formed that their axes did number of witnesses o

A great number of *gians* are collected by Z 560, 561. In the called Germans, Celts, & when we appear in A as *οι πελλή βαδίζοντες* [c Goth. iv. 20] *βάρβαροι*, *οι ἐκ τῆς Θουλης Βάραγγι* tingent was English seen Geoffrey Malaterra says: *quos Waringos appellant expetentes.*" And we pres nibus, quibus hoc genus instantes, nostris admodum Cf. vol. iii. p. 473. But p which does not immediat shows how thoroughly the identified in Byzantine min out of memory that the la been Britain. This is in Paris); Philip Augustus an

strange and affected ways of describing one another. Thus the French-speaking people are, in Anna's style, *Φράγγοι, Κελτοί, Λατῖνοι*, just as in Orderic and William of Apulia the Byzantines are in return, "Græci," "Achivi," "Danai," "Pelasgi," "Thraces," anything. When we read in Anna such a sentence as *ἐδίωκον οἱ Λατῖνοι τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στράτευμα*, we seem carried back to the days of the Decii or of the Tarquins.

But we ourselves come in for our share of unusual names at the hand of our worthy Shropshire man in his cell at Saint Evroul. Orderic (508 B) tells us, "Hac itaque de caussa *Saxones Angli* Ioniam expetierunt, et ipsi ac hæredes eorum sacro Imperio fideliter famulati sunt, et cum magno honore inter Thraces Cæsari et Senatui Populoque cari usque nunc persisterunt." This passage is a good illustration of the use of the word *Saxones* as applied to Englishmen. It is an ornamental archaism, a bit of the grand style, just like "Ionia" and "Thraces" and "Senatus Populusque."

Orderic carries our Warangians only to the reign of Kalohannes. On their presence at the crusading siege, see vol. i. p. 577. As late as 1325 John Kantakouzenos (Hist. i. 41) speaks of *οἱ τοῦς πελέκεις ἔχοντες Βάραγγοι προσαγορευόμενοι*, and Gibbon (capp. llii. lv., vol. x. pp. 122, 213, Milman) quotes Kōdinos, whom I have not at hand, for the statement that, down to the very end of things, they spoke English—*κατὰ τὴν πάτριον αὐτῶν γλῶσσαν, ἥγουν Ἰγκλωνιστὶ*. We must remember that any distinctions between English and Danish would disappear in the latitude of Constantinople. Compare the mention of English as the tongue of Rolf Ganger. See vol. i. p. 608.

We seem to be able to recover the name of one at least of the English emigrants of 1081, who was able to come back to his own country in a dignified and a sacred character. This was Wulfric of Lincoln ("Wlfricus, genere Anglus, Lincolinæ urbis nativus"), who, according to the Abingdon History (ii. 46), came as ambassador from Alexios to Henry the First and his Queen. This must have been between 1100 and 1118, the year of the death both of Alexios and of Eadgyth-Matilda. He was high in favour with the Emperor ("plurimum familiaritatis ausum circa eundem imperatorem habens"), and he came on his embassy with much pomp ("ipsa legatione, ut tantæ dignitatis directorem decuerat, magna cum pompa functus est"). Yet we might not have heard of him, if he had not begged

THE SIEGE OF DOL

DID William, in the 1
only once? A siege of 1
of Waltheof, is distinctly
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placed several years later
it is suggested that the
I have in my notes to
our own Chronicles, in F
Malmesbury. And I hav
William speaks of the pre
authorities, is witnessed to
Prevost in his edition of Orc
et in ipsis diebus quando ibat
ad pugnandum Regem Ang
trum." But the special part
would at first sight imply tha
took place very soon after the s

"Deinde prudens Rex, ut i
prospexit, aliud consilium si
præcogitavit. Cum Alanno Fe
Constantiam filiam suam in cor
Quæ cum viro suo fere xv. anni

1086 or 1087. See Chron. Brit., Morice, i. 103; Bouquet, xii. 559; "Alanus duxit Constantiam filiam Regis Guillelmi Anglorum in uxorem." So Chron. Kemperlegiense, Bouquet, xii. 562, and Chron. Ruyense, Morice, i. 151; Bouquet, xii. 563. Cf. Chron. Briocense, Bouquet, xii. 566, where however Alan's marriage with Constance is wrongly placed after his marriage with Hermengarde of Anjou (see p. 646). It is impossible to resist this evidence for 1086 as the year of the marriage. Rather than put back the marriage, as Prevost does, to 1077, we must give up Orderic's story altogether. But the two stories may be reconciled, if we suppose a betrothal in 1076 and a marriage ten years later, and that Orderic, when writing the account of the siege of Dol, confounded the two. I do not know that there is any evidence as to the age of Constance.

To speak of Alan as Count before his time is no very wonderful slip; but it does not affect the question as to the two sieges. He did not become Count till after the date given to the second. But, as he was Count at the time of the marriage in 1086, it may be thought to show that Orderic did not simply confound a betrothal and a marriage, but misdated the marriage altogether.

The real difficulty is as to the second siege. Among the Breton and Angevin writers, the Angevin Chronicle of Saint Albinus (Labbe, i. 276; Bouquet, xii. 479) is the only one which mentions our first siege. Under 1076 it records "obsidio Dolensis." In the Chronicle of Raynald of Anjou (Bouquet, xii. 479) we read, "Anno 1086, in mense Septembri, Comes Normannorum, qui et Rex Anglorum, Willelmus obsedit in Britanniis castrum quod dicitur Dolum, quod quum diu obsedisset, nihil profecit, sed etiam machinis suis succensis ab eo infructuose discessit, defendantibus illud fortibus Andegavorum militibus." The Breton writers take care not to mention this valiant Angevin contingent, and they give the siege an earlier date. Thus in the Chronicon Briocense (Bouquet, xii. 567) we read, "Hic autem Hoellus, post mortem Conani fratris Havisæ uxoris suæ, fecit bella adversus Goffridum comitem cognomento Granonem apud castrum Doli, Guillelmo comite Normannorum sibi auxiliante per quadraginta dies ingenii et aliis machinationibus obsedit, quod minime capere potuit. Et anno sequenti, hoc est anno Domini MLXXXIII, Hoëllus a suis capitur et eodem anno moritur." And the death of Howel, but

other as his ally. But with the suggestion we have made concerning the marriage of 1076 and a marriage between the Breton story and English and Norman history, the siege of 1076 or the evidence of all our other Chroniclers, seems quite

N

THE

THE account in Orderic Vitalis of the encounter between William the Conqueror and the Duke of Normandy in the Chronicles. It is not given in detail in the original.

"And þi ilcan geare se Rotbeard wætan Normandie and se cyng Willelm wætan Angliae he on sæt; eac his sunna manna ofslagene."

Here we get the name of King Rufus. In the Worcester Chronicle we get the gallant exploit of

"Her Rotbert feht wætan Normandie and his hors wearð unde wearð þærhlite mid sian godes sunu, and fela bær."

quod ei Rex Philippus præstiterat, dum pugnam intulerit, ab ipso vulneratus in brachio, de suo dejectus est emissario; sed mox ut illum per vocem cognovisset, festinus descendit, ac illum suum caballum ascendere jussit, et sic abire permisit. Ille autem, multis suorum occisis nonnullisque captis, ac filio suo Willelmo cum multis aliis vulnerato, fugam iniit."

Ralph of Diss (X Scriptt. 487, 567) brings in a new element in a curse pronounced upon Robert by his father. His words are nearly the same as those of Florence, but he adds, "Maledixit igitur Rex Roberto filio suo, quam maledictionem antequam more-retur evidenter perpessus est."

Roger of Wendover (ii. 16) tells the story thus; "Rex Willelmus, contra Robertum filium suum bellum agens apud Gerberai castrum Galliæ, equo pulsus est, et Willelmus filius ejus vulneratus, et multi de suâ familiâ interfici; quapropter Rex maledixit Roberto filio suo, quam maledictionem, antequam obiret, expertus est evidenter."

Matthew Paris (i. 21), as usual, follows Roger, but with some improvements. The battle gets the epithet of "cruentissimum." William Rufus is not merely "vulneratus" but "graviter læsus," and the fight is said to happen "apud Archenbrai," on which Sir Frederick Madden remarks, "The spot here indicated appears to be *Auchy en Bray*, situated about six miles south-west of Gerberai." Matthew is also more full about the curse;

"Rex in mentis amaritudine maledixit Roberto filio suo; unde ipse Robertus multipliciter maledictionem paternam ante mortem, quam turpem subiit, in multis agendis evidenter est expertus. Et tunc pater abstulit ei Normanniam, sed moriturus ad instantiam circumstantium, quia cruce signabatur, vel in proximo pro patre signandus erat, eam ei restituit."

There is something specially charming in the notion of Robert having already taken the cross, and of William thinking of taking it, in 1087. On the other hand, in the version of Walter of Hemingburgh (i. 16), instead of a curse we get a blessing. Robert has unwittingly met his father in the battle, wounded him in the arm, and unhorsed him;

"Mox ut audivit vocem patris conçlamantis ad suos, cum summa festinatione descendit, et patrem erexit in equum illæsumque extunc abire permisit. Pater autem bonitatem filii ex

instinctu naturæ cognoscens missis nunciis, eum ad se revocat paternæ pietatis sibi viscera pandens et conservans ; reversique in Angliam, et semper in posterum filius patri fideliter militavit.

Lastly, the Hyde writer (297), as usual, has his own version. The wound is transferred from the hand to the foot, and clearly not meant to be inflicted by the hand of Robert. A story connecting William's death with the war with Robert is added ;

"Accidit quâdam die, ut cum suis in Normanniam ingrediatur, cædibus et rapinis insisteret, occurritque ei pater cum exercitu fugientem prosecutus castrum quoddam intrare compulit. dum Rex cum suis obstreperet de foris sagittâ in pede ex improposito percussus. Quumque sanguinem defluere cerneret, terribiliter imprecatus est ne umquam Robertus filius suus hæreditatis jura perciperet. Quæ imprecatio quantum valuit tempora sequentia satis ostendunt. Fertur autem quod, dum eumdem filium suum oppugnaret, valde fatigatus et sudore perfusus potum petiit aquamque frigidam sibi oblatam bibens, simul cum frigore mortis pro hoc dolor ! nimis cito potaverit."

NOTE VY. p. 650.

THE BETROTHAL OF WILLIAM'S DAUGHTER TO ALFONSO.

The date of this proposed marriage is by no means easy to fix. We must not forget the remarkable passage of William of Poitiers (120) about two brother Kings in Spain disputing for a daughter of William; "Hispaniae Reges duo germani, auditâ ejus magnitudine, natam ejus in matrimonium cupientissime petierunt, suum et regnum et posteritatem hac magnificaturi affinitate. Nam et lis valde inimica inter ipsos propter eam orta est, minime degenerem sed omnino dignam tali parente, sic moribus ornatam, sic in amore Christi studiosam, ut Reginis et sanctimonialibus exemplo esse posset puella non velata." If the Archdeacon pays the faintest respect to chronology, all this is placed before William came into England. But Alfonso of Leon and Sancho of Castile did not succeed their father Ferdinand till 1065 (*Art de Vérifier les Dates*, iii. 741), and the most stirring time of their warfare was in 1070-1072. But there was an earlier struggle of brothers in the former generation, namely the war between Ferdinand and his brother Garcias, which is recorded in the Chronicle of Saint Maxentius (*Labbe*, ii. 210) under the year 1058 (see *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, u. s.). But this was wonderfully early for any one to be thinking of a daughter of William, who could hardly have yet displayed the remarkable excellences of which we hear, and the Kings concerned are not Alfonso and his brother, but their father and uncle. Again, in the same Chronicle of Saint Maxentius, 1069, we read that Alfonso married a daughter of Guy-Geoffrey of Aquitaine, of whom we have heard before (see vol. iii. p. 137). She is said to have been divorced and Alfonso to have married again in 1080, so that the chronology becomes nearly hopeless.

NOTE ZZ. p. 704.

SOME DETAILS OF THE DEATH OF WILLIAM.

THE story about the wish of William and Anselm to meet being hindered by the sickness of both is not very clear. I suppose that what I have said in the text gives at least the general meaning of the story in Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 13. It runs thus;

"Hic ergo Willielmus quum . . . se meritis ac intercessionibus Anselmi omnimodis commendare disposuisset, eum ad se de Becco venire et non longe a se fecit hospitari. Verum quum ei de salute

animæ suæ loqui differret, eo quod infirmitatem suam levigari sentiret, contigit ipsius principis corpus tantâ invi deprimi ut curiae inquietudines nullo sustinere pacto Transito igitur Sequanâ, decubuit lecto in Ermentrudis vî est contra Rotomagum in alterâ fluminis parte. Quidq[ue] deliciarum Regi infirmo deferebatur, ab eo illarum Anselmo infirmanti mittebatur, verumtamen nec eum in hac vitâ videre, nec ei, ut proposuerat, quidquam de ani loqui promeruit. Tanta enim infirmitas occupavit utrumque Anselmus ad Regem Willielmum nec Willielmus posset per ad abbatem Anselmum."

The bequest, if it is so to be called, of Normandy to which is given more fully in Orderic (659 B), is summed up in the expressive words of William of Malmesbury (iii. "Normanniam invitus et coactus Roberto delegavit." In a place (iv. 389) William seems to look on Robert as un-deprived of England; "Posterius vero rex adeo effera sicut est ira ut eum et benedictione et hæreditate fraudaret A comitatu tamen Normanniæ, ægre licet et improbe, retento Suger, Vit. Lud., Duchesne, iv. 283; "Exheredato major Roberto;" so also William of Newburgh, i. 2. William sum "ordine præpostero sed per ultimam patris, ut dictum est, tatem commutato;" and presently, "Robertus cui nimirum

mother's lands in England. In the first of these places he distinctly says of Matilda, in recording the birth of her youngest son, "filium nomine Henricum peperit, quem totius terræ sive in Anglia heredem constituit." Yet it is quite certain that Henry did not hold them at the time of the taking of the Survey—William may perhaps have kept them by the courtesy of England—and, if the words put into his mouth are genuine, it would seem that he did not even expect to succeed to them at his father's death.

There is a legendary sound in the prophecy which Orderic (659 D) puts into the mouth of William; "Tu autem tempore tuo totum honorem quem ego natus sum habebis, et fratribus tuis divitiis et potestate praestabis." We find what seems to be another form of the same story in William of Malmesbury (v. 390), who makes William, on finding his youngest son weeping at some wrong done to him by one of his brothers, comfort him with the words, "Ne fleas, fili, quoniam et tu rex eris." For the whole story Wace (14282) substitutes something quite different, namely a recommendation of Henry to his brothers;

"Et à Guillaume ci comant
Et à Robert l'autre filz mant,
Ke chescun en sa poesté,

Issi come il m'a en chierté,
Face Henriis riche è manant
Plus ke home de li tenant."

Benoit (39521) versifies Orderic.

Of the prisoners who were to be released, Florence (1087) gives the list as Odo, Morkere, Roger, Siward Barn, and Wulfnoth, with the addition, "omnes quos vel in Angliâ vel in Normanniâ custodiae manciparât." He afterwards mentions Wulf, and the hostage Duncan the son of Malcolm. Orderic strangely fancied that Ralph of Wader was in prison as well as Roger. The only way to reconcile his story here (660 A) with his account of the life-long imprisonment of Roger (see above, p. 591) is to suppose that he was formally released and imprisoned again, as was certainly the case with Wulfnoth and Morkere. The Winchester annalist (1088) excepts Roger and Wulfnoth from the general release. Of Wulfnoth, Prior Godfrey (Satirical Poems, ii. 153) sings;

"Exilium, carcer, tenebra, clausura, catenæ,
Accipiunt puerum destituantque senem,
Nexibus humanis vincitus patienter agebat
Divinis vincitus strictius obsequiis."

These last words may perhaps suggest that there may after all be

some truth in the statement of Orderic (see vol. ii. p. 553) Wulfnoth in the end became a monk.

The story of Herlwin is not told, at least Herlwin is not mentioned by name, anywhere but in Orderic, and in Benoît (397 seqq.), who here translates Orderic. It is certainly strange if neither the Archbishop nor the Abbot of Saint Ouen's could find the time of doing all that Herlwin is said to have done, yet I cannot myself to give up the story of the worthy knight. It is hard to think that any one can have invented it, and something to the effect had plainly reached Eadmer, when he says (*Hist. Nov. Selden*), "Ab omni homine, sicut accepimus, derelictum caducus sine omni pompa per Sequanam nauicellâ delatum." Wace's account (14374) is different, which is the more to be noticed, because he so often follows Orderic;

"Dunc fu la novele espadue E la gent fu grant acorue, E li Eveske è li Baron Vinrent o grant procession ;	Li cors unt mul bel courrée, Overt est, oint, et embasme. A Caem unt li cors porté, Si com il aveit comandé."
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William of Jumièges (vii. 44) simply says, "Translatum est corpus, sicuti ordinaverat, Cadomum;" William of Malmesbury (283), "Corpus, regio solenni curatum, per Sequanam Cadomum delatum;" and the Hyde writer (297), like Wace, says, "Corpus debitâ principum pompa Cadomum est delatum."

sepulturam inhibuit, dicens avito jure solum suum esse, nec illum in loco quem violenter invaserat pausare debere." In Walter of Hemingburgh, "terribiliter accedit, omnipotentis Dei prætento nomine." He adds much the same comment as William of Malmesbury; "Obstupere omnes qui aderant, transitoriae dominationis actum considerantes, ut princeps potentissimus, qui tam late dominatus fuerat vivus, locum corporis sui capacem mortuus sine querelâ non haberet." Orderic's story should be compared with the charter of Henry the Second to Saint Stephen's in Neustria Pia, 634, referred to by M. Hippéau, Saint-Etienne, 34; "Vendidit Rannulfus filius Anselmi [M. Hippéau seems to read *Ascelini*] Willelmo abbati Sancti Stephani omnem terram sui juris *intra ecclesiam et circa*, et quidquid ecclesia ab eo emerat in omnibus locis, sub eâ conditione ut non liceat vel ipsi vel alicui suo hæredi in rebus prædictis aliquem quandoque clamorem facere. In hâc venditione comprehensa est omnino terra quam habuerat *præter domum propriam* et duo jugera prati et unum jugerum terræ cum tribus virgis. Hæc quidem omnia ita diffinivit et firmavit coram altari Sancti Stephani et coram abbe et magnâ parte conventûs, præsente uxore suâ et præsentibus liberis et concedentibus atque cum patre donantibus." A little way on we read, "Vendidit Lanfranco Rannulfus filius Ascelini quatuor jugera terræ aridae unde lapides extrahuntur ad opus monasterii." Both these sales belong to an earlier time than the death of William, as the Abbot William of the charter is the William who was now Archbishop of Rouen ; see p. 657.

One can hardly doubt that these passages refer to the same land and the same family as the story in Orderic. To me they certainly suggest the idea that there may have been two sides to the question, and perhaps the more so when we mark the unusual care which the charter seems to take to bar all possible claims, and the equal vehemence with which Asselin, in Wace's version, is made to deny all sales or transfers. We must further remember that the terms "violenter" and "par la force" do not necessarily mean more than an occupation alleged to be illegal, just like "per vim" in Domesday or "mid unlage" in our own charters. And I am inclined to give William the benefit of the same favourable construction which in a somewhat similar case I have asked for Harold ; see vol. iii. p. 634.

One of the gates of Caen was called *Porte Arthur*; see W 16407; Hippéau, Saint-Etienne, p. 36.

The objection to burying William in ground not his own may be compared with the scruples of Simon of Valois about his father's burial; see above, p. 648.

SINCE I wrote and revised Note SS., I have seen something more of the New Forest than I had ever seen before, and I have now looked more fully into the objections brought against the received account, which would seem to be summed up in the third chapter of Mr. J. R. Wise's book, "The New Forest; its History and Scenery." Some of the arguments there brought are not much to the purpose. The statement that William destroyed churches in the New Forest is not set aside by showing that there are church there whose style proves them to be of a later date than William's time. Mr. Wise is also led astray by exploded notions when he attributes to the English writers a special and bitter hatred toward the Conqueror, on the ground of his having tried to uproot the English language and having done other things which he never did. Moreover Mr. Wise seems to look on the entries in Domesday as contradicting the accounts in Florence and other writers. The truth is, that, allowing for exaggeration, the story which the annalists tell



wholly, some partly—thrown into the Forest. In the cases where the afforestation was only partial, the pasture land seems to have been left to the owner. Such entries as “modo est in *foresta*, excepta una acra prati” are found more than once. This looks as if it was specially the plough-land which was laid waste. An argument which has been sometimes used, that, if houses and churches had been destroyed, it would be possible still to trace their foundations, proves nothing at all. In Hampshire at least, houses and churches of a date earlier than the Conquest would commonly be of wood.

On the other hand, it is easy to see that a large part of the Forest, especially of those parts which are *foresta* but not *silva*, can never have been much more fruitful than it is now. I cannot claim any technical knowledge either of agriculture or of geology, but it is plain even, to an untechnical eye, that on a great part of the Forest land no crops of any value could have been raised at any time. There must therefore be a good deal of exaggeration in the glowing picture which some of our writers give us of the fruitfulness and prosperity of the land before the making of the Forest. On the other hand, much of the land looks to an untechnical eye as if it could not have been much more valuable for the hunter than for the tiller of the earth. I must leave the minute examination of the matter to those who are better qualified to examine it in detail than myself. But, as far as I can judge, I must cleave to the view with which I set out, namely that the account in Florence and the other writers is a description, with some exaggeration, of events which really happened, though I am now inclined to believe that the exaggeration was greater than I had formerly thought.



INDEX.

A.

AACHEN, fortified against William, 539.
Abbots, rare appointment of English, under William, 330; unjust deposition of, 444.
Abernethy, round tower at, 516; Malcolm submits to William at, 517.
Abingdon Abbey, history of, 32; patriotism of its tenants, 33; lands held of by Godric, 35, 37; defrauded by Henry of Ferrers, 37; ill-treated by the Sheriff Froger, 37, 38; its grants to Bleasman, 144; attempts of its tenants to join the revolt at Ely, 467; Bishop Æthelwine imprisoned at, 475; lands of granted to military tenants, 477; dealings of Robert of Oily with, 732; grants of Thurkill of Warwick to, 782; relics of Saint John Chrysostom at, 848.
Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, his negotiations with William and Swe- gen, 136.
Adam, son of Hubert of Rye, acts as Commissioner for Domesday, 689.
Adela, daughter of William, marries Stephen of Blois, 647, 650; her character and children, 647; results of her marriage, 683.
Adela of Flanders, marries Saint Cnut, 585.
Adelaide, sister of William, her marriages and children, 301.
Adelaide, wife of Hugh of Grantmesnil, 232.
Adelelm of Jumièges, made Abbot of Abingdon, 476; legend of his death, 50.; grants out lands on military tenure, 477; accompanies Robert to Scotland, 671.
Adeliza, second wife of Roger of Mont- gomery, her good influence, 494.
Adeliza, wife of William Fitz-Osbern, 537.
Adeliza of Löwen, second wife of Henry the First, 229.
Adultery, punished by forfeiture, 51.
Ælfgifu, daughter of Godwine, date of her death, 14².
Ælfgifu of Berkshire, her land, 40.
Ælfheah, question of his martyrdom, 441.
Ælfred, name confounded with *Henry*, 797.
Ælfred, King, Asser's account of his hunting, 666, 843.
Ælfred, monk of Saint Augustine's, his punishment by Lanfranc, 410.
Ælfred of Lincoln, his lands, 214.
Ælfred of Marlborough, holds Ewias castle, 504.
Ælfred, nephew of Wiggod, 734.
Ælfred, Prior of Evesham, his charity, 314.
Ælfred, Sheriff of Huntingdonshire, fate of his wife and children, 223.
Ælfige, last Abbot of Bath, his league with Saint Wulftan, 383; his death, 385, 697.
Ælfige, Portreeve of London, 30.
Ælfige of Faringdon, receives lands of Harold's in Berkshire, 43.
Ælfige of Winesham, his forfeiture, 165.
Ælfithryth, wife of Hereward, 483.
Ælfward the goldsmith, keeps his lands in Berkshire, 43.
Ælfwig, Sheriff, whether the same as Ælfwine, 781.
Ælfwine, Abbot, restored to the abbey of Ramsey, 137.
Ælfwine, Prior of Saint Augustine's, his punishment by Lanfranc, 410.
Ælfwine, Sheriff of Warwickshire, submits to William, 189; father of Thurkill of Warwick, 781; re-marriage of his widow, 48.

Ælfwine Cild, founds Bermondsey Priory, 411.
 Ælfwine the Deacon, accompanies Ealdwine to Northumberland, 661; becomes Prior of Jarrow, 662.
 Ælfwold of Saint Benet's, takes part in the court at Ely, 481; keeps his abbey, *ib.*
 Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, founds Warwick, 188; her mound, 190; restores Chester, 312.
 Æthelfrith, destroys Civitas Legionum, 311.
 Ætheling, continued use of the title, 229.
 Æthelmaer, Bishop of the East-Angles, his marriage and deposition, 332, 333; his dealings with the lands of Eadric of East-Anglia, 738.
 Æthelnoth, his account of Cnut's preparations against William, 683.
 Æthelnoth, Abbot of Glastonbury, accompanies William to Normandy, 79; deposed, 389.
 Æthelnoth of Kent, accompanies William to Normandy, 79; notices of in Domesday, *ib.*; probably the Alnod of Domesday, 758.
 Æthelnoth of London, grants Tooting to Westminster, 804; signature of, 825.
 Æthelred of Rievaulx, his legend of Saint Wulfstan, 819.
 Æthelric, Bishop of Durham, taken to Westminster, 334; excommunicates the ~~timberers~~ of Peterborough, 161.
 Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham, his favour with William, 77, 177; ministers the Abbey of Winch, 177; relieves the Northern ~~sun~~, 313; stories of his charity, 313; league with Saint Wulfstan, 313; death, *ib.*; marches against Roger, 579.
 Æthelwine, Bishop of Durham, sent to William, 205; mediates between William and Malcolm, *ib.*; resents Robert of Comines, 236; flees Durham to Lindisfarne, 297; ~~in~~ sacrifice against, 334; ~~rescues~~ the church of Durham, *ib.*; ~~for~~ for Köln, 335; driven back to land, *ib.*; his presence at Ely, 508; imprisoned at Abingdon, his death, 477; confounded by Æthelric, 809.
 Agatha, widow of the Ætheling Eadred, takes refuge in Scotland, 195, 508.
 Agatha, daughter of William, queen of her betrothal to Alfonso, 852.
 Agnes of Percy, her marriage, 296.
 L'Aigle, quarrel of William's son, 638.
 Aimeria, niece of Roger of Montgomery, 501.
 Aimeric, dapifer of Phillip of France, helps Robert, 639; his death, 641.
 Ainard, first Abbot of Saint Peter, 122.

Alexander the Second, Pope, William's gifts to, 61; Harold's standard sent to him, *ib.*; sends legates to William, 329; his opinion of Æthelric's deposition, 342; pays special honour to Lanfranc, 354; threatens Thomas and Remigius with deposition, *ib.*; his policy with regard to William, *ib.*; Lanfranc's letter to him, 356; hinders Walkelin's scheme in favour of seculars, 373; confirms the election of Arnold of Le Mans, 544; his bull against the introduction of canons at Canterbury, 818.

Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, legend of, 806.

Alexios Komnēnos, succeeds to the Eastern Empire, 624; his English allies, *ib.*; defeated at Dyrrachion, 626; builds Kibōtēs, 627; his friendship with Wulfstan of Lincoln, 847.

Alfonso of Spain, a daughter of William betrothed to, 650, 852; his wars with the Saracens, 696.

Allemagne, stone from, brought to Battle, 401.

Alma, lands granted by William as, 43.

Alnod *Chentiscus*. See *Æthelnoth*.

Alnod Cild, not the same as Wulfnoth the son of Godwine, 759.

Aluivid, Godric's grant of land to, 35.

Amicia. See *Itta*.

Ancestor, origin of the word, 37.

Andronikos Palaiologos, Emperor, his dealings with the Patriarch Athanasios, 263.

Andresey, Blæcman's foundation at, 143; William's medical treatment at, 698.

Angers, Bishop's palace at, 404.

Angervins, their mutiny on the march to Chester, 308; their service at Dol, 849.

Anna Komnēne, her account of the invasion of Robert Wiscard, 624; of the English Warangians, 625, 846; her use of national names, 847.

Anne, widow of Henry of France, marries Ralph of Montdidier, 90.

Anscote, force of the word, 620.

Ansculf, Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, 726.

Anselm, consecrated by Thomas of York, 368; appointed Abbot of Bec, 440; visits England, *ib.*; defends Ælfheah's right to the name of martyr, 441; rebukes William Rufus, 443; Earl Hugh's friendship for him, 491; consecrates Irish Bishops, 529; sent for to William's death-bed, but does not see him, 704; present at William's funeral, 713.

Annecessor, force of the word in Domesday, 37, 42.

Appeals, regulations of, 620.

Archdeacons, founded by Remigius of Lincoln, 419.

Archill, revolts against William, 186; his lands, *ib.*; submits, 205; joins the Danish fleet, 255; his final submission, 303.

Arne, river, 652.

Arnold, Bishop of Le Mans, his election, 543; confirmed by Pope Alexander, 544; goes to England, 546; comes back, *ib.*; joins the *commune*, 553; taken prisoner and released, 554.

Arnulf of Ardres, holds lands under Eustace, 744.

Arnulf of Hesdin, his lands in Berkshire, 40.

Arrière-vassel, duty of to the over-lord, 692.

Arthur of Britanny, 647.

Arundel Castle, built in Edward's time, 66; held by Roger of Montgomery, 492.

Asa, her lands and divorce, 788.

Asselin, kills Hereward, 485.

Asselin Fitz-Arthur, claims the site of Saint Stephen's at William's funeral, 715, 716; different accounts of his claim, 856.

Assemblies, ecclesiastical and temporal, 388.

Asser, his account of Ælfred's hunting, 843.

Athanasius, Patriarch, his dealings with the Emperor Andronikos, 263.

Ath Cliath, name of Dublin, 529.

Athelis, healed by Waltheof's relics, 840.

Athèné, her statue compared with that of Saint Æthelthryth, 480.

Audinus, Norman monk, reproved for irreverence towards Waltheof, 600.

Auxerre, Selby Abbey a colony from, 230.

Avesgaud, Bishop, his buildings at Le Mans, 362.

Axe, Danish, use of, 626, 628, 846.

Azo, Marquess, husband of Gersendis, invited to Maine, 545; comes to Maine and goes back, 547.

Azor, his forced commendation of Robert of Oily, 44.

B.

Babington, Mr. C. C., quoted, 220, 462.

Babylon, meaning of the word, 86.

Beeda, his History quoted as evidence, 357.

Baillehache, Prior, his restoration of Saint Stephen's, 719.
 Baldwin of Lisle, Count of Flanders, dies, 531.
 Baldwin of Mons, succeeds to the county of Flanders, 532; wars with his brother Robert, 533; his death, *ib.*
 Baldwin, Abbot of Saint Eadmundsbury, his skill in medicine, 408; takes part in the court at Ely, 481.
 Baldwin of Moeles, Sheriff of Devonshire, commands the castle of Exeter, 161; his marriage, *ib.*; his lands, 168.
 Baldwin of Flanders, his lands in Lincolnshire, 215.
 Baldwin of HenneGAN, William's alliance with, 538.
Balistarii, employment of, at Norwich, 583.
 Bamborough, held by Gospatric, 506.
 Sangor, plundered by pirates, 501.
 Banwell, granted by William to Gisa, 165.
Barbarus, use of the word, 539.
 Sarking, William's sojourn at, 18; submissions made at, 20, 21.
 Barnack, given by Waltheof to Crowland, 597.
 Barnborough, spared in the harrying of Yorkshire, 290.
 Barnet, battle of, 551.
 Barnstaple, taken and wasted by William, 162.
 Barnwell Priory, origin of, 224.
 Bec, church of, consecrated, 428.
 Bedfordshire, men of, pressed to castle of Ely, 479.
 Beheading, whether an English punishment, 577.
 Belmesthorp, given to Peterboro Godgifu, 803.
 Benedict, Saint, observance of his under William, 616.
 Benedict of Auxerre, first Abbot of Selby, 230, 800; legend of his foundation of Selby, 798.
 Benedict, brother of Orderic, 495.
 Benefices, not to be charged with burthens, 425.
 Benevolence, extorted by William, *Beornic Dux*, Richard son of W. so called, 843.
 Berkeley, lords of, probably descent of Eadnoth the Staller, 758.
 Berkshire, notices of in Domesday patriotism of its inhabitants, sweeping confiscations in, 33, lands of the house of Godwine in number of small land-owners in Norman settlers in, 39; Wit Castle defended by its land-owners, 339; men of attempt to join revolt at Ely, 467.
 Bermondsey Friary, foundation of, notices of in Domesday, *ib.*
 Bernay, growth of the monastery, 3.
 Bethlington, Æthelwine rests at, 2.
 Beverley, William's grants to, 204; le-

Blinding, various ways of, 621.
 Bodmin, church of, plundered by Robert of Mortain, 169, 764; manumissions at, 171; its relation to the Cornish bishopric, *ib.*
 Bohemund, his wars with the Eastern Empire, 627.
 Boleslaus, King of Poland, legend of, 233.
 Bondig the Staller, his lands in Berkshire, 45.
 Boniface the Fifth, his bull about Canterbury, 818.
 Bouet, M., quoted, 93.
 Bourne, alleged centre of Hereward's exploits, 482.
 Bracelets, badges of office, 289.
 Bramber, building of the castle, 68.
 Brampton, amount of its tribute, 162.
 Brand, Abbot of Peterborough, reconciled to William, 57; his death, 57, 333.
 Brandon, operations at, in the campaign of Ely, 472.
 Brechin, round tower at, 516.
 Breteuil, Stephen and Adela betrothed at, 650.
 Bretons, settlements of in the west of England, 172; mutiny of on the march to Chester, 308; join Ralph of Wader, 578; treatment of at the capitulation of Norwich, 582; mutilation of, 588.
 Brian of Britanny, defeats Harold's sons, 244; relieves Exeter, 277; driven from Kastoria, 627.
Bride-ale, force of the word, 573.
 Bridport, ruined in the Exeter campaign, 151.
 Brihtgifu, Engalric's dealings with her lands, 723.
 Brihtric, Abbot of Malmesbury, translated to Burton, 456.
 Brihtric, son of *Ælfgar*, his lands, 164; legend of him and Matilda, 165, 701, 762; grants of his lands to Matilda and others, 759-760; his alleged pedigree, 761.
 Brismar, probable founder of Saint Michael's in Cornwall, 765.
 Bristol, mention of, in Domesday, 178; Harold's sons driven off from, 226; slave trade at, 381; reform wrought by Saint Wulfstan, 382.
 Bronton, his legend of Saint Wulfstan, 819.
 Bruère, district of, 561; invaded by Fulk, *ib.*
 Bruges, tomb of Gunhild at, 159.
 Bruman, story of, 813.
 Brunswald, occupied by Hereward, 482.
 Brungar, story of, 735.
 Bruno, his account of Henry the Fourth's dealings with William, 539.
 Bryttas, name misunderstood by Roger of Wendover, 579.
 Buckinghamshire, Godric Sheriff of, 35.
 Bulls, papal, not to be received without the King's consent, 437.
 Bures, Mabel killed at, 493.
 Burke, Edmund, quoted, 314.
 Butsecarls, brought against Ely, 470.

C.

Cadoc, Saint, his settlement on the Steep Holm, 158.
 Cadwgan, Welsh King, overthrown by William Fitz-Osbern, 502.
 Caen, William's gifts to Saint Stephen's, 83; lands of its abbeys in England, 167; consecration of Saint Stephen's, 428; Queen Matilda buried at, 651; fire at William's burial, 712; his burial at Saint Stephen's, 713-717; devastation of Saint Stephen's by the Huguenots, 719.
 Ceannarvon, birth of Edward the Second at, 228.
 Caesar, compared with William by William of Poitiers, 80.
 Camboritum, Roman name of Cambridge, 219; its ruined state in the seventh century, 220.
 Cambray, *commune* of, 549.
 Cambridge, its Roman foundation, 219; destroyed in the English Conquest, 220; its restoration, *ib.*; its constitution of Lawmen, 221; submits to William, *ib.*; foundation of the castle, *ib.*; church of Saint Benet at, 222; burgesses of, deprived of their common land, 223; Priory of Saint Giles at, 224; William's head-quarters against Ely, 471; monks of Ely meet William at, 480; Ralph of Wader encamps at, 578.
 Cambridgeshire, no King's Thengs in, 222; oppression of under Picot, 223; men of pressed for the castle of Ely, 479.
 Campeggio, Cardinal, his wife and son, 394.
 Canons, Regular, their introduction into England, 361.
 Canons, Secular, marriage of, 367; general scheme for introducing, 372, 816-819; forbidden, 423.
 Canterbury, building of the castle, 68; burning of Christ Church in 1027, 125; extent of Oda's work at, *ib.*; consecration of Lanfranc at, 346; Thomas

seeks consecration at, 250; extent of the province, 349, 357; rebuilding of Christ Church, 359; work of Conrad at, 360; reform of the monks, 361; the palace rebuilt by Lanfranc, *ib.*; foundation of Saint Gregory, *ib.*; rights of the Archbishops, 314; scheme for introducing canons at, 817.

Capitularies, allegiance to the Sovereign required in, 692.

Caradoc, son of Gruffydd, joins William Fitz-Osbern against Meredith, 503, 675.

Carisbrooke, building of the castle, 68, 679.

Carl, sons of, join the Danish fleet, 255; their murder, 525.

Cashel, synod of, 530.

Cassel, battle of, 535.

Castleford, site of William's stay by the Aire, 284.

Castles, built by William, 66-68; by Odo and William Fitz-Osbern, 104; lack of in England, 188; English hatred of, 269; nomenclature of, 490.

Ceadda, Saint, his dwelling at Lichfield, 416.

Cecily, daughter of William, takes the veil, 629; becomes Abbess of Caen, 630.

Centralization, advance of, under William, 576.

Ceredigion, ravaged by Hugh of Montgomery, 501.

constitution of the city, 311; use of the its walls and churches, 312; rick of, *ib.*; subunits to W. ravaging of the shire, 312; of the castle, 316; grant dom to Gerbod, 316, 482; Lichfield removed to Sai 417; peculiar character o dom, 487; monks place Werburgh's, 491.

Chetel, his lands, 214.

Chevrot, French name for K. Chichester, disputes of its Bi the Abbots of Battle, 405 the name, 416; see of Sel to, *ib.*; held by Roger gomery, 492.

Child, use of the title, 406.

Chlodwig, legend of his von Martin, 399.

Christian, Danish Bishop, com land in 1069, 248; comes t Christina, sister of Eadgar takes refuge in Scotland, 508; takes the veil, 695; *ib.*

Chrodegang, temporary estab his rule at York, 370.

Chronicles, English, their a Domesday, 690; of the ye 1087, 695; of the Co Northern England, 767; gical confusions in, 768, 7

Flanders, *ib.*; succeeds Harold Hein in Denmark, 683; his preparations against William, 684; his alleged martyrdom, 686.

Cnut, son of Carl, his escape, 525; his lands, *ib.*

Cola, his claim against Robert of Oily, 43.

Colegrim, his lands in Lincolnshire, 214.

Coleswegen, his lands in Lincolnshire, 214; founds the lowertown of Lincoln, 218; his churches, *ib.*; whether a Sheriff, 481.

Colloquium, use of the word, 688.

Coln, meaning of the ending, 210.

Columban, monk of Saint Augustine's, his punishment by Lanfranc, 410.

Colwine, his lands and offices in Devonshire, 164.

Commendation, cases of in Berkshire, 44; sometimes compulsory, *ib.*; cases of to Englishmen, 45.

Commonwealth, scheme of establishing at Exeter, 146-147; analogy with the Italian cities, 146.

Commune, origin of, 549; that of Le Mans the first in Gaul, 550; the nobles take the oath, *ib.*; defeat of its army, 553; submits to William, 559.

Conan, lord of Richmond, his work in the castle, 294; benefactor to the priory, 295.

Conan of Britanny, William charged with his death, 574.

Conan, son of Alan of Britanny, marries Henry the First's daughter, 647.

Conception, feast of, legend of its institution, 137.

Confiscation of land under William, date of its beginning, 22; applied in theory to the whole country, 23, 26; modifications in practice, 27; details of in William's first progress, 31; extent of in Berkshire, Kent, and Sussex, 33, 34; analogy with the dissolution of monasteries, 37; causes of lack of resistance to, 47; affection of legality in, 48, 49; carried out gradually, 49; how looked on at the time, 50; strict meaning of the word, 51; a familiar punishment in England, *ib.*; its permanent results, 54.

Coningsburgh, granted to William of Warren, 296.

Conrad, Prior, his works at Christ Church, 360.

Constance, daughter of William, betrothed to Alan, 633; married, 646; her death and character, *ib.*; date of her marriage, 848.

Constance, mother of Arthur, 647.

Constantine Humbertopoulos, alleged nephew of Robert Wiscard, 625.

Constantinople, its influence in the eleventh century, 61, 359.

Convocation, origin of, 359.

Copeige, submits to William, 20; appointed Earl of Northumberland, 77; dispossesses Oswulf in Northumberland, 107; killed by him, *ib.*; his probable purpose, 108; examination of his history, 738-740; notice of him in Geoffrey Gaimar, 738.

Cormeille, monastery of, founded by William Fitz-Osbern, 537.

Cornwall, conquered by William, 163; estates of Robert of Mortain in, 168; Earldom and Duchy of, 169; use of British names in, 171; held mainly by English landowners T. R. E., *ib.*; no King's Thengn in, *ib.*; British element in strengthened by the Norman Conquest, *ib.*; men of, besiege Exeter, 271; their defeat, 278; lands of Robert of Mortain in, 763; retention of British names in, 764.

Coronation of William, effects of the disturbance at, 10.

Cottenham, operations at, in the campaign of Ely, 472.

Councils, held by Lanfranc, 387; their purely ecclesiastical character, *ib.*

Courts, ecclesiastical and temporal, their separation, 388.

Coventry, its state under William, 196; removal of the see of Chester to, 417; remains joint bishopric with Lichfield, 418; its suppression, *ib.*

Coxo. See *Copeige*.

Cranborne, foundation of the monastery, 761.

Crowcombe, granted to Robert of Mortain, 166.

Crowland, gifts of Waltheof to, 256; alleged persecution of, by Ivo Taillebois, 471; foundation and early history of, 596; forms of the name, *ib.*; held by Leofric of Peterborough, *ib.*; gifts of Waltheof to, 597; his body translated to, 598; works of Ingulf at, 599; works of Geoffrey at, 600.

Crown, wearing of, import of the ceremony, 328.

Cumberland, ravaged by Gospatrix, 506.

Cuthberht, Saint, legend of his protection of Durham, 241; legend of him and Gospatrix, 299; further legends of, 520.

Czerni Bog, Slavonic god, 248.

D.

Danegeld, imposed by William, 682.
 Danes, in England, compared with Normans, 16; come to England in 1069, 247; attack Dover, 251; repulsed in East-Anglia, 252; enter the Humber, *ib.*; joined by the English, 253; march upon York, 265; take the city, 267; return to their ships, 270; withdraw to the Humber, 279; surprised by William in Lindsey, *ib.*; defeated by the two Earls, 281; William's negotiations with, 285; their fleet remains in the Humber, 317; their conversion to Christianity in Ireland, 527.
 David of Scotland, marries Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, 602.
 Dawkins, Mr., quoted, 606.
 Deans, appointment of, 542.
 Deira, end of the earldom, 486.
 Denmark, help for England sought in, 119; dealings of Ralph of Wader with, 578, 583.
Deor, meaning of the word, 607.
Deor-frið, force of, 841.
 Devonshire, large number of English Thengs in, 164; Welsh and English elements in, 170; ravaged by Harold's sons, 227, 243; revolt of, in 1069, 270; men of, besiege Exeter, 271; their defeat, 278; extent of the ravages of Harold's sons in, 792.
 Dorchester, diocese of, claim province of York, 355; *so* to Lincoln, 419.
 Dorset, independent in 1067, of ravaged by William, 151; besiege Montacute, 271; th 276.
 Dover, building of the castle, by Hugh of Montfort, 73; by Eustace and the Kentish 118; the townsmen support son, 116; unsuccessful attack on, 251.
Dragma, meaning of the word, 607.
 Drogo of Bevrere, grant of B to, 296; legend of, 804; in Domesday, 805.
 Drogo of Mantes, transfers hi to William, 697.
 Dublin, Archbishops of, conse England, 528, 529.
 Dunan. See *Donatus*.
 Dunbar, granted to Gospasric colm, 524.
 Duncan, son of Malcolm and I given as a hostage to Willia
Duracium, pun on the name, 6 Durazzo. See *Dyrrachion*.
 Durham, defended against Will massacre of the Normans at, preservation of the mins local legends, 241, 520-522 ravaged by William, 302; st church and city, 303; ret

Eadgar *Aetheling*, nature of his rivalry with William, 7; accompanies William to Normandy, 78; movement of the Northumbrians in his favour, 185; takes refuge in Scotland, 194; leaves Scotland, 238; received at York, 239; his relations to Swegen and William, 250; joins the Danish fleet, 254; his adventures in Lindsey, 265; meets Malcolm at Wearmouth, 506; goes to Scotland, 508; his dealings with Malcolm and Margaret, 508, 509; leaves Scotland, 518; his sojourn in Flanders, 567; returns to Scotland, *ib.*; invited to France by Philip, *ib.*; driven back by a storm, 568; asks peace of William, *ib.*; goes to Normandy, 569; his lands and pensions, 570, 742; goes to Apulia, 694; whether spoken of as Earl, 742; different versions of his flight to Scotland, 767; called England's Darling, 823.

Eadgar, son of Earl Gospatrix, 747.

Eadgifu, alleged mother of Hereward, 837.

Eadgifu the Fair, spoliation of her lands, 142.

Eadgyth the Lady, her lands in Berkshire, 34, 43; confiscation of her lands under Eadward, 52; her residence at Winchester, 52, 59, 142; her relations to Exeter, 139; her revenue increased by William, 162; her dealings with Stigand, 334, 808; her saying at the consecration of Walcher, 478; her death, 586; her burial, 587; effect of her death on the position of Winchester, 608; her lands in the West, 751.

Eadgyth, wife of Robert of Oily the second, 46, 733; her children by Henry the First, *ib.*

Eadgyth, daughter of William of Warren, 733.

Eadgyth, or Matilda, of Scotland, wife of Henry the First, her marriage and children, 229.

Eadgyth Swanneshal, probably the mother of Harold's children, 142; whether the same as Eadgifu the Fair, *ib.*; her probable children, 753; her houses at Canterbury, 814.

Eadmer Anhande, lodges Gundulf, 366.

Eadmer, his Histories, 320; his account of the scheme for bringing in canons at Canterbury, 817.

Eadmund, Abbot of Pershore, his league with Saint Wulfstan, 383; his death and burial, 384.

Eadmund, son of Harold. See *Godwine*.

Eadnoth, the Staller, his lands in Berkshire, 45; his death, 226, 227; holds office under Eadward and Harold, 755; his lands in the West, *ib.*; forms of his name, 756; probably the forefather of the lords of Berkeley, 758.

Eadric of Norfolk, his outlawry in Denmark, 121; his lands, 738.

Eadric the Wild, date of his submission, 20; holds out in Herefordshire, 64, 110; his descent, 64; his alliance with the Welsh Kings, *ib.*; his attacks on Hereford, 111; character of his resistance, *ib.*; meaning of his surname, *ib.*; besieges Shrewsbury, 273; burns the town, 278; submits to William, 461; accompanies William to Scotland, 514; his history and lands, 736-738; legend of, at Wigmore Castle, 737.

Eadward the Elder, fortifies Nottingham, 198.

Eadward the Confessor, grants Steyning to Fécamp, 89; legend of Wulfstan's appeal to, 376, 377.

Eadward, Laws of, legend of their renewal, 322; probable facts of the case, 324.

Eadward, son of Swegen, no connexion with Swegen of Essex, 736.

Eadward of Berkshire, his lands, 40, 41, 42.

Eadward of Salisbury, his part in the legend of Selby, 799; probably of English birth, 801.

Eadwine, Earl, his position after William's coronation, 4; submits to William at Barking, 20; his influence over his brother, *ib.*; his favour with William, 28; William's daughter promised to, *ib.*; summoned to attend William to Normandy, 76; his position under William, 179; William's daughter promised to him, 180; his first revolt, 181; his character, 182; marches to Warwick, 192; submits to William, 193; remains in his court, *ib.*; keeps his lands, 205; not at Ely, 465; different accounts of his relation to the resistance in the North, 768; legendary accounts of, 831-832.

Eadwine, Sheriff of Warwick, 189.

Eadwine, Abbot of Westminster, not disturbed, 396.

Eadwulf Rus, leader of the Northumbrians at Gateshead, 667; kills Walcher, 669.

Ealdred, Archbishop of York
William's authority during
his absence, 127; his relation
to the church of Worcester, 173
Urse of Abbot, 174; crown
179; his efforts on behalf of
187; legendary tales of,
goods plundered by William
260; he renounces and curses
261, 263; affection to his
264; his death and burial, 18
Ealdred, Abbot of Saint Albans
digging at Verulam, 395.
Ealdred, grandson of Uhtred, 1
to William, 20.
Ealdred, Abbot of Abingdon, 1
and imprisoned, 475.
Ealdwine, founder of Malvern, 1
379.
Ealdwine, Prior of Winchcombe, 8
Northumberland, 660; repairs
row, 661; goes with Turgot to
rose, 663; restores Wearmouth,
becomes first Prior of Durham, 6
Earldoms, William's policy as to, 1
Earle, Mr., quoted, 459, 832.
Earls, change in their position under
William, 576; their wives,
described, 766.
Earnwine the Priest, notice of in Don
day, 209, 214, 788.
Easby, Abbey of, 295.
East-Anglia, its early possession by Wiliam, 26; later earldoms of, 590.
Eboracum, extent of, 202.
Eccllesiastical Courts, their summons
enforced, 425.
Eddeva, in Exon Domesday, whether the
same as Eadgyth Swanneshal, 752.
Edward, Earl of Warwick, his fate
under Henry the Seventh, 193.
Edward the Second, his birth at Caer-
narvon, 228.

Equites, use of the word, 192.
 Ermenfrid, Bishop of Sitten, his second mission to England, 329; crowns William, *ib.*; holds a synod in Normandy, 333; his answer to Wulfstan, 338; holds a synod at Windsor, 341; consecrates Walkelin, 342; penance said to have been laid by him on William's soldiers, *ib.*
 Erneis of Burun, his part in the legend of Selby, 800.
 Ernest, Bishop of Rochester, 366.
 Ernulf, his account of the suit between Lanfranc and Odo, 812.
Esquire, origin of the word, 110.
 Essex, its early possession by William, 26.
 Ettingsham, Orderic baptized at, 495.
 Eudo of Rye, his lands in Berkshire, 39.
 Eustace the Second, Count of Boulogne, his alliance with the Kentish men, 112-114; his probable views, 113; his relations to William, *ib.*; crossed to Dover, 114; his military character, 115; his defeat and escape from Dover, 116, 117; his trial and condemnation, 129; his reconciliation with William, *ib.*; his lands in Somerset and elsewhere, 130, 168, 744; his marriages, 743, 744; his reconciliation with William, 744.
 Eustace the Third, Count of Boulogne, his lands in Somerset, 129; the land-owner in Domesday, 743.
 Eustace, Sheriff of Huntingdonshire, his oppressions, 223; takes part in the court at Ely, 481.
 Evesham, Northern sufferers take refuge at, 313; lands of, seized by Urse and Odo, 383; buildings of Walter at, *ib.*
 Everard, brother of Orderic, 495.
 Evreux, name confounded with York, 253; church of, consecrated, 427.
 Ewias, castle of, work of William Fitz-Osbern at, 504; whether founded by Earl Harold, *ib.*; called from Harold son of Ralph, *ib.*
 Excommunication, not to be pronounced against the King's officers without his leave, 437.
 Exe, river, its course by Exeter, 154.
 Exeter, independent in 1067, 63; refuses submission to William, 138; hatred of its citizens to the Normans, *ib.*; their relation to Eadgyth, 139; they ally themselves with the neighbouring towns, *ib.*; presence of Gytha and her family, 141; division between the chiefs and the people, 145; terms proposed by the leaders, 146; plan of an aristocratic republic, 147; royal rights over the city, *ib.*; relations of the city with the Western Thengns, 148; submission of the magistrates disowned by the people, 151, 152; position of the city, 153; besieged by William, 154-156; surrenders, 159; foundation of the castle, 161, 271; increase of its tribute under William, 162; attacked by Harold's sons, 243, 792; besieged by the men of Devonshire and Cornwall, 271; the citizens favour William, 278; siege raised, *ib.*; succession of the Bishops, 373; building of the cathedral, 374; possessions of Battle at, 406; translation of the bishopric to, 415; dealings of Robert of Mortain with the bishopric, 763; confounded with Oxford, 779; forms of the name, *ib.*
 Exning, bride-ale of Ralph and Emma at, 573.

F.

Fagaduna, alleged battle at, 580.
 Fairford, history of the lordship, 760.
 Fealty, due from all men to the King, 692.
 Fécamp, William's Easter feast at, 87-92; history of the house, 87-89; change from canons to monks under Richard the Good, 88; legend of the precious blood, *ib.*; its special connexion with the ducal house, 89; Eadward's grants to, *ib.*; zeal of its monks for William, 90; William keeps Easter at, in 1075, 629.
 Felix, Bishop of the East-Angles, confounded with Felix of Crowland, 463.
 Felix of Crowland, his description of the Fenland, 463.
 Ferdinand of Castile, his war with Garcias, 853.
 Fifhicle, two places of the name held by Godric, 725.
 Flanders, war in, 531-536.
 Florence, Count of Friesland, 533.
 Florence of Worcester, importance of his History under William, 3; his text enlarged by Simeon, 100; character of his narrative of the conquest of Northern England, 767, 771; his account of the New Forest, 841.
 Foderati, answer to Warangians, 848.
 Folkland, finally becomes *Terra Regis* under William, 24.
 Fordwich, seized by Odo, 336.
 Foreigners, settlement of, familiar to Englishmen, 52.

humiliation, 262.
Frederick, Count of Stade,
and history, 245, 246.
Frederick of Warren, killed
ward, 470; his lands, *ib.*
Free Imperial cities, their ori-
French and English, their
under William, 622.
Frenchmen, settled under
count as English, 620.
Fresnay-le-Vicomte, surren-
der him, 558.
Frieland, its alleged contingen-
tary's fleet, 247; extent of th.,
533; retention of the Teuto-
munity in, 548.
Frithric, Abbot of Saint Alban
thical character of his history
his alleged presence at Ely, 46
and legendary accounts of, 822.
Frithstool, at Beverley, 288; at
burgh, 290.
Froger, Sheriff of Berkshire, opp.
Abingdon Abbey, 37, 38.
Fulk Rechin, Count of Anjou, his
ings with Maine, 544; called
the citizens, 555; takes the c.,
556; attacks La Flèche, 560; ma-
against Normandy, 561; makes
with William, 562; receives
homage of Robert, 563.
Fyrd, summoned by William,
used to crush revolts, 276.

G.

Gale, Thomas, quoted, 294.
Galloway, men of, their cruelties,
Galmanho, grows into Saint M.
Abbey, 662.
Gamel, son of Ketel, story of, 805.
Garcias, his war with Ferdinand, 8.
Gateshead, Geometr.

Gervase, Saint, William's sickness at, 702.
Geata Herewardi, their origin and material, 826.
Gewissas, use of the word, 74.
 Gilbert of Clare, procures an audience of the King for the monks of Ely, 479.
 Gilbert of Ghent, his lands in Berkshire, 39; commands at York, 204, 258; his lands in Lincolnshire, 215; his overconfidence, 258; taken prisoner by the Danes, 268.
 Gilbert, Abbot of Saint Stephen's, receives the body of William, 712.
 Gilbert, Bishop of Evreux, preaches William's funeral sermon, 714.
 Gilbert Maminot, Bishop of Lisieux, his character, 656; remarks on his appointment, *ib.*; attends the deathbed of William, 704; present at William's funeral, 713.
 Gilbert, favourite of Bishop Walcher, 664; murders Ligulf, 666; killed at Gateshead, 668; legendary notice of, 828.
 Gilbert of L'Aigle, wounded before Sainte-Susanne, 654.
 Gildas, his settlement on the Steep Holm, 158; removes to Glastonbury, *ib.*
 Gillaphadraig. See *Patrick*.
 Gilmichael, persecutes Bishop Æthelwine, 299; legend of his punishment, *ib.*
 Giraldus, his estimate of Bishop Walcher, 670; his version of the legend of Saint Wulftan, 820.
 Gisa, Bishop of Wells, favoured by William, 165; receives the disputed lands, *ib.*
 Glastonbury Abbey, how suppressed by Henry the Eighth, 58; dispute at, between Thurstan and the monks, 390, 391; Ulfcytel imprisoned at, 599.
 Gloucester, foundation of the castle, 173; reforms and buildings of Serlo at, 384; Gemot and Synod of 1085 at, 388, 687; yearly assemblies at, 619; legislation at, 620.
 Gloucestershire, date of the conquest of, 173.
 Godfrey, administers the Abbey of Ely, 480, 813.
 Godfrey, Bishop of Paris, brother of Eustace of Boulogne, 118.
 Godfrey, Portreeve of London, 30.
 Godfrey, son of Godfrey Duke of Lotharingia, sent to help Richildis, 536.
 Godgifu, widow of Leofric, living in William's reign, 586.
 Godgifu, Countess of Boulogne, her lands, 743.
 Godgifu, second wife of Siward, her gifts to Peterborough, 802.
 Godred, King in Ireland, his correspondence with Lanfranc, 528.
 Godrie, Abbot of Winchcombe, deposed by William, 177; signs the league with Saint Wulftan, 383.
 Godric of East-Anglia, whether a Sheriff, 481.
 Godric, Sheriff of Berkshire, his death at Senlac, 33, 726; various tenures of his land, 35; his dealings with the King's lands, 36; his lands granted to Henry of Ferrers, 36, 726; treatment of his widow, 36; his lands and offices in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, 725; his dealings with the royal domain, 727.
 Godricus, *unus liber homo*, his relation to Godric the Sheriff, 726.
 Godwine, Earl, hinders Edward's grant to Fécamp, 89; end of the history of his family, 244; his treatment of his family compared with that of William, 629; his alleged alienation of the lands of Saint Augustine's, 825.
 Godwine, son of Harold, returns to England, 225; beaten off at Bristol, 226; his ravages, 226, 227; his battle with Eadnoth, 226; returns to Ireland, 227; his lands, 752; commands the expedition of 1068, 791.
 Godwine, tenant of Eadgar, 742.
 Godwine Cild, 759.
 Godwine Gille, legendary companion of Hereward, 829.
 Godwine, son of Guthlac, legend of, 829.
 Goldsmiths, German, settled in England, 41; lands held by, 86.
 Gold-work, English and German skill in, 85, 93.
 Gospatric, Earl, ravages Cumberland, 506; receives Bishop Walcher, 513; deprived of his earldom, 523; received by Malcolm, 524; restored to part of his lands, *ib.*; his descendants, *ib.*, 747; chronology of his life, 745, 746; his lands in Yorkshire, 747; takes refuge in Scotland, 768.
 Gospatric, son of Earl Gospatric, 524, 747.
 Gothfraign, King in Ireland, 528.
 Gothric. See *Godred*.
Granbridge, name of Cambridge, 219.
 Greeks, their position in the eleventh century, 86.
 Green, Mr., quoted, 647, 650.

the English Bishops, *ib.*; his privileges to William, 427; his favour to William, 429; his homage, 431; rebukes Lanfranc 434; promotes Wimund, 447; writes about the see of Dol, 6; letter to Robert, 645; his ^{use} with Simon of Valois, 648, 649; the introduction of monks at D 674; intercedes for Odo, 68 language about William and *ib.*

Grimbald the Goldsmith, his land.

Grimm, Jacob, quoted, 848.

Grimshy, Turgot sails from, 663.

Gruffydd, son of Meredydd, his last Herefordshire, 675.

Guentu, used to mean Norwich, 67

Gulbert of Hugleville, refuses land England, 448; his death, 703.

Gulfer of Villerai, makes peace with William, 640.

Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, 3 builds the Tower of London, builds the church and castle of chester, 366, 367; places monks in his church, 367; recovers the lands in his see, *ib.*; mention of in legend of Wulfstan, 377; recovers lands at Fraceham, 375.

Gunhild, daughter of Godwine, 14 her death and tomb at Bruges, 15; her lands, 751; her epitaph, 754.

Gunhild, daughter of Harold, 142; her death, 703; her legend, 752.

Gunwert, probably a companion of Eadric the Wild, 738.

Guthlac, Saint, founder of Crowland 596.

Guthlacingas, 829.

Guy, Abbot, forced on Saint Augustine's by Lanfranc, 400: *continetur*.

Harold, son of Ralph, Ewias Harold called from, 504.
 Hart, Mr., his Gloucester History quoted, 382.
 Hartshorne, Mr., quoted, 295.
 Hastings, Humfrey of Tilleul commands at, 74.
 Hawks, their eyries, 491.
Heathen, origin of the word, 411.
 Hedenham, disputed between Gundulf and William Rufus, 366.
 Helenstow. See *Elostow*.
 Helias, Vidame of Gerberoi, 642.
 Helmsley, William's march by, 304; substituted for Hexham in the text of Orderic, 778.
Henry, forms of the name, 228.
 Henry the Second, Emperor, his kindred with Margaret of Scotland, 509.
 Henry the Fourth, Emperor, his early reign, 119; his deposition by Hildebrand, 426; his correspondence, *ib.*; his penance at Canosa, 427; sets up Wibert as Antipope, 435; Richildis asks help of, 534; delay of his troops, 536; his dealings with Archbishop Hanno, 538; his alleged dealings with William, 539.
 Henry the Fifth, Emperor, marries Matilda of England, 229.
 Henry the First, King, his birth, 227; the one *Aetheling* among William's sons, 227, 796; his learned education, 229, 795; his alleged knowledge of English and Greek, 229, 796; his policy and marriages, 229; legend of his birth at Selby, 230, 794; his laws, 325; his quarrel with Robert, 638; dubbed knight, 691; his father's bequest of money to, 707, 854; present at his father's funeral, 713; allows the claim of Asselin, 716; date of his birth, 794; his surname of Clerk, 796; alleged prophecy about, 855.
 Henry the Second, King, his charter to Nottingham, 198; story of, 314, 621; his ecclesiastical claims compared with those of William, 438; his conquest of Ireland, 526, 530.
 Henry the Eighth, his ecclesiastical claims compared with those of William, 438.
 Henry, King of the French, cedes the Vexin to Robert, 697.
 Henry, Bishop of Winchester, son of Stephen and Adela, 647.
 Henry of Beaumont, commands at Warwick, 192.
 Henry of Essex, his cowardice and punishment, 735.
 Henry of Ferrers, receives the lands of Godric, 36; despoils his widow, *ib.*; his illegal occupations of land, 37, 38; his lands in Lincolnshire, 215; a Commissioner for Domesday, 689.
 Henry of Huntingdon, peculiar value of his History, 3; his account of the New Forest, 841.
 Heppo the *Balistarius*, his lands in Lincolnshire, 216.
 Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, date of his accession, 408; meaning of his surname, 420; moves the see of Thetford to Norwich, *ib.*
Here, use of the word, 556.
 Hereford, held by Osbern in 1067, 64; foundation of the castle, 64, 66; earldom of given to William Fitz-Osbern, 72; attack of Eadric on, 111; succession of the Bishops, 374; building of the cathedral, *ib.*
 Herefordshire, state of in 1067, 64; outbreak in under Eadric, 108-111; William Fitz-Osbern's legislation in, 504.
 Hereward, legendary accounts of his birth, 454; his legendary history, 455, 826-831; historical notices of, 455, 826; plunders Peterborough, 458; defends the Isle of Ely, 467; kills Frederick of Warren, 470; stories of his exploits, 472; escapes from Ely, 482; his ravages, *ib.*; marries *Ælf-thryth*, 483; accompanies William to Maine, 484, 557; legend of his death, 484; his lands in Domesday, 485; his castle, 833.
 Herfast, appointed Bishop of Elmham, 342; his dealings with Saint Eadmundsbury, 407; letters from Lanfranc to, *ib.*; removes the see of Elmham to Thetford, 420.
 Herlwin, undertakes the burial of William, 711; his treatment of William's body, 856.
 Herlwin of Bec, commands Lanfranc to accept the archbishopric, 345; his death, 428.
 Hermann, Bishop, receives the commendation of Thored's father, 44; removes his see to Salisbury, 415; his death, *ib.*
 Hermengarde of Anjou, marries Alan of Brittany, 647.
 Hermer, story of, 619.
 Hervey the Breton, his command before Sainte-Suzanne, 653.
 Hexham, confounded by Orderic with Helmaley, 304, 778.

Holderness, the Danes rete
grant of, to Drago, 296;
grants of, 804-806.

Holland, Robert of Flanders
533; its Count⁴, *ib.*

Holmgard, meaning of the na

Holm, Flat and Steep, Gyt

refuge on, 158; earlier notic

Hostages, treatment of, 155.

Housecarls, their slaughter at

274.

Howel, Count, succeeds Conan
tanny, 561; makes peace wit
liam, 633; date of his death, 8

Hubert, Cardinal, Hildebrand's
agent in Normandy and En
344; present at the Council of
mor, 356; sent to demand Wil
homage to Gregory, 431; pe
present at Blanchelande, 562.

Hubert the Viscount, surrenders
castles to William, 558; rebels ag
William, 652; defends Sainte-Susa
ib.; reconciled to William, 655.

Hugh of Avranches, his lands in B
shire, 39; his lands in Lincolnsl
215; puts monks at Saint Werbur
at Chester, 312; appointed Ear
Chester, 487; his wars with the We
489; his character, 490; wastes
own lands, 491; his works at S
Werburgh's, *ib.*; his friend-ship
Anselm, *ib.*; dies a monk, *ib.*; j
Odo's expedition to Italy, 679.

Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, I
Gregory's letter to, 681.

Hugh, son of Azo, invited to Mi
545; goes back to Italy, 554.

Hugh, son of Baldric, attends Ead
into Normandy, 569; receives B
win and his companions, 661; Sh
of Yorkshire, 789; his part in
legend of *Sceil...*

Idwal, son of Gruffydd, death of, 183.
 Ilbert of Lacy, his lands in Lincolnshire, 215; founds Pontefract Castle, 283, 295; English tenants on his lands, 296.
 Illegitimacy, theory of, 544.
 Ingebiorg, her death or divorce, 509; her marriage with Malcolm, 785.
 Ingelram of Ponthieu, marries William's sister Adelaide, 301.
 Ingulf, History of Crowland forged in his name, 596, 598, 838, 839; his early history, 599; appointed Abbot of Crowland, 599, 687; his works there, 599; real history of, 839.
 Innes, Mr., his account of Malcolm and Margaret, 512.
 Ipswich, Danes repulsed near, 251.
 Ireland, peculiarities of its episcopacy, 413; laxity as to marriage in, 424; use of round towers in, 516; William's designs on, 526; ecclesiastical intercourse of, with England, 527; nature of episcopacy in, *ib.*; bishops from, consecrated in England, 528; preparation for Henry the Second's conquest of, 530.
 Italy, influence of its commonwealths in Gaul and England, 550.
 Itta, daughter of Ralph of Wader, 590.
 Ivo, Bishop of Dol, 631.
 Ivo of Grantmesnil, stirs up Robert to rebel, 638.
 Ivo Taillebois, his lands in Lincolnshire, 215; his exploits at Ely, 470; his marriage, *ib.*; his gifts to Spalding, 471; suggests employment of the witch, 472.
 Iware, saves the treasures of Peterborough, 458.

J.

Jaroslaf, Prince of Novgorod, 753.
 Jarrow, early history of, 298; Æthelwine rests at, *ib.*; the church burned, 302; restored by Ealdwine, 661; favour of Waltheof to, *ib.*; monks of bury Walcher, 670; becomes a cell of Durham, 674.
 John Kantakouzenos, Emperor, his account of the Warangians, 847.
 John Chrysostom, Saint, relics of, brought to Abingdon, 848.
 John, Saint, of Beverley, his history and legends, 288.
 John, Bishop of Avranches, appointed Archbishop of Rouen, 96; his descent and kinsfolk, *ib.*; his zeal against the married clergy, 97; offends both regulars and seculars, 98; synod held by him, 541; receives the profession of Cecily, 649; struck dumb, 655; dies, 657.
 John, Cardinal, his mission to England, 329.
 John, Abbot of Fécamp, William's friendship for, 87; his visit to England, 89; William's correspondence with him, 397.
 John of La Flèche, adheres to William, 545; attacked by Fulk, 560; stipulations in his favour, 563.
 John of Gaunt, his possessions at Lincoln, 211.
 John of Joinville, refuses fealty to Saint Lewis, 692.
 John, son of Odo, 542.
 John of Tours, Bishop, grant of Bath to, 393; moves the bishopric of Somerset to Bath, 421; his dealings with the canons of Wells, *ib.*
 Joscelin of Brabant, founds the second house of Percy, 296.
 Judhael of Totnes, his lands in Devonshire and Cornwall, 172; various forms of the name, *ib.*
 Judith of Auvergne, betrothed to Simon of Valois, 649.
 Judith, niece of William, marries Waltheof, 301, 524; asks for his translation, 597; her lands, 601; legends of, *ib.*
 Judith, daughter of Waltheof, marries Ralph of Toesny, 602.
 Judwal, tribute of wolves' heads laid on, 606, 844.
 Juhal, Bishop of Dol, deposed, 631.
 Jumièges, early work at, 93; church built by Robert, afterwards Archbishop, 94; consecrated by Maurilius, *ib.*
 Justices, use of the word, 560.

K.

Karamzin, his History of Russia quoted, 753.
 Kastoria, defended by the English against Bohemund, 627.
 Keep, use of, in castles, 294.
 Kemble, Mr., on slavery, 292.
 Kent, extent of confiscation in, 33; no King's Thengns in, 63; Earldom of granted to Odo, 72; description of, by William of Poitiers, 73; discontent in, against Odo, 110; men of, invite Eustace of Boulogne, 112-114; join him in the attack on Dover, 115.

KINGSTON, two places or *ui*
by Thurkill, 725.
KÖDINOS, his account of
giants, 847.
KÖLN, ÆTHELWINE sets sail for
Kox. See *Copeige*.

L.

Lady, use of the title, 766.
Lah-slit, penalty of, 425.
Lambert, brother of Eustace
logne, 118.
Lambert of Herzfeld, quoted,
account of the Flemish war,
of William's dealings with
538, 539.
Lambert of Lens, marries his
sister Adelaide, 301.
Lancashire, not known in Dc
488.
Landvittende men, distinguishe
Witan, 692.
Lanfranc, his relations to Willi
Stigand, 83; refuses the see of
95; probably already design
Canterbury, 96; fetches the
Archbishop John, 97; his L
Letters, 320; appointed to Cant
343; accepts the offer, 344;
suaded by Herlwin, 345;
vestiture and consecration, 346;
consecrators, 346; character
primacy, 347; his relations to
William, 348; demands the profe
William of York, 350; argu
case before the King, 351; the
profession of Thomas an
secrates him, 352, 353; goes to
353; special honours paid to him;
restores Thomas and Remigius
bishoprics, 355.

right of advowson over the church, 544; building of the cathedral, *ib.*; revolts against William, 545; receives Azo, 547; its municipal traditions, 550; proclaims the *commune*, *ib.*; unsuccessful warfare, 553; the castle betrayed to Geoffrey of Mayenne, 554; surrendered to Fulk, 555; the city surrenders to William, 559; keeps its municipal rights, *ib.*

Leo the Tenth, prophecy as to his successor, 678.

Leobwine, favourite of Bishop Walcher, 665; procures the murder of Ligulf, 666; killed at Gateshead, 669.

Leofgifu, Abbess of Shaftesbury, her land, 40.

Leofgyth, her embroidery and lands, 86.

Leofric, Earl, not the father of Hereward, 454, 830; his works at Wenlock, 500.

Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, keeps his bishopric under William, 165; dies, 378; his translation of the Western bishopric to Exeter, 415.

Leofric, Abbot of Peterborough, his connexion with Crowland, 596.

Leofric of Bourne, alleged father of Hereward, 454, 826.

Leofric the Deacon, his alleged life of Hereward, 828.

Leofstan, Port-reeve of London, 30.

Leofusa, lands of, 19.

Leofwine, Earl, his lands in the West, 751.

Leofwine, Bishop of Lichfield, writ of William addressed to, 179; his marriage and resignation, 417.

Leofwine, Dean of Durham, killed at Gateshead, 668.

Leofwine, secretary to William of Saint Carilef, 674.

Leofwine of Newham, his service at Windsor, 339.

Leominster Abbey, suppression of, 58.

Lesceline of Eu, her foundation of Saint Peter on Dive, 93.

Lewes, building of the castle, 68; foundation of the priory, 411, 416.

Lichfield, diocese of, claimed for the province of York, 355; visited by Wulfstan, 376; character of the place, 416; see of, removed to Chester, 417; united with Coventry, *ib.*; later history of, 418.

Lidford, taken and wasted by William, 162.

Ligulf, gives bells to Saint Alban's, 396.

Ligulf of Northumberland, his descent and friendship with Bishop Walcher, 665, 666; murdered by Leobwine and Gilbert, 666; his death avenged at Gateshead, 667-669.

Lillebonne, Truce of God renewed at, 657.

Limerick, Bishops of, consecrated in England, 529.

Lincoln, William marches to, 207; its greatness, 208; its aristocracy of twelve Lawmen, *ib.*; possessions of the Earls in, 209; rights of the King over, 210; description of the site, *ib.*; ancient houses at, 211; its early history, 212; churches of, *ib.*; submits to William, 213; its constitution undisturbed, *ib.*; charter of Henry the Second to, 214; building of the castle, 217; migration of the burghers, 218; churches of Coleswegen at, *ib.*; bishopric of Dorchester removed to, 419; constitution of the chapter, *ib.*; Turgot imprisoned at, 662.

Lincolnshire, comparatively well treated by William, 216.

Lindesey, adventures of Eadgar in, 265; William defeats the Danes in, 279; the Earls defeat the Danes in, 281.

Lindisfarn, Æthelwine and the canons flee to, 299; position of the see, 414.

Lindum, colony of, 212.

Lisieux, Council of, 542.

Lisois, finds the ford in the Aire, 284; his lands in Essex, *ib.*

Local feeling, strength of, in the eleventh century, 451.

Loir, river, 562.

Lokroi, legend of its foundation, 233.

London, William's charter to, 29; men of march against Montacute, 276; succession of the Bishops, 371; building of Saint Paul's, *ib.*; Synod of 1078 at, 389; burned, 696.

Lords and Commons, origin of, 692.

Lothar, Emperor, his election, 692.

Lotharingia, natives of, promoted by Harold, 131.

Loxton, legends of Eustace at, 130.

Lucca, siege of, by Narses, 155.

Lucy, wife of Ivo Taillebois, 470.

Lutecia, position of, 248.

Lutgaresbury, becomes the property of Robert of Mortain, 170.

Lyre, monastery of, founded by William Fitz-Osbern, 537.

M.

Mabel, wife of Roger of Montgomery, her murder, 493.

his houses in Lincoln, 209 ;
Danish fleet, 255.
Magdalen College, dealing of,
Second, 409.
Magnus, son of Harold. &
wine.
Magnus, son of Harold Hard-
reign in Norway, 122.
Magnus Barefoot, his invasion
of Glesey, 754.
Maine, Abbot, shelters Samson,
Maine, men of, their mutiny
march to Chester, 308 ; He
serves in, 484 ; beginning of
tent in, 543 ; state of the old d.,
545 ; revolts against Willian
relations between the country a
city, 552 ; invaded by William
ravaging of the country, *ib.* ; su
to William, 560 ; the succession s
on Robert, 563 ; continued discon
ib.
Malchus, Bishop of Waterford, c
reated by Anselm, 529.
Malcolm, King of Scots, joins the
lish against William, 186 ; give
effectual help, *ib.* ; receives Ea
and his companions, 195 ; submit
William, 206, 790 ; invades North
berland, 504 ; destroys the church
Wearmouth, 505 ; receives Ea
and his sisters, 506 ; his hor
ravages, 507 ; seeks Margaret
marriage, 508 ; the marriage
brated, 509 ; his relations to Engl
512 ; submits to William, 517 ;
ceives Eadgar, 567 ; his gifts to
568 ; recommends his submissio
William, *ib.* ; subdues Malskehta,
of Lulach, 658 ; invades Northum
land, 659 ; persecutes Ealdwine
Melrose, 663 ; his alleged submis
to Robert, 671.

651; favours the introduction of monks at Durham, 674; her grants for the soul of Richard, 843.

Matilda, first Abbess of Caen, 630.

Matilda, Queen of Henry the First, restores lands to Waltham, 664.

Matilda, Empress, daughter of Henry the First, policy of her marriage, 229; how described, 766.

Matilda, Countess of Perche, daughter of Henry the First and Eadgyth, 733.

Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, marries Simon of Senlis, 602; marries David of Scotland, *ib.*; her descendants, 603.

Matilda, daughter of Wiggod, marries Miles Crispin, 731.

Matthew Paris, his Saint Alban's History quoted, 395; his legend of Abbot Frithric and others, 822-823.

Maurice, Bishop of London, begins to rebuild old Saint Paul's, 371, 687.

Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen, consecrates the church of Jumièges, 94; his death, *ib.*

Meaux Abbey, foundation and name of, 805.

Mechain, battle of, 183.

Menes, lands at held by Stigand, 807.

Mercenaries, employment of, 583, 685.

Mercia, end of the earldom, 487.

Meredydd, son of Bleddyn, his grant and loss of lands in Herefordshire, 675.

Meredydd, son of Gruffydd, death of, 183.

Meredydd, son of Owen, reigns in South Wales, 183; slain by William Fitz-Osbern, 503; his wars with Caradoc and Earl William, 675.

Mellon, Saint, his tomb at Saint Ger-vase, 702.

Melrose, sojourn of Eadwine and Tur-got at, 663.

Metropolitan, title of, 369.

Michael, Bishop of Avranches, 98.

Mildburgh, Saint, her foundation of Wen-lock, 499.

Miles Crispin, his lands in Berkshire, 39; marries Wiggod's daughter, 45, 731.

Milites in the service of Leobwine, 666.

Mines, use of in sieges, 156.

Miracles, wrought by Kings, 426.

Monasteries, used as banks, 327.

Monchester, former name of Newcastle, 519, 661.

Montacute, foundation of the castle, 170, 270; besieged by the English, 271; siege of raised by Geoffrey of Mow-bray, 276.

Montdidier, body of Ralph removed from, 648.

Montgomery, foundation of the castle, 501.

Montreuil, offered to Edgar by Philip, 567.

Morganwg, Norman settlement of, 503.

Morkere, son of Ælfgar, his position after William's coronation, 4; submits to William at Barking, 20; receives his lands and honours again, 28; summoned to attend William to Normandy, 76; his position under William, 179; his first revolt, 181; marches to Warwick, 192; submits to William, 193; remains in his court, *ib.*; keeps his lands, 205; his houses at Lincoln, 209; joins the revolt at Ely, 466; surrenders, 474; his imprisonment, *ib.*; released by William, 708; different accounts of his relation to the resistance in the North, 768.

Morkere, son of Ligulf, placed at Jarrow by Waltheof, 667.

Mortagne, war in, 639.

Mitiaslav, Prince of Kief, whether called Harold, 753.

Municipal constitutions, 157; traditions of survive in Gaul, 548.

Mutilation, punishment of, 277, 279, 621; inflicted on the captives at Ely, 474.

Mutineers, William's dealings with, 309, 317.

N.

Nabites, commander of the Warangians, 626.

Narsés, his treatment of hostages, 155.

Newburn, Copsige killed at, 107.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, founded by Duke Robert, 672.

New Forest, its formation, 608-609; held to be fatal to William's family, 609, 842; evidence for its making, 840-842; question of the amount of destruction in, 858.

New Minster, death of its Abbot and monks at Senlac, 56; remains three years without an Abbot, 57; spoiled by William, 58; restoration of its lands, 59.

Newport, name of the Roman gate at Lincoln, 212.

Nichols, Mr., quoted, 215.

Nicolas, Abbot of Saint Ouen's, present at William's funeral, 713.

Nigel of Oily, succeeds his brother Robert, 733.

Nikétas, his account of Englishmen, 846.

Nobles, swear to the *commune* of Le Mans, 550.

Nomenclature, illustrations of at Battle, 406.

Normandy, joy in at William's success, 62.

Northallerton, legend of the N
at, 241.

Northampton, state of under W
224; castle and priory foun
Simon of Senlis, 602.

Northamptonshire, state of unde
lian, 224.

Northumberland, chief men of t
to William at Barking, 19-21
practically untouched, 28; rea
receive Swegen, 121; first risi
against William, 181; action
Thegns, 185; general zeal of its
habitants, 187; narrower meanin
the name, 235, 254, 486; car
granted to Robert of Comines,
men of join the Danes, 253; Willi
great harrying in, 286; various det
291; estimate of contemporary wri
292, 293; depopulation of the coun
314; earldom granted to Walth
523; absence of monks in after
Danish invasions, 660; monastic
revived by Ealdwine, 662; cruel
of Odo in, 671; succession of its la
Earls, 672; united to the Crown, 6

North Wales, held by Robert of Rhu
lan, 489.

Norway, state of after Harold Ha
rada, 122.

Norwich, its early submission to W
iliam, 65; its greatness, 67; foundat
of the castle, 68; held by Willi
Fitz-Osbern, 73; Osborn's attack
repulsed by Ralph of Wader, 252;
of Thetford moved to, 420; charac
of its monks, 421; destruction
houses at, 580; foundation of a
French borough, 581; defended by
Countess Emma, *ib.*; its siege &
capitulation, 582; treatment of
burghers, *ib.*

Oferhyrnes, penalty of, 425.
 Offa, burial of, 395.
 Oger the Breton, his lands in Lincolnshire, 215; holds Hereward's lands, 826.
 Olaf Kyrre, son of Harold Hardrada, his peaceful reign in Norway, 122; favours Turgot, 663; helps Cnut against William, 684.
 Olaf, son of Swegen, imprisoned by his brother Cnut, 686.
 Oliver, Dr., quoted, 154, 162.
Onhlot, force of the word, 620.
 Ordeal, use of, 622.
 Orderic, character of his History, 3; preserves the latter part of the History of William of Poitiers, 100; his account of the regency of Odo, 105; of the attack on Dover, 114, 116; on the lack of castles in England, 188; his error about Hugh of Grantmesnil, 232; his tone with regard to William's harryings, 280, 293; his account of Pontefract, 283; misconceives William's march, 304; beginning of his independent history, 462; his birth, 495; his baptism and education, *ib.*; removed to Saint Evroul, *ib.*; his English feelings, 496; his authentic history of Crowland, 596; visits Crowland, 600; writes the epitaph of Waltheof, *ib.*; his reflexions on the death of Waltheof, 605; his account of the succession of William Rufus, 706; of William's funeral, 717; our chief authority for the conquest of northern England, 767, 773; his character of Waltheof, 802; his account of the Warangians, 845; his use of national names, 847.
 Orkney, territorial title of its Bishops, 414.
 Osbeorn, Earl, son of Ulf, commands the Danish fleet in 1069, 248; bribed by William, 318; comes to Ely, 453; sails to Denmark, 460; outlawed by Swegen, 461.
 Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, his English feelings, 373.
 Osbern, son of Richard, Sheriff of Herefordshire, 53, 64; in command of Hereford, 64; attacks the lands of Eadric, 110.
 Oseney Priory, foundation of, 47, 733.
 Ongate, story of, 619.
 Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, receives the commendation of Thored, 44; his liturgical reforms, 416.
 Oswald, Saint, legend of, 299.
 Oswald, Archbishop, his works at Worcester, 379.
 Oswald of Surrey, tenure of his lands, 653.
 Oswine, Saint, legend of, 520.
 Oswulf, Earl, deprived of his earldom, 76; dispossessed by Copsige, 107; kills him, *ib.*; killed by a robber, 133.
 Ottery, history of the lordship, 167.
 Otto the Goldsmith, his lands and descendants, 86; makes the tomb of William, 718.
 Otto of Ostia, becomes Pope Urban the Second, 678.
 Oxford, the castle founded by Robert of Oily, 46, 731, 779; whether besieged by William, 188, 778; foundation of Saint George's College, 731; bridge and churches built by Robert of Oily, 732; destruction of houses, 779; forms of the name in William of Malmesbury, *ib.*; Thierry's legend of the monks of Saint Frithswyth's, 780; the church held by secular canons, *ib.*

P.

Pagan, origin of the word, 411.
 Palgrave, Sir Francis, his remarks on the history of Exeter, 147; on William's dealings with Osbeorn, 285; on Scottish affairs, 510; refuted by Mr. E. W. Robertson, 791; on the New Forest, 842.
 Pallium, its use by the Archbishops of Rouen, 97.
 Parliament, use of the word, 559; origin of the word, 688.
 Patrick, Archbishop of Dublin, consecrated by Lanfranc, 528; drowned, 529.
 Paul, Abbot of Saint Alban's, reported to be Lanfranc's son, 394; his buildings and gifts, 394, 395; destroys the tombs of the English Abbots, 395.
 Paula, sister of Herbert of Maine and wife of John of La Flèche, 545.
 Paulicians, serve at Dyrrhachion, 625.
 Paulinus, apostle of Lindesey, 212; his church at Lincoln, *ib.*
 Peak Castle, its foundation and history, 201.
 Pearson, Mr. C. H., his account of Waltheof, 803.
 Penance, said to have been imposed on William's soldiers, 810.
 Penenden Heath, suit between Lanfranc and Odo at, 363, 812-815; place of meeting of the Kentish Gemöt, 363.
 Pengwern, Welsh name of Shrewsbury, 272.

Hertfordshire, 843.

Peterborough, William's dealings with the abbey, 56; lands of detainees by Waltheof, 256; plundered by Hereward, 458, 483; fate of the treasure and its plunderers, 460.

Peterpence. See *Ronnecol*.

Petronilla, Saint, day of her festival, 594
Pevensey, held by Robert of Mortain
78; William sets sail from, *ib.*

Philip, King of the French, charter of his quoted, 199; assists Arnulf of Flanders, 535; defeated at Cassel *ib.*; makes peace with Robert the Frisian, 536; remains his ally, 538; his enmity to William, 567; offers Montreuil to Eadgar, *ib.*; comes to the relief of Dol, 632, 848; helps Robert at Remaland, 639; question of his presence at Gerberoi, 643; his jest on William's sickness, 698; his presence at Dol, 848.

Picot, Sheriff of Cambridgeshire, his oppressions, 223; his coercion of witnesses, 368; takes part in the court at Ely, 481; his dealings with the lands at Frazenham, 816.

Piracy, prevalence of during the Interregnum, 80; put down by William, *ib.*
Planché, Mr., his account of Thomas of Bayeux, 340.

Plumstead, seized by Odo, 336.

Poland, its alleged contingent to Osborn's fleet, 247.

Police, strictness of under William, 615.
Pons Elii, Roman name of Newcastle,

519.

Pontefract, site of, 283; foundation of the castle, 283, 295; origin of the name, 283.

Ravenna, battle of, 551.
 Rayleigh Castle, founded by Swegen son of Robert, 736.
 Reche, operations at, in the campaign of Ely, 472.
 Redemption, general, of lands under William, 25.
 Reeves, oppression of, 616.
 Regenbald the Chancellor, his lands in Berkahire, 41; keeps his lands and benefices, 53.
 Regenfrith, accompanies Ealdwine to Northumberland, 661; restores the monastery at Whitby, 662.
 Reginald, grandson of William Fitz-Osbern, 591.
Regnum, Roman name of Chichester, 416.
 Reindeer in Scotland in the twelfth century, 666.
 Remaland, besieged and taken by William, 639, 640.
 Remigius of Fécamp, his gift of a ship to William, 90; appointed Bishop of Dorchester, 131; consecrated by Stigand, 132; his later profession to Lanfranc, *ib.*; his works at Dorchester, 133; goes to Rome, 354; threatened with deposition, *ib.*; restored by Lanfranc, 355; removes the see to Lincoln, 419; constitutes the chapter, *ib.*; his foundations there, *ib.*; goes on an embassy to Rome, 425; acts as a Commissioner for Domesday, 689.
 Revenue, amount of, under William, 616.
 Revolts against William, their isolated character, 273, 275.
 Rheims, preservation of the abbey, 241.
 Rhiwallon of Dol, whether settled in England, 172.
 Rhiwallon, son of Llywelyn, his alliance with Eadric, 110; killed at Mechain, 183.
 Rhiwallon of Richmond, founder of Easby Abbey, 295.
 Rhiwallon, Abbot of New Minster, 389.
 Rhuddlan, foundation of the castle and borough, 489.
 Rhys, defeated by Trahaern, 675.
 Rhys, son of Tewdwr, overthrown by William Fitz-Osbern, 502; Trahaern defeated and slain by, 675.
 Richard the First, how described by Niketas, 846.
 Richard the Second, his death at Pontefract, 283.
 Richard the Fearless, his foundation at Fécamp, 88.
 Richard the Good, introduces monks at Fécamp, 88.
 Richard, son of William, his death in the New Forest, 609, 650, 842; lands for his soul, 843; called *Beornicæ Dux*, *ib.*
 Richard, son of Duke Robert, his death in the New Forest, 610; his birth, 640; his birth and death, 843.
 Richard of Bienvaite, Justiciar, 579.
 Richard of Evreux, his lands in Berkshire, 39.
 Richard of L'Aigle, 638; his death before Sainte-Susanne, 654.
 Richard, son of Scrob, his position at the time of the Conquest, 54, 64; attacks the lands of Eadric, 110.
 Richard the Young, marries the widow of Ælfwine, 782.
 Richard of the Devizes, his account of the monks at Coventry, 418.
 Richard Poore, founds the church of New Salisbury, 415.
 Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, 192.
 Richildis of Mons, her marriages, 533; her oppressive regency in Flanders, 534, 834; attacked by Robert, *ib.*; invites William Fitz-Osbern, 534; excommunicated by Engelbert, 834; taken prisoner at Cassel, *ib.*; her later life, 835.
 Richmond, foundation of the castle, 294; history of the earldom of, *ib.*; ecclesiastical foundations at, 295.
Richmondshire, origin of the name, 295.
Rider, force of the word, 691.
 Rights, royal, in Kent, 814.
 Riley, Mr., his exposure of the False Ingulf, 838.
 Robert, son of William, joined with his mother in the Norman regency, 123; date of his birth, *ib.*; prays Lanfranc to accept the archbishopric, 344; does homage to Fulk for Maine, 563; his character and nicknames, 633; Normandy and Maine promised to him, 634; date of his revolt, 635; his dispute with his father, 636; his quarrels with his brothers at L'Aigle, 638; tries to seize Rouen, *ib.*; his wanderings, 640; helped by his mother, *ib.*; holds Gerberoi, 642; wounds his father, 643; reconciled to his father, 645; sent against Scotland, 646, 671; rebels again, 646; founds Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 672; Normandy secured to him by William's will, 708; alleged curse of his father on, 851; bequest of Normandy to, 854.
 Robert of Mortain, his lands in Berkshire, 39; his possession of Pevensey, 78; of Crowcombe, 166; his estates in Corn-

defeats King Philip at Cassel, 5
makes peace with him, 53³;
enmity to William, 538; helps C.
against him, 684.

Robert Wiscard, attacks the East
Empire, 624; besieges Dyrrachii
625; said to have sought a daughter
of William in marriage, 649.

Robert, Archbishop, builds a church
Jumièges, 94; buried there, *ib.*

Robert, Bishop of Chester, removes t
see to Coventry, 417; his raid on t
monks there, *ib.*; his buildings
Lichfield, 418, 687.

Robert Blanchard, first Abbot of Batt
402.

Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln, 369.

Robert, Chancellor of Le Mans, 543.

Robert, Count of Meulan, his lands
Warwickshire, 192.

Robert, Earl of Leicester, 192; marries
the daughter of Ralph of Wader, 59.

Robert Curthose, 815.

Robert Fitz-Hamon, his alleged grant
of the lands of Briberic, 762.

Robert Fitz-Harding, probably son of
Harding son of Eadnoth, 758.

Robert Fitz-Richard, commands at York
204; killed by the insurgents, 218.

Robert Malet, marches against Earl
Ralph, 579; occupies Norwich Castle
583; notices of his lands, 787.

Robert of Belesme, knighted at Fresney
558; story of, 621; joins Robert
revolt, 638.

Robert of Biensaite, marries a daughter
of Waltheof, 602.

Robert of Bruce, his lands in Yorkshire
296.

Robert of Comines, receives the earl

ment, 590; story of his insolence to William, 591.

Roger Bigod, receives part of the lands of Ralph of Wader, 590.

Roger, Earl of Warwick, 192.

Roger, grandson of William Fitz-Osbern, 591.

Roger of Beaumont, Matilda's counsellor in Normandy, 82; Morkere entrusted to his keeping, 475; intercedes for Robert, 645.

Roger of Clinton, Bishop, his buildings at Lichfield, 418.

Roger of Hereford, released by William, 708; question of his imprisonment and release, 855.

Roger of Ivry, his sworn brotherhood with Robert of Oily, 46, 732; defends Rouen against Robert, 638; his lands ravaged by the French, 698; marries Adeline of Grantmesnil, *ib.*

Roger of Montgomery, holds Chichester and Arundel, 492; receives the earldom of Shrewsbury, *ib.*; his character, *ib.*; his wives, 493; his monastic foundations, 494, 498, 499; his wars with the Welsh, 500; his death, *ib.*; founds the castle of Montgomery, 501; helps to make peace at Blanche-lande, 562; intercedes for Robert, 645.

Roger, son of Roger of Montgomery, his surname of Poitevin, 488; his lands between Mersey and Ribble, *ib.*

Roger, son of Urse, loses the lands of his father, 175.

Roger of Wendover, his account of Walcher, 668; his legend of Saint Wulfstan, 819.

Romant, Frenchmen so called, 684.

Romans, greediness of, 426.

Rome, church of Saint Peter at, its one estate in England, 167; council of, forbids the marriage of the clergy, 422.

Romscot, payment of, 430.

Romsey, Christina Abbess of, 695.

Rotrou, Count of Mortagne, his war with William, 637; joins William at the siege of Remaldar, 639.

Rouen, William's triumphal entry at, 81; church of, its lands in England, 167; synod of, in 1072, 541; William moved to, 702; general fright in the city at William's death, 710.

Rougemont, Exeter Castle so called, 161.

Round towers, in Ireland and Scotland, 516.

Royal Supremacy, witness of the legend of Wulfstan to, 378, 821; its effectual exercise by William, 436.

Rudborne, Thomas, his exaggerated ac-

count of William's acts, 187; his account of the Survey, 690; of Stigand's imprisonment, 807.

Rumney, battle of, 503.

Rutland, Thengns in, 197.

Ryhall, given to Peterborough by God-gifu, 803.

S.

Saddle-bow, form of, 701.

Saint Alban's Abbey, its connexion with the see of Canterbury, 394; buildings of Abbot Paul at, 395; destruction of tomb at, *ib.*; gifts of Ligulf to, 396.

Saint Augustine's Abbey, alienation of its lands, 137, 336; its alleged privileges, 408; Lanfranc's dealings with, 408-410, 824-825; secession of the monks, 409; charters of, 825.

Saint Calais, abbey of, 673.

Saint David's, position of the see, 414; plundered by pirates, 501; William's pilgrimage to, 676, 777; ravages of pirates at, 677; its later history, *ib.*

Saint Edmundsbury, Abbey of, notices of its lands, 25, 26.

Saint Evroul, profession of Orderic at, 495.

Saint German, church of, robbed by Robert of Mortain, 169, 764; Sunday market at, 763.

Saint John Baptist, festivals of, 345.

Saint Michael's Mount, Cornwall, its relation to Saint Michael's, Normandy, 764; probable date of its foundation, 755.

Saint Michael's Mount, Normandy, its possessions in England, 764, 765; alleged charters to, of Eadward and Robert of Mortain, 764.

Saint Omer, Gytha takes refuge at, 159.

Saint Ouen's, Rouen, monks of, attack Archbishop John, 97.

Saint Peter on Dive, its lands in Berkshire, 40; founded by Lessclina of Eu, 93; consecration of the church, *ib.*

Saint Petroc. See Bodmin.

Saint Piran, spoiled by Robert of Mortain, 763.

Saint Stephen's, Cornwall, spoiled by Robert of Mortain, 763.

Sainte-Susanne, defended by Hubert the Viscount, 652; ill success of the Normans before, 653, 654.

Salisbury, Old, Gemot of, under William, 17, 691; men of, march against Monteute, 276; William reviews his army at, 316; bishopric of Sherborne removed to, 415.

Saracens, use of the word by Orde
847.
Saxony, its alleged contingent to
beorn's fleet, 247.
Scalpin, Housecarl, joins the revolt
York, 253.
Schwyz, retention of the Teutonic
community in, 548.
Scirgenot, action of, in Kent, 363;
Cambridgeshire, 368.
Scotland, Edgar and his company
195; Bishops of, subject to
Archbishops of York, 342, 34
their relations to Canterbury, 35
English slaves in, 508; effect of
Margot's marriage on, 510-512; En-
glish influence in, 511; union wi-
England, 513; William's invasion
ib.; use of round towers in, 51
submits to William, 517; possessio-
of Gospatrick in, 524.
Scotland, Abbot of Saint Augustine
137, 336; charged with betraying
the privileges of his house, 408; h
death, 697.
Scots, their alleged love of peace, 206.
Scotrade, meaning of the word, 515.
Seythian women, legend of, 232.
Seez Abbey, monks from, come to Shrew-
bury, 499.
Selby, legend of Henry the First's birt-
at, 230; origin and history of the
abbey, 230, 798; legend of, 798
Matthew Paris' account of, 802.
Selsey, see of, removed to Chichester, 410.
Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, his leagu-
with Saint Wulfstan, 383; his re-
forms and buildings, 384.
Setterington, Carl's sons murdered a
525.

Spalding Priory, founded by Ivo Taillebois, 471.
 Sprotburgh, spared in the ravages of Yorkshire, 290.
Stabilitio, meaning of, 844.
 Stade, history of the county, 245.
 Stafford, foundation of the castle, 216; its condition under William, 281.
 Staffordshire, revolt of in 1069, 270; conquest of by William, 280; heavy confiscations in, 281; ravages in, 313.
 Stamford, its constitution of Lawmen, 216; fortified by Eadward the Elder, *ib.*; foundation of the castle, 217.
 Standard, Harold's, sent to Pope Alexander, 61; its site fixes the High Altar of Battle Abbey, 401.
 Stephen, King, son of Stephen and Adela, 647.
 Stephen, son of Odo and Adelaide, 805.
 Stephen, Count of Blois, marries Adela daughter of William, 647, 650.
 Stephen, first Abbot of Saint Mary's at York, 662.
 Stigand, Archbishop, accompanies William to Normandy, 78; William's policy towards him, *ib.*; circumstances of his Norman visit, 84, 94; the three charges against him, 331; his defence, *ib.*; his deposition and imprisonment, 332, 807; legends of his later days and death, 332, 822; his alleged presence at Ely, 467; honourable mention of him there, 480, 806; story of the key, 808.
 Stigand, appointed Bishop of Selsey, 342; blesses Abbot Gausbert at Battle, 406; removes his see to Chichester, 416; his death, 697.
Streoneshalh, English name of Whitby, 662.
 Stubbs, Professor, his remarks on mediæval miracles, 289; quoted, 407.
 Stubbs, Thomas, reference to his account of the controversy between Canterbury and York, 349-352.
 Sumorled, son of Carl, his escape, 525; his lands, *ib.*
 Survey, ordered by William, 688; mode of the inquiry, 689; popular feeling against, 690; disturbances at, *ib.*; its completion, 691.
 Sussex, extent of confiscation in, 33; no King's Thengns in, 63.
 Swan, whether the same as Swegen of Essex, 804.
 Swegen Estrithsson, nature of his rivalry with William, 7; his close connexion with England, 119; invited to deliver England, 120; loses the favourable moment, 121; William's really dangerous enemy, 123; embassy of Æthelsige to, 135; receives the sister and daughter of Harold, 159; fresh invitations to him, 184; he at last sends help, 247; his probable objects, 249; his alleged reconciliation with William, 460; Henry the Fourth asks help of 559; sends his son Cnut against England, 584; his death, 683.
 Swegen, son of Robert, succeeds his father, 53; his lands, 734-736; his sheriffdom of Essex, 735; his descendants, *ib.*; his lands at Tooting, 804.
 Swegen, son of Sigge, his part in the legend of Selby, 800, 801.
 Switzerland, origin of its democracies, 548.
 Synods, their decrees need the royal consent, 437.
 Syracuse, destruction of the citadel at, 269.

T.

Tarentum, legend of its foundation, 233.
 Tawton, amount of its tribute, 162.
 Taxation, heaviness of under William, 616.
 Tees, English take refuge by, 297.
 Teedale, ravaged by Malcolm, 505.
 Terence. See *Toirdhealbach*.
 Terlagh. See *Toirdhealbach*.
Terra Regis, folkland finally changed into, under William, 24.
 Territorial titles, first use of, 697.
 Theodoric the Goldsmith, his lands in Berkshire and elsewhere, 41.
 Theodoric, son of Florence, Count of Friesland, 533.
 Theodwine, Abbot of Ely, 480, 833.
 Theodwine, Bishop of Lüttich, sent to help Richildis, 536.
 Thegns, their burthens in Cheshire, 488.
 Thetford, bishopric of Elmham removed to, 420.
 Thierry, Augustine, his exaggerated account of William's confiscations, 14; his account of Abbot Frithric, 79; his version of the legend of Beverley, 289; his confusions about Walter of Hereford, 374; his History of the *Tiers Etat*, 549; his version of William's accusation of Odo, 680; his account of Wiggod, 729; his legend of Kox and Kopsi, 740; his account of William's last taking of York, 775, 776; of the siege of Oxford, 780; his legend of Stigand, 806; of Abbot Frithric, 822-824.
 Thomas of Bayeux, appointed Archbishop of York, 339; his early history

and studies, 340; said to be a son of William, *ib.*; his consecration deferred, 342; refuses profession to Lanfranc, 350; seeks consecration at Canterbury, *ib.*; appeals to the King, 351; consecrated on a personal profession, 352; goes to Rome for his pallium, 353; threatened with deposition, 354; keeps his bishopric, 355; claims three suffragans of Canterbury, *ib.*; decision between him and Lanfranc, 357; consecrates Anselm, 368; claims jurisdiction over Lincoln, 369; repairs York Minster, *ib.*; settles the constitution of his church, 370; employs Wulfstan to visit his diocese, 375; restores the lands of Gloucester, 384; goes on an embassy to Rome, 425; consecrates Bishops of Durham, 478; his charter to Durham, 674; writes William's epitaph, 718.
 Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, his martyrdom at Pontefract, 283; his miracles, 599, 840.
 Thomas of London, first native Archbishop after the Conquest, 131; story of his cloak, 314.
 Thored of Berkshire, commendation of himself and his father to the Bishops of Wiltshire, 44.
 Thorn, William, his History of Saint Augustine's, 327; his account of Lanfranc's dealing with Saint Augustine's, 824.
 Thorold, Sheriff, founder of Spalding Priory, 456.
Thoulē, Britain so called by Byzantine writers, 626, 846.
 Thurbeare, his lands at Fracenham, 815.
 Thureytel, restores Crowland Abbey, 596.
 Tooting, history of Waltheof's at, 803, 804.
 Topsham, not restored to Bishop L. 165.
 Torkesey, great destruction at, 27.
 Tostig, Earl, his lands in Berkshire his lands in the West, 751.
 Tostig, legendary Earl of Warwick.
 Totnes, traces of Brute at, 173.
 Toustain, his miraculous discomfit Beverley, 288.
 Toustain the White, his lands in shire, 39.
 Tower of London, beginning of, called from the beginning, 366; by Gundulf, *ib.*
 Towns, speedy blending of races in, Towton, battle of, 551.
 Trahaern, son of Caradoc, his war death, 675.
Tre Baldwin, Welsh name of Montgomery, 501.
 Trent, navigation of, 198.
Trinoda necessitas, its effects, 618.
 Truce of God, renewed at Lillebonne
 Turfrida, alleged wife of Hereward, 827-831.
 Turgot, his alleged authorship of Durham History, 100; escapes Lincoln, 662; his favour with O. Norway, 663; joins Ealdwine at row, Melrose, and Wearmouth, 664; second Prior of Durham, 672; Turks, serve at Dyrrachion, 625.
 Turol of Rochester, lands recovered from, by Lanfranc, 364, 814.
 Turol, Abbot of Peterborough, his rule at Malmesbury, *ib.*; con Peterborough, 459.
 Tynemouth, plundered in 1072.

Urse of Abetot, Sheriff of Gloucester and Worcester, 173; his oppressions, *ib.*; builds the castle of Worcester, 174; rebuked by Ealdred, *ib.*; fate of his son, 175; plunders the church of Evesham, 383; marches against Earl Roger, 579; connected by Giraldus with the story of Saint Wulfstan, 820.

V.

Valdimar. See *Vladimir*.

Vattelet, Dr., quoted, 640.

Verulam, bricks of, a quarry for Saint Alban's, 395.

Veterans, way of providing for, 619.

Vexin, French, its early history, 697; claimed by William, 698; ravaged by him, 699.

Via Devana, 463.

Violenter, meaning of the word, 857.

Vital. See *Orderic*.

Vital, Abbot of Bernay, appointed Abbot of Westminster, 397.

Vladimir, Prince of Novgorod, marries Gytha daughter of Harold, 159, 753.

Vows, when to be enforced, 565.

Vulgrin, Bishop of Le Mans, his death, 543.

W.

Wager of Battle, 620.

Waitz, G. H., quoted, 692.

Wake, name given to Hereward, 831.

Walcher, appointed Bishop of Durham, 477; consecrated at Winchester, *ib.*; saying of Eadgyth at his consecration, 478; takes possession of his see, 513; his friendship with Waltheof, 524; letter of Lanfranc to, 583; appointed Earl of Northumberland, 659; revives monasticism in his diocese, 660; gives Jarro to Ealdwine, 661; favours Turgot, 663; designs to plant monks at Durham, 664; his dealings with Waltham, *ib.*; his favourites, 665; shelters the murderers of Ligulf, 667; holds a Gemot at Gateshead, *ib.*; his murder, 669; his burial, 670.

Waldin the Breton, his lands in Lincolnshire, 215.

Waldin the Engineer, his lands in Lincolnshire, 216.

Wales, division of after the battle of Mecchain, 183; part of the province of Canterbury, 349; its state in the later days of William, 674; its endless civil wars, *ib.*; William's campaign in, 676; later Norman warfare in, 677.

Walkelin, appointed Bishop of Win-

chester, 340; his buildings, 341, 372; consecrated by Ermenfrid, 342; his scheme for introducing secular canons, 372, 816-819; Abbot Ealdred entrusted to his keeping, 475; his character by William of Malmesbury, 819. Wallingford, building of the castle, 68; Abbot Ealdred imprisoned at, 475; the castle defended by tenants of Abingdon, 476; not held by Robert of Oily, 731.

Walter of Mantes, William charged with his death, 574.

Walter, Bishop of Hereford, his shameful death, 374; Thierry's confusions about, *ib.*; legendary accounts of, 822-823.

Walter, Abbot of Evesham, his buildings, 383.

Walter Giffard, his lands in Berkshire, 39; acts as Commissioner for Domesday, 689.

Walter of Evreux, alleged genealogy of, 801.

Walter of Eyncourt, his lands in Lincolnshire, 215.

Waltham, lordship granted to the see of Durham, 664; lands of the college seized by Walcher, *ib.*; restored by the younger Queen Matilda, *ib.*; spoiled by William Rufus, *ib.*

Waltheof, Earl, date of his submission, 20; summoned to attend William to Normandy, 76; his presence at Fécamp, 91; joins the Danish fleet, 255; his character, 255-257; importance of his revolt, 257; his personal exploits at York, 267; Danish legends of, *ib.*; restored to his earldom, 301; marries Judith, *ib.*; receives the earldom of Northumberland, 523; his friendship with Bishop Walcher, 524; murders the sons of Carl, 525; William's dealings with him, 571; attends the bride-ale of Ralph and Emma, 574; question of his assent to the conspiracy, 577; confesses to Lanfranc, *ib.*; confesses to William, 578; returns from Normandy, 584; his arrest, *ib.*; his trial, 588; enmity of his wife, 589; remanded to prison, *ib.*; his penitence, 591; his final sentence, 592; its injustice, *ib.*; his execution, 593; popular feeling towards him, 595; his gifts to Crowland, 597; first translation of his body, *ib.*; miracles at his tomb, 598-600, 840; his second translation, 599; his epitaph, 600; his children, 602; estimate of his execution, 603; re-

their permanence at Constanti-
ib.; description of in Byz-
writers, 846; speak English in
fourteenth century, 847; orig-
the name, 848.

Warren the Bald, his exploits ag-
the Welsh, 501.

Warwick, William's conquest of,
founded by Ethelflaed, *ib.*; foun-
tion of the castle, 190; its
history, 191, 192; succession of
Earls, 192; castle not held by T-
kill, 782.

Warwickshire, few English Thengns
189; lands of Hereward in, 454, 4
plundered by Hereward, 482.

Waste, entries of in Domesday, 290.

Waterford, Bishops of, consecrated
England, 529.

Wealhyn, mainly English in Willia-
time, 140.

Wearmouth, church of, burned by M-
colm, 505; Eadgar and his sisters lai-
at, *ib.*; restored by Ealdwine, 66
becomes a cell of Durham, 674.

Wells, Bishop's palace at, 404; see
moved to Bath, 421.

Wells, Norfolk, Hereward escapes to, 48

Welsh, join the English against Willia-
182; hold out in the Fenland, 46;
their relations to the house of Leofri-
500; their feuds among themselves, *i*

Welsh names, use of in Cornwall, 171.

Wenlock, history of the monastery, 49.

Wentworth, spoliation of church good-
at, 480.

Westminster, midwinter Gemot at i
1067, 127; Matilda crowned at, 179

succession of the Abbots, 396

William's respect for, 397; Walthe-
sentenced at

into Rouen, *ib.*; his gifts to Norman churches, 82; visits Caen, 83; his probable consultations with Lanfranc, *ib.*; keeps Easter at Fécamp, 87-92; restores the disputed lands of Fécamp, 89; attends various consecrations of churches, 92-94; his legislation at Saint Peter-on-the-Dive, 93; his good government in Normandy, 98; called back to England, 99; motives for his absence, 101-103; motives for his return, 123; returns to England, 125; his Gemöt at Westminster, 127; his second confiscation, *ib.*; his policy towards his subjects of both races, 128; sells the earldom of Northumberland to Gospatrick, 134; his negotiations with Swegen, 135; with Adalbert of Bremen, 136; demands the submission of Exeter, 145; refuses all conditions, 149; his march against Exeter, *ib.*; employs English troops, *ib.*; ravages the towns of Dorset, 151; his alleged breach of faith, *ib.*; besieges the city, 152; insults offered to him, 155; blinds one of the hostages, *ib.*; enters Exeter, 160; founds the castle, 161; conquers Devonshire and Cornwall, 162, 163; his confiscations and grants in the West, 163-172; sends for Matilda to England, 178; his treatment of Eadwine and Morkere, 179, 181; begins his first Northern campaign, 188; takes Warwick and founds the castle, 188-192; marches to Nottingham, 196; founds the castle, 199; receives the submission of York, 202; founds the first castle, 203; his first settlement of Yorkshire, 204, 205; receives the first submission of Malcolm, 206; his position in 1086, *ib.*; his southward march, 207; reaches Lincoln, *ib.*; receives its submission, 213; founds the castle, 217; founds castles at Cambridge and Huntingdon, 219-222; his policy with regard to his youngest son, 228, 229; founds the abbey of Selby, 230; dismisses his mercenaries, 233; his power when finally established, 234; marches to York, 240; builds the second castle, *ib.*; in the forest of Dean, 250; hears the news of the Danish fleet, 257; sends messages to York, 258; legends of his dealings with Ealdred, 259-263; marches northwards, 278; his alleged mutilation of messengers, 279; drives the Danes out of Lindsey, *ib.*; conquers Staffordshire, 280; takes up

his quarters at Nottingham, 281; his delay by the Aire, 282-285; crosses the river, 285; reaches York, *ib.*; repairs the castles, 286, 306; ravages Northumberland, 286, 287; confirms the privileges of Beverley, 289; contemporary estimate of his character, 292; keeps Christmas at York, 293; marches through Cleveland, 300; restores Waltheof and Gospatrick, 301; ravages Durham, 302; difficulties of his march back to York, 305; his difficult march to Chester, 307; his dealings with the mutineers, 309; his personal energy, *ib.*; takes Chester, 313; reviews his army at Salisbury, 316; his rewards and punishments, 317; bribes Osbeorn, 318; becomes full King, 318, 450; his position after the final Conquest, 321; change for the worse in his character, *ib.*; tries to learn English, 322; renews Eadward's Law, 324; his strict police, 325, 615, 844; plunders the monasteries, 327; crowned by the Papal Legates, 329; his relations to Lanfranc, 348; consolidation of England under him, *ib.*; ecclesiastical side of the process, 349; his dealings with Lanfranc and Thomas, 351, 352; his treatment by Pope Alexander, 354; presides in the Council at Windsor, 356; his ecclesiastical policy, 360; his dealings between Lanfranc and Odo, 363, 364; his legislation against the slave trade, 381, 621; separates the ecclesiastical and temporal courts, 387; deprives Thurstan of Glastonbury, 393; his correspondence with Abbot John of Fécamp, 397; his vow to Saint Martin, 398; delays the foundation of Battle Abbey, 399; begins the foundation, *ib.*; insists on the site of the battle, 400; defends Battle against Marmoutiers, 406; sends an embassy to Gregory, 426; privileges granted to him, 427; his dealings with Gregory, 429; special favour shown to him, *ib.*; his correspondence with Gregory, 431; refuses to do homage, *ib.*; his English position, 432; maintains his ecclesiastical supremacy, 436, 438; character of his ecclesiastical appointments, 438, 443; rebuked by Wimund, 445; his generous dealings with him, 447; extension of his power over all Britain, 452; his alleged reconciliation with Swegen, 460; receives the submission of Eadric, 461; different versions of his treatment of Eadwine, 464, 465; punishes his murderers, 466; attacks

bishop Hamo, *ib.*; with Her Fourth, *ib.*; holds assemblies in mandy in 1072, 541; sets fit recover Maine, 556; employs soldiers, *ib.*; receives the surre Le Mans, 559; marches against 561; makes peace, 562; off his absence on the continent, receives Eadgar to his favour, his dealings with Waltheof, forbids the marriage of Ralph Emma, 573; charges brought agt him, 574; receives Waltheof in mandy, 578; arrests Waltheof, presides at the trial of the Earls, keeps Roger of Hereford in prison, 590; allows the translation of theof, 597; his relation to In 598; story of him and Judith, turning-point in his history, change for the worse in his character, 604; his passion for hunting, his forest laws, 607; making of New Forest, 608; supposed curse his house, 610; character of his years, 612; accounts of his government, 613, 615; his ecclesiastical forms, 616; his fiscal oppression, his revenues, 618; keeps up the cinct assemblies, 619; his legislation, *ib.*; forbids capital punishment, 6 his personal appearance, 622; splendour of his court, *ib.*; his avar *ib.*; his practical despotism, 623; movements between England & Normandy, 628; makes no grant his children, *ib.*; besieges Dol, 6849; his flight, 632; his policy tow the Breton princes, 633; makes peace with France, *ib.*; declares Rol

bonne, *ib.*; present at William's funeral, 713.

William, Bishop of London, Commissioner for the redemption of lands, 26, 723; consecrates Lanfranc, 346; his death and character, 371.

William of Saint Carilef, Bishop of Durham, 520; his chapel at Durham, 673; begins the present church, *ib.*; substitutes monks for canons, 674.

William, Bishop of Thetford, 687.

William of Warewast, Bishop of Exeter, begins Exeter cathedral, 374.

William Fitz-Osbern, appointed vice-roy in England, 69-72; Earl of Hereford, 72; nature of his regency, 73; opposite pictures of his government, 105; special oppression under his own eye, 108; commands the second castle at York, 241; relieves Shrewsbury, 277; suggests the plunder of the monasteries, 327; his rule in Herefordshire, 502; his wars with the Welsh, *ib.*; his military legislation, 504; sent to Normandy, 531; guardian of Arnulf of Flanders, 534; goes to help Richildis, *ib.*; slain at Cassel, 535; monasteries of his foundation, 537; division of his estates, *ib.*; his descendants, 591; his alliance with Caradoc son of Gruffydd, 675; his grants to Meredydd son of Bleddyd, *ib.*

William of Breteuil, son of William Fitz-Osbern, succeeds to his Norman estates, 537; joins Robert's revolt, 638; his lands ravaged by the French, 668.

William of Warren, receives Coningsburgh, 296; his foundation at Lewes, 411, 416; his exploits at Ely, 470; Justiciar, 579; marches against Ralph of Wader, 580; occupies Norwich castle, 583; wounded before Sainte-Susanne, 653, 654.

William, Count of Evreux, taken prisoner before Saint-Susanne, 653, 654.

William, Count of Albemarle, founds the abbey of Meaux, 805.

William of Eu, his lands in Berkshire, 39; signature of, 825; helps to make peace at Blanchelande, 562.

William of Mortain, becomes a monk at Bermondsey, 411; his relation to the two Saint Michael's Mount, 765.

William, first Abbot of Fécamp, his imperial sponsors, 88; receives Æthelred, *ib.*

William of Ros, Abbot of Fécamp, his works, 87.

William Malet, commands at York, 204; appointed Sheriff, *ib.*; his lands, 204, 787; asks help from William, 240; his over-confidence, 258; legend of his plundering the goods of Ealdred, 260; taken prisoner by the Danes, 268; killed at Ely, 471; notices of his captivity and death, 789.

William Peverel, his castle and lands at Nottingham, 200; a pretended natural son of William, *ib.*; his castle of the Peak, 201.

William the Warling, William's dealings with, 574.

William Waldi, defeats Harold's sons, 244.

William Faber, begins the works of Battle Abbey, 399.

William of Moulines, defends La Flèche, 561.

William of Percy, his lands in Lincolnshire, 215; his lands in Yorkshire, 295; notice of at York and Scotland, 789.

William of Fécamp, his innovations in church music, 390.

William of Poitiers, conclusion of his history, 80; his account of the attack on Dover compared with that of Orderic, 114, 116; his way of speaking of Eustace, 129; how far a flatterer of William, 293; his account of William's campaigns, 767.

William of Apulia, his account of the campaign of Dyrrachion, 624.

William of Jumièges, his account of the Northumbrian movement, 187.

William of Malmesbury, his quotations of English, 175; his account of the death of Eadnoth, 227; of the harrying of Northumberland, 291; his *Gesta Pontificum*, 320; his portrait of William the Conqueror, 622; his account of the sieges of York, 776; of Oxford and Exeter, 779; of Stigand's imprisonment, 808; of Bishop Walkelin, 816-819; of the New Forest, 842, 843.

William of Newburgh, his account of William and Ealdred, 261.

William of Nangis, his account of the taking of Marseille, 549.

William Thorn, his history of Saint Augustine's, 327.

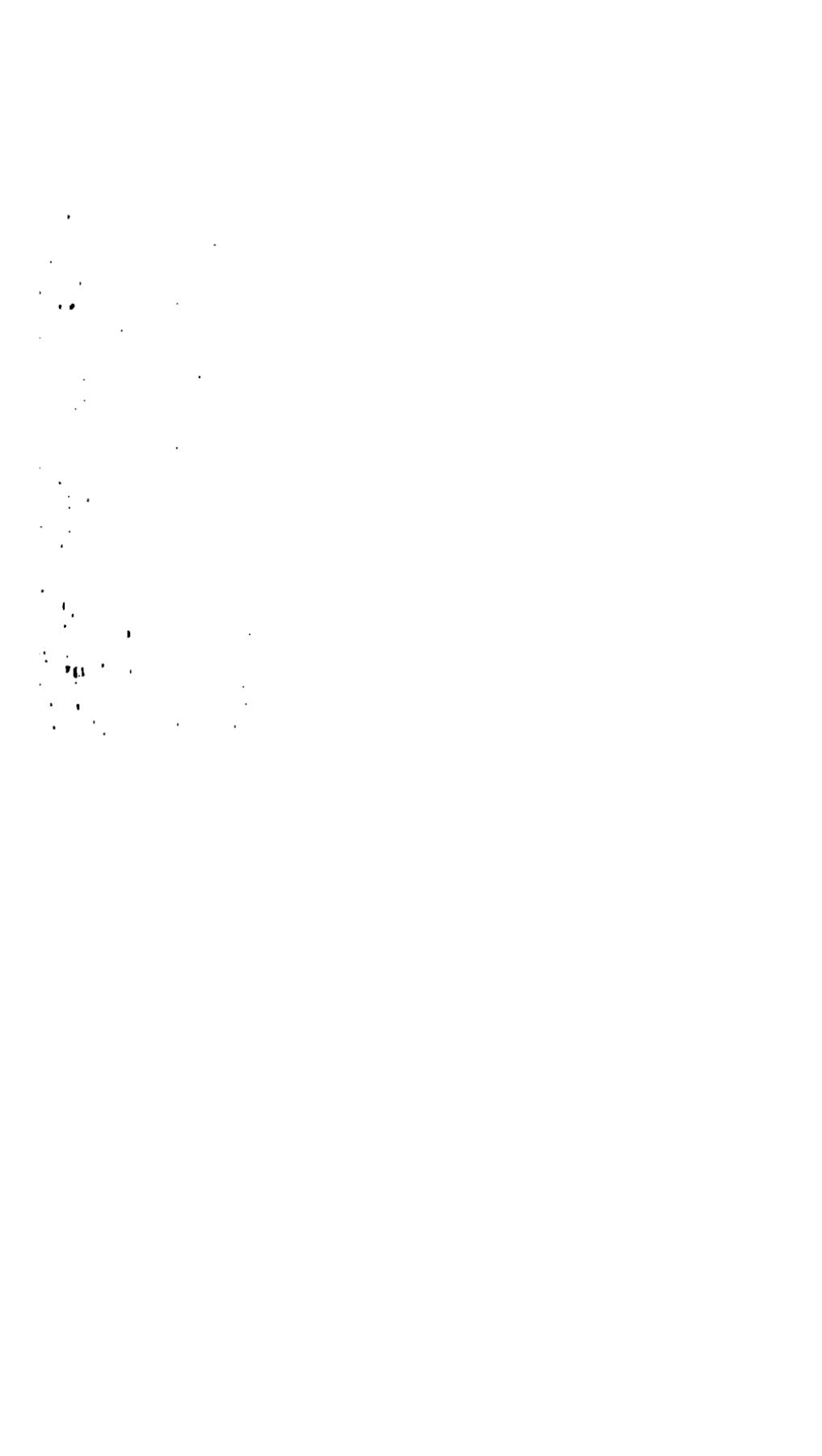
Wiltshire, great number of King's Thengs in, 42; date of its submission, 64.

Wimund of Saint Leutfred, rebukes William, 445; refuses the archbishopric of Rouen, 447, 627; becomes Cardinal and Archbishop of Aversa, *ib.*

Winchelsea, William lands at, in 1067, 125.

its early history, 339; councils
ib.; disputes between the Arch-
bishop and the King settled at, 356; the castle de-
stroyed by tenants of Abingdon, 476.
Winesham, granted by William to
165.
Wise, Mr. J. R., his work on the
Forest, 858.
Witan, name of, preserved under
William, 619; distinguished from
the *sittende men*, 692.
Wolves, in England in the third
century, 606.
Women, hold their lands as alms, .
Worcester, building of the castle,
site of Oswulf's church at, *ib.*; di-
rected to claimed for the province of York, 355;
church rebuilt by Wulfstan, Bishop of
Worcestershire, state of under Will-
iam, 173; spoliations of Urse and Od-
ib.; date of its conquest, 175; la-
bor of Hereward in, 485.
Wreck, law of in Stade, 246.
Writ, the King's, legal value of, under
William, 27.
Writs of William in English, 179.
Wulf, son of Harold and Ealdgyth,
posthumous child, 143; whether taken
at Chester, 315; released by Willi-
am, 708; his birth and history, 753.
Wulfisifu *Beteslau*, history of her last
59.
Wulkill of Lincoln, sells a ship to William, 217.
Wulfnoth, son of Godwine, released
by William, 708; question of his la-
bor, 752; not the *Alnod Cild* of Don-
ald, 759; later notices of, 855.
Wulfnoth of Lincoln, his history, 21.
Wulfric, Abbot of New Minster,







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